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Foreword

In 1996, the American people came together in a spirit of new optimism about ourselves, our country, and our future. It was a time of significant legislative achievement. Most notably, I signed into law landmark welfare reform ending a system that had trapped millions in a cycle of dependency. Within days, I also signed into law an increase in the minimum wage, signed legislation making it possible for people to take their health insurance with them as they move from job to job, and announced unprecedented steps by the Food and Drug Administration to protect children from the dangers of tobacco. These and other steps, and the continuing success of the American economy, inspired in our people a renewed sense of hope and confidence that our political system could meet our challenges.

Above all, this was a time when I sought to challenge the American people to turn toward the future. In August, at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and in talks with voters across the Nation, I declared our mission must be "to build a bridge to the 21st Century." I have used this metaphor for years. But in the hundreds of hand-painted banners at rallies, in the handmade bridges that were sent to my office by the dozens, in the thousands of letters we received, I could see that this time, this image had touched a nerve. Why? I believe "the bridge" evoked both the hope and the challenge of the new century. Our people know that this new era, with its stunning leaps of technology, rapid globalization, and many social changes, offers remarkable opportunities for our people. But they also know they need education, skills, and confidence to reap the rewards of this time. As I told so many audiences, it must be a bridge "wide enough and strong enough for every American to walk across."

Vice President Gore and I were humbled and deeply gratified when the American people chose to ratify our course and return us to office for a second term. The election amounted to a ringing endorsement of the "vital center"—a call to both parties to set aside narrow agendas and work together in the national interest. That is what we pledged to do. And as I told the American people on election night, before the Old State House in Little Rock, Arkansas, "We've got a bridge to build—and I'm ready if you are."

William J. Clinton

Preface

This book contains the papers and speeches of the 42d President of the United States that were issued by the Office of the Press Secretary during the period July 1–December 31, 1996. The material has been compiled and published by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration.

The material is presented in chronological order, and the dates shown in the headings are the dates of the documents or events. In instances when the release date differs from the date of the document itself, that fact is shown in the textnote. Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy: Remarks are checked against a tape recording, and signed documents are checked against the original. Textnotes and cross references have been provided by the editors for purposes of identification or clarity. Speeches were delivered in Washington, DC, unless indicated. The times noted are local times. All materials that are printed full-text in the book have been indexed in the subject and name indexes, and listed in the document categories list.

The Public Papers of the Presidents series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of messages and papers of the Presidents covering the period 1789 to 1897 was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then, various private compilations have been issued, but there was no uniform publication comparable to the Congressional Record or the United States Supreme Court Reports. Many Presidential papers could be found only in the form of mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings, addresses, and remarks of a public nature could be made available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506), which may be found in title 1, part 10, of the Code of Federal Regulations.

A companion publication to the Public Papers series, the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, was begun in 1965 to provide a broader range of Presidential materials on a more timely basis to meet the needs of the contemporary reader. Beginning with the administration of Jimmy Carter, the Public Papers series expanded its coverage to include additional material as printed in the Weekly Compilation. That coverage provides a listing of the President's daily schedule and meetings, when announced, and other items of general interest issued by the Office of the Press Secretary. Also included are lists of the President's nominations submitted to the Senate, materials released by the Office of the Press Secretary that are not printed full-text in the book, and proclamations, Executive orders, and other Presidential documents released by the Office of the Press Secretary and published in the *Federal Register*. This information appears in the appendixes at the end of the book.

Volumes covering the administrations of Presidents Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Bush are also available.

The Public Papers of the Presidents publication program is under the direction of Frances D. McDonald, Director of the Presidential Documents and Legislative Division. The series is produced by the Presidential Documents Unit, Gwen H. Estep, Chief. The Chief Editor of this book was Karen Howard Ashlin, assisted by Scott Andreae, Brad Brooks, Anna Glover, Margaret A. Hemmig, Carolyn W. Hill, Michael Hoover, Alfred Jones, Rachel Rondell, and Michael J. Sullivan.

The frontispiece and photographs used in the portfolio were supplied by the White House Photo Office. The typography and design of the book were developed by the Government Printing Office under the direction of Michael F. DiMario, Public Printer.

Raymond A. Mosley
Director of the Federal Register

John W. Carlin
Archivist of the United States

Contents

Foreword . . . v

Preface . . . vii

Cabinet . . . xi

Public Papers of William J. Clinton,
July 1–December 31, 1996 . . . 1047

Appendix A
Digest of Other White House Announcements . . . 2239

Appendix B
Nominations Submitted to the Senate . . . 2253

Appendix C
Checklist of White House Press Releases . . . 2257

Appendix D
Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register . . . 2269

Subject Index . . . A–1

Name Index . . . B–1

Document Categories List . . . C–1

Cabinet

Secretary of State	Warren M. Christopher
Secretary of the Treasury	Robert E. Rubin
Secretary of Defense	William J. Perry
Attorney General	Janet Reno
Secretary of the Interior	Bruce Babbitt
Secretary of Agriculture	Dan Glickman
Secretary of Commerce	Michael Kantor
Secretary of Labor	Robert B. Reich
Secretary of Health and Human Services	Donna E. Shalala
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	Henry G. Cisneros
Secretary of Transportation	Federico Peña
Secretary of Energy	Hazel Rollins O'Leary
Secretary of Education	Richard W. Riley
Secretary of Veterans Affairs	Jesse Brown
United States Representative to the United Nations	Madeleine Korbel Albright
Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency	Carol M. Browner
United States Trade Representative	Charlene Barshefsky (acting)

Director of the Office of Management and Budget	Franklin D. Raines (effective September 13)
Chief of Staff	Leon E. Panetta
Counselor to the President	Thomas F. McLarty III
Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers	Joseph E. Stiglitz
Director of National Drug Control Policy	Barry R. McCaffrey
Administrator of the Small Business Administration	Philip Lader
Director of Central Intelligence	John M. Deutch
Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency	James Lee Witt

Administration of William J. Clinton

1996

Statement on Assistance for Livestock Producers
July 1, 1996

Our Nation's livestock producers are hurting. A severe drought in the Southwest has reduced available forage in pastures while raising the cost of cattle feed. Producers also have been hurt by low beef prices.

I am taking action today to help livestock producers weather these tough times. Specifically, I am declaring a State of Emergency in the Southwest and other areas, enabling the Secretary of Agriculture to release about $40 million in needed assistance to producers from the Feed Grain Disaster Reserve.

The Department of Agriculture will sell about 15 million bushels of grain from the Disaster Reserve, in order to make disaster assistance payments to livestock producers in the drought region. The Department will make the sales in a way that minimizes market disruptions.

Secretary Glickman and Deputy Secretary Rominger recently visited some of the areas hardest hit by the drought, and I have heard from Members of Congress and others about the situation there. I know how badly producers are suffering, and I am determined to do whatever I can to help.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: The proclamation on the declaration of a state of emergency and release of feed grain from the disaster reserve is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume. An original was not available for verification of the content of this statement.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Assistance for Livestock Producers
July 1, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Today, I have proclaimed a State of Emergency due to the extended drought in the Southwest, and other natural disasters in feed grain-producing areas of the United States. The proclamation of a State of Emergency will permit the Secretary of Agriculture ("Secretary") to release feed grain supplies from the Disaster Reserve to assist livestock producers that have been greatly harmed by the drought. The Secretary has prepared a plan that would implement the disposition of the feed grain supplies from the Disaster Reserve.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. The proclamation is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks Announcing Emergency Action To Prevent Church Burnings
July 2, 1996

Good morning. I'd like to begin today by saluting the law enforcement officers who made the arrest in Arizona yesterday to avert a terrible terrorist attack. Their dedication and hard work over the last 6 months may have saved many lives, and they deserve our thanks. I'd like to

offer a special congratulations to the gentleman to my right, Ray Kelly, the Under Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement, for his role in that endeavor.

Just as we acted to prevent a vicious crime from occurring there, today I'm announcing stepped up efforts to prevent the spread of violence against houses of worship. Again, I want to thank Mr. Kelly and Nancy Gist, the Director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance, who is standing to my left, the representatives of the law enforcement organizations who are here and who have been supporting our efforts.

These attacks against African-American churches and other houses of worship are an affront to our most basic beliefs of religious liberty and racial tolerance. They pose a challenge to our entire Nation. I am gratified that law enforcement, government, business, and religious leaders are coming together to meet this challenge. Today attorneys general from throughout our Nation are meeting at Howard University to discuss the problem.

I am also pleased that Congress acted quickly to pass legislation making it easier to prosecute and punish anyone who burns a house of worship, and I am eager to sign that legislation as soon as possible. I'm gratified by the outpouring of private support that will help to rebuild communities that are torn apart by these actions.

But we must do more to prevent these crimes. Last week I asked Federal emergency management administrator James Lee Witt to take the lead in working with law enforcement to find ways to stop the burnings before they happen and to give our communities the tools they need to help in the prevention effort.

Today I am taking emergency action to prevent church burnings by transferring $6 million to communities in 12 targeted States. This emergency transfer would allow every county in the affected States to hire a new police officer for the summer to patrol the back roads, to visit the churches, to keep watch for signs of trouble.

These new officers, working with local police and community watch groups, can maintain a wall of protection to ward off people who would strike out in hate at a house of worship. Or communities can spend the money for other purposes, installing floodlights, hiring private security guards, paying overtime for existing officers, whatever they believe will work best to forestall the fires.

I'm asking Congress to quickly approve the transfer through a special procedure that allows action without a time-consuming floor vote. We don't have any time to waste. With this step, the National Government will be helping local police not only to investigate arson and apprehend the guilty but to help to physically protect churches from harm in the first place.

If this emergency measure is not enough to beat back the church burnings, we will take further steps as needed. This is a struggle against racism and religious bigotry, and we will escalate that struggle as necessary with enough people power and willpower to make sure the struggle is won. This is a test not just for law enforcement but for all law-abiding Americans.

Earlier today I signed a proclamation designating a National Month of Unity. During the month of July, I call on religious leaders of all faiths to speak from the pulpit and emphasize the need for healing. And I call on all citizens to join together, to reach out to one another, to strengthen the ideals that light our way and keep us strong.

On Thursday we will celebrate America's Independence Day. This year, let us take this opportunity to rededicate ourselves once again to the proposition that all Americans are created equal and that every American should be able to worship in freedom and freedom from fear.

Thank you very much. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:39 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. H.R. 3525, the Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996, approved July 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–155. The National Month of Unity proclamation of July 1 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks to the National Council of Senior Citizens Convention in Chicago, Illinois

July 2, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. Pretty rowdy group today. [*Applause*] Thank you. I want to——

Audience members. Down in front! [*Inaudible*]—on the right!

The President. What's the problem over here on the right? [*Laughter*]

Steve said, you know, he said, "This room is 285 feet long. It's like a giant bowling alley." [*Laughter*] There's kind of a wave that goes from right to left here.

Let me, first of all, thank Lois and Tom for their introductions. I want to thank your outgoing president, Gene Glover, for his years of outstanding service and wish your incoming president, Harry Gunther, well, and say that I hope this means that we have an even better chance of carrying Florida than we did before we started, Harry.

I thank all the distinguished labor leaders who are here: George Becker and Jay Mazur, and I see Doug Fraser there. You're looking great; I'm glad to see you, Doug. Thank you, and God bless you, sir.

I want to say a special word of thanks to Steve Protulis. He has done a great job for you and a great job for me. Thank you, Steve. And I want to recognize one other person apart from the elected officials, and that is my great friend Justin Dart, over there. Thank you for everything you have done, sir. I'm glad to see you.

When Tom was up there kind of being rough on the Congress I wanted to say, he didn't mean the Members of Congress who are here. [*Laughter*] He didn't mean Dick Durbin or Ed Pastor or Bobby Rush or Luis Gutierrez. We thank them for what they did in this Congress. They did a great job.

And, Mayor Daley, it's good to be in Chicago. And I'll be back before you know it. I thank you for having us all here.

I always love to come to Chicago, and I like to—we flew in a helicopter down to Meigs Field, and we got to fly over some of the suburbs—and I always reminisce when I do. But a lot of you know that Hillary was born in Chicago and grew up in Park Ridge. And I wish she were here today, but she is representing our country on a tour of nine Central and Eastern European nations. So I talked to her last night; she'd just finished the day in Romania. So I wish she were here, but she's over there talking about countries who love freedom. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to thank you for something else that I know you feel, and that is, it meant a lot to me when I took this recent trip to Europe to have the annual meeting of the seven largest industrial countries and then a meeting with those countries and Russia about political challenges facing the world to know that the people back home were not only outraged by the murder of our service people in Saudi Arabia but determined to stand against terrorism wherever it exists. And I know you must have been proud this morning to read in the newspaper that our Federal law enforcement officials thwarted a planned attempt to blow up buildings in Arizona. I thank them for that, and I'm proud of them.

I can tell you this: In this open world of ours where we can all move around the world and ideas and information and money and technology can move around the world in a split second, we are more vulnerable to the organized forces of intolerance and hatred and terrorism. But we can also prevent a lot of these things. I have seen it work here in the United States in the last 3 years, where we've headed off a number of such incidences. I see it happen in the Middle East, where incidences not only occur but many more are headed off. And we're going to have to work at this, work it together, and other nations need to work with us, because this is our common security threat after the cold war. And we can whip this if we'll stay together and work together. And we have to do that.

The other thing I'd like to say is that I signed a proclamation late last night proclaiming this month as National Unity Month and asking all Americans to find ways in their places of wor-

ship or in other places to stand up against this terrible wave of church bombings and the desecration of other houses of worship that we are seeing across this country. Just before I came to see you I announced that we reallocated a few million dollars to the 12 States that have seen the great bulk of these church burnings so that every county will receive some funds either to hire extra officers or to have people work overtime, or to help churches put up security equipment or lighting at night, to do something to try to prevent these things from occurring.

But we also need to change the atmosphere. If you've seen the profiles coming out on a lot of the people who have been charged with these church burnings, they seem to be no discernible conspiracy but instead a lot of people who share common problems, people who have disappointments in their own lives, frustrations in their own lives, and somehow think instead of saying, "Well, what can I do to straighten myself out or who can I go to"—whom can I go to—"to ask for help," they say, "Well, I'm just going to be mad and burn a black church."

And you know, this is something that is sort of endemic to human nature. When you're in a crisis in your life, you can either say, "What can I do to fix it," or "How can I get some help," or you can look for somebody else to blame or say, "Well, no matter how bad off I am there is somebody that's even lower than I am, and I'm going to punish them." And we have to stand up against that. We have to change the atmosphere in the country.

Don't forget, this country was founded on a belief in religious liberty. A lot of the first people who came to the shores of the United States came here because they wanted to come to a place where nobody would tell them how to worship God, and they could make their own mind up.

Don't forget that the first amendment to the Constitution not only protects the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, and the freedom of assembly, it protects the freedom of religion. It is the first amendment to the Constitution. And over our entire history we have displayed a fidelity to it that has kept our country strong. And we dare not allow this to continue without every American of conscience, without regard to their race, their region, or their political party, speaking up against it. It is wrong, and we must stand together.

For more than 30 years now, you have been fighting the good fight you were cheering about today, fighting first for Medicare and for Medicaid and for Social Security and then fighting to protect it. I am very proud that one of the things that happened last year with the leadership of Senator Moynihan primarily is that we finally made Social Security an independent agency, giving the autonomy it needs to fulfill its mission.

You know as well as I do that your fight for the well-being and the dignity of American seniors has never been more important than it is now. You know that the victories that we won through the veto pen in 1995 didn't solve the fundamental problem of securing the Medicare Trust Fund in a way that honors the dignity of the seniors of this country or protects our sense of fairness. I am proud to stand with you. But what you do from here forward is central to our mission as we move into the 21st century.

When I ran for President, I said to all of you that I wanted to lead our country into the next century to ensure three things. I wanted the American dream to be a living reality to every person who is willing to work for it, without regard to their race, their gender, their region, or what they start out with in life. I wanted this country to be coming together around all of its ethnic and racial and religious diversity, instead of being torn apart the way so many countries around the world are. And I wanted this country to continue to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

At the end of the cold war, if the world is not going to be divided into the Communist and non-Communist world, and if we can force the nuclear threat to recede, we still have to have somebody out there standing up for human decency around the world and peace and freedom. You see that in Bosnia. You see it in Haiti. You see it in the fight against terrorism.

And it seemed to me that in order to accomplish these things we had to ask ourselves: Okay, the cold war is over. We're living in a new kind of world. All right, we're not dominated by large industrial bureaucracies and large government bureaucracies and mass production anymore. High technology and the information revolution has changed dramatically manufacturing and agriculture and every form of human endeavor. So we changed the way we work; we changed the way we live; we changed the

way we are relating to the rest of the world—big changes, 100-year changes. Now what?

And it seemed to me that we had to start by saying we have to meet these challenges in a way that protects our values. And one of the values that has made this country strong for over 200 years is recognizing that we are, none of us, in this alone. We have responsibilities to each other. That's really what all these debates are about.

So if, for example, if you just take Medicare. If there's a problem with Medicare, solve the problem, but don't solve it by asking families to go back to the days when they had to choose between health care for the parents or college educations for the kids. That's not the answer to solve that problem.

This is about more than money. This is about what we are as a people. What are our obligations to our parents, and what are our parents' obligations to their grandchildren? How can we make these decisions in a way that allows America to grow but to grow together, to go forward together, so that we all feel like we're in this together and that we're growing stronger because we're holding hands and working together?

Now, that is what I believe we should be doing. And I don't think it's very complicated. I think we need a strategy which says our role is to create opportunity, not guarantees but opportunity for people to make the most of their own lives, to insist that our citizens act with personal responsibility, and to build a stronger sense of community, to recognize that we're all in this together, we do have certain obligations to one another, and we're all going to do better if everybody has a chance to do well, and that we can't lift up one group by keeping another down. We have to make these decisions together. That's the way to do it.

Take the economy. Four years ago our economy was drifting, unemployment was high, the deficit was out of control, we had the slowest job growth since the Great Depression. I wanted to chart a new course. And I said what we ought to do with this economy is to have a disciplined plan to move us into the 21st century with a growing economy that everybody had a chance to benefit from. Let's cut the deficit, get interest rates down, get investment into creating jobs and homes up. Let's continue to invest in the education of our children, the education of adults, high technology, research, the things that will create good jobs. Let's have more trade, but let's make sure it's not only free trade but fair trade. Let's do these things, and it will work.

I also believed very strongly that we had to do more to help working families to succeed at work and to succeed at home. You know, a lot of people talk about welfare. Well, one of the things that I figured out was we had a tax system that was punishing people at the low end of the wage scale who chose work over welfare. We doubled the family tax credit called the earned-income tax credit so we could say if you're working 40 hours a week and you've got a child in the home, we will not tax you into poverty. You should be out of poverty. We will lift you out of poverty with the tax system. It was pro-family.

We fought for the family and medical leave law, which simply said if you have a sick parent or a newborn baby and you have to take some time off work, you won't lose your job. It was a good bill, and it was the right thing to do.

Now, when we passed this economic plan, I predicted that if it passed, we'd be able to cut the deficit in half in 4 years and the American people would produce 8 million new jobs, even though we were going to reduce the size of the National Government. Well, the Republicans in the Congress fought us tooth and nail. And I'll give them credit; every one of them voted against it. [*Laughter*] They didn't fool around; they were united. [*Laughter*]

Speaker Gingrich, then the minority leader, said, "I believe this will lead to a recession next year." Now the majority leader, Mr. Armey, said of my economic plan, "Clearly this is a job killer." [*Laughter*] Senator Gramm said, "We are buying a one-way ticket to a recession. The American economy is going to get weaker, not stronger, and 4 years from today the deficit will be higher than it is today and not lower." Senator Dole said, "President Clinton knows, and the American people know, the plan does not tackle the deficit." And John Kasich, the head of the Budget Committee, from Ohio, said——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Wait, let me quote this. Here is what he said of our economic plan, quote, "This plan will not work. If it was to work then I'd have to become a Democrat." [*Laughter*] Well, I want to tell Mr. Kasich that Mayor Daley is saving a seat for him at the convention, because it works. It does.

I don't know how they define "work," but in 3½ years the deficit, now we know, will be cut by more than half. We know the American people did not produce 8 million jobs in 4 years, they produced 9.7 million jobs in 3½ years; 3.7 million new homeowners; an all-time high in the export of American products; a record number for 3 years in a row of new businesses starting up. And for the first time in 10 years, thank goodness, average hourly earnings for working families are starting to go up. The lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in almost 30 years. I think it's fair to say that based on the evidence, when it came to the economy, we were right, and they were wrong.

Of course, we have more to do. The minimum wage this year is going to drop to a 40-year low in what it will buy if we don't raise it. You can't raise a family on 4.25 an hour. And if this Congress really believes in work and family values, let them go back and raise the minimum wage like they ought to.

And we ought to pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill and pass it now, unadulterated, so people won't lose their health insurance when they change jobs or someone in their family has been sick. We also ought to make sure that we do a number of other things. I've sent a package of retirement legislation to the Congress to make it easier for self-employed people and small-business people to take out retirement plans and then to keep it even if they go through periods of unemployment or when they change jobs. There are lots of other things we need to do. But the last thing we need to do is to reverse a course that is working.

I also believe that when people get to the end of their working lives, they shouldn't have to worry about whether they can feed themselves when they retire. Nor, however, should they have to worry about whether Medicare will be there for them.

Now, I noticed when our friends on the other side debate Medicare in Washington, they never tell people that one of the important things that we did in our 1993 economic plan was to strengthen the Medicare Trust Fund, to add a few years to it. And they attacked us every step of the way for trying to do it, and in fact in the '94 election promised to undo what we had done to strengthen the Medicare Trust Fund and protect the financial integrity of Medicare. It's why we fought for the reauthorization of the Older Americans Act, so that seniors can get the nutrition and transportation and other services they need.

It's why I have worked so hard to pass and then to protect that crime bill. How many seniors would say that their number one concern over the last 5 years has been their personal safety? And again I would say, if you just look at the record this administration has worked on in the area of criminal justice and law enforcement—we passed the Brady bill, requiring a waiting period before people can buy handguns; we passed the crime bill, which put 100,000 more police on the street over a period of 6 years. I can tell you this: We are ahead of schedule with those police officers and under budget. And they are making a difference to lower the crime rate in America.

We passed the ban on assault weapons. And again, the leadership of the other side fought us every step of the way. They said we shouldn't give the communities any money to try to help prevention programs, to spend money to keep kids working in the summertime or giving them some things to do after school, instead of to walk the streets. They said that this was a waste of money, even though police officers were screaming for it all over America, so that our young people could have something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.

They said if we passed the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill, we were just going to take everybody's gun away from them. Well, I'll tell you something, we've now been through two deer seasons—[*laughter*]—and where I live, every last hunter that hadn't wanted to buy a new gun is still hunting with the same rifle they had when those guys were trying to scare them to death. But there are some people who didn't get guns: 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers didn't get guns because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong.

Ask Mayor Daley, a former prosecutor, about Chicago. Community policing, preventive strategies: the crime rate is down in virtually every major city in this country in every major category. Substantial drop in the murder rate, just from last year, right here in Chicago. So those people who fought the crime bill were wrong. They were wrong. The evidence is here. And that has to do with how senior citizens live.

We know that as we look to the future, we have to find a way to control medical inflation. Of course we do. We have to find a way to

try to bring inflation in health care down to the level of inflation in the country and keep it there. We know that as there's more seniors relative to workers in the population, we have to deal with that. We know that we have to have integrity in the Medicare Trust Fund. Can we do that without creating two classes of people under Medicare? Can we do it without destroying the guarantees of Medicaid to families with people with disabilities, to elderly people in nursing homes, to poor women and their infant children? You bet we can. We've done it before. We can do it again, and we will do it.

Medicaid, most people think, is a program for poor people. The truth is only about 30 percent of it goes to help poor families, pregnant women, and little children. Seventy percent of it goes to care for our senior citizens, most of whom come from middle class families, to enable their children to have stable lives and raise their children and educate them, and to go to help families with family members with disabilities, many of whom can live at home or independently because of Medicaid, many of whom are able to raise their children with serious disabilities at home without going into bankruptcy or having to give up their jobs because of Medicaid.

Now, can we do things to slow the rate of inflation there, to give the people on Medicaid more choices, to have more incentives to do all kinds of things? Yes, we can. Should we walk away from the guarantee we have given to try to help make people secure in their health care? No, we should not. No, we should not. Are there other strategies we can follow? You bet there are. What about preventive health care?

One of the things that I tried to do—it's turned out to be very controversial and I now see why no previous President ever wanted to get into this—is I believe that we should take strong action to stop the advertising, sales, and transference of cigarettes to children. I think it's wrong.

You talk about saving money. Three thousand children a day smoke—start smoking—begin. Three thousand children a day begin. One thousand of them will have their lives shortened because of it. And along the way society will pick up a significant part of the health care bill. Now, that's one way to save money.

Now, I have been amazed at the debate that's injected itself into the national campaign on this issue. I notice that Senator Dole questioned the other day whether or not tobacco was really addictive for everybody. [*Laughter*] And then, apparently, this morning, when it was—he was asked about Dr. Koop, who was President Reagan's Surgeon General, a remarkable man, who may be a Republican for all I know—President Reagan's Surgeon General, but he has been one of our most outspoken advocates of trying to stop smoking among young people—and this morning Senator Dole suggested that maybe Dr. Koop had been brainwashed by the liberal media. [*Laughter*] Well, I imagine Dr. Koop was surprised to hear that. [*Laughter*] I believe Dr. Koop knows more about the dangers of tobacco than the so-called liberal media or Senator Dole. He's out there fighting for our children, and that's what we need more people to do, fight for children and not play politics with this issue.

Medicaid today spends at least $10 billion in Federal and State funds to pay for treatment for smoking-related illnesses. Now, if we're going to get serious about cutting the costs, that's one way to do it without hurting families. It will help families, it will strengthen families.

And finally, let me say that this sort of partisan division has only made the Medicare Trust Fund problem worse. Let's face it, we have enough savings identified in both the Republican plan and my plan to take the Medicare Trust Fund out to a decade right now. And we don't know yet whether we won't be able to find more in the development of managed care, voluntary options for seniors, and other things that are happening in the marketplace right now.

Now, why don't we go ahead and do this? Why are we holding out? Why is the Congress holding out for an agreement that would essentially develop a two-class Medicare system, where the older and the poorer and the sicker you are, the more likely you are to be in yesterday's Medicare that's underfunded; and the younger and healthier and more well off you are, the more options you're given to walk away. That's not what made Medicare work. What made Medicare work is you say, we have obligations to each other, and we're going to fulfill them. We're going to do this and solve this together. I think that is the right thing to do.

But you need to understand, every health care program—there is no such thing as a problem-

free health care program. You have to manage this as it goes along. You have to deal with the population, what happens to people, what the costs are. But I'd just like for you to remember two things when all these people tell you how bad Medicare is, how it needs to be worked over and changed and, in effect, deconstructed. I'd just like for you to remember two things—the same thing for Medicaid—number one, Medicare has the smallest administrative overhead cost of any insurance program, public or private, in the entire United States of America, and number two—number two and far more important, America's longevity, unfortunately, is not as high as some countries, but the main reason is, we have lamentably higher rates of violence among young people, we have higher rates of AIDS, which kills a lot of young people in this country, and our infant mortality rate in some places is still higher than it is in some countries. But if you live to be 65 in the United States, you have the highest life expectancy of any group of seniors in the world. Medicare, Social Security, SSI, that's what did that. Now, I can't believe we can't fix the problem of the financing in a way that preserves the fact that we have the seniors with the highest life expectancy in the world, with a program that already has the lowest administrative costs in the world. This is not rocket science. This is politics.

So I would say again, this is a great philosophical divide—should we abandon Medicaid's guarantee to poor women and little children——

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. ——to families with disabilities, to the seniors in the nursing homes?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. No. Should we create in Medicare—we're not talking about saving money here; we're not talking about securing the trust fund for a decade. We're talking about whether we should create a two-class system of care.

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. You know, if I stay healthy—I don't know if I can the way things are in Washington—[*laughter*]—but if I stay healthy, I retire as President, and I have a nice pension, you know, I'll probably be fine. Their system might be great for me, I could walk away. But what about my responsibilities to everybody else? What about everybody else's—what about our responsibilities?

So, again, I would say that the Senate has new leadership and we have—we have identified the savings necessary to secure the Medicare Trust Fund. Why should we go into a work stoppage just because it's election season? Let's go ahead and secure the Medicare Trust Fund for another decade. You know how we're going to save the money and you said okay, and we can do that.

I know, you know, we've had a good time today, and I know that I'm here preaching to the saved—[*laughter*]. It makes it easier. But let me tell you, there is a serious issue here. We have serious questions to deal with. We all know that we're living longer and that the distribution of population is changing. We have to come to grips with these things. The only thing I'm saying is I believe the seniors of this country care about their children and grandchildren and their great-grandchildren.

When I was the Governor of my State, I spent most of my time trying to improve the education of our children, and I got most of my support for it from people who were in their golden years, who were more than happy to come up and invest more money or do whatever it took to make sure that their grandchildren had a bright future.

I do not want to see the generations in this country pitted against each other. We can find a clearly nonpolitical, bipartisan, evenhanded, sensible solution to any problem the generational changes are going to face this country with, as long as we don't use it as an excuse to divide this country one from another and to be unfair to the seniors in their quest, legitimately, to have a good life. You know it, and I know it.

I want to just say two things in closing. While I think we have obligations to you, I am impressed by how many of you still think that you've got plenty of energy to exercise obligations to other people, and I thank you for that. I thank you for that. I thank you for becoming foster grandparents or working with troubled young people or becoming mentors and tutors. Those kids need people like you, and we need more kids with more seniors helping them one on one.

I thank those who have joined our National Senior Service Corps. I thank those who work with other seniors who aren't as well off as they are either financially or physically. I thank you for your wisdom and your vigor. And I ask you to bring that wisdom and vigor not

just to those who agree with you in the next 4 months, but to others as well.

We have here a very clear choice. And in a way that's a happy thing for America because you don't have to guess this time. You know, in lots of elections—in lots of election there's a certain amount of guesswork. But you know what I will do. First of all, you know that we did what we said we'd do, or we got caught trying to do it. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you. And that the results have been good. Compared to 4 years ago, we're better off than we were on the economy. We're better off than we were when it comes to crime. We've proved that you can protect the environment and grow the economy. We have worked with the States to move people from welfare to work. And while others in Washington talked about it, we now have 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than we did the day I became President.

We've proved that you can shrink the size of the Federal Government without being cruel to the Federal employees or undermining the quality of Federal service. We have proved, in other words, that we could grow the economy with opportunity and responsibility and a stronger sense of community. That's the first thing.

The second thing is, there's lots more to do. Our country's transformation into the 21st century is far from complete. I proposed the other day that we amend the family and medical leave law to let people have a few hours off a year to go to regular conferences with their kids and make regular doctor's appointments with their parents if they need it, or their children if they need it. That's a good thing to do, a simple thing to do. I proposed making 2 more years of education after high school universal for everyone through a system of tax credits that would let everybody go to their nearest community college. And there are lots of other things that we have to do.

And the third point I want to make is, on the you-don't-have-to-guess point is, you know where I stand, and you know where they stand. And if the American people want the budget that they passed in 1995 that I vetoed, they can get it. They can get it. But you need to talk to your friends and neighbors about this. Six months into 1997, if they had the White House and the Congress, that budget would be the law of the land. If you think it's a bad idea that we're putting 100,000 police on the street, and you want to remove that commitment and just throw money at the problem, you can get that. They did that once, but I stopped them.

If you think that I was wrong to take on this tobacco issue or wrong to require the V-chip in the new television sets so that parents have some control over the things their young children watch, if you think I was wrong about the family leave law and you don't want it extended, you can have someone who agrees with you, who believes—who led the fight—who led the fight against everything I said.

Audience members. No-o-o!

Audience member. We'll stand with you, Bill!

The President. But what I want you to do is not just stand with me, I want you to go home and explain it to everybody else. That's what I want you to do. I want you to explain it to everybody else. [*Applause*] Thank you. Thank you.

Now, let me say one other thing. Let me say one thing. I'm going to do my best in the next 4 months to give this country back to the people, just like I tried to do in 1992. I want this election process to be in the hands of the American people, and I'm going to do everything I can to see that they get a chance to make these decisions based upon what will happen afterward that affects their lives, their children's lives, and the future of this country.

There is no nation in the world as well-positioned for the next century as the United States—no nation. All we have to do is to make sure that we give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, do everything we can to ensure responsibility from all of our citizens, and remind everybody that we are in this together. This is the greatest country in the world today because, in wave after wave after wave after wave over 200 years, we have steadily built a bigger group of American success stories. I believe we're in this together. That is the choice the American people face.

And if you go out there and remind people of the example and the story of your own lives, you can look into the future for people who are younger than you are. You can help them to take their blinders off; you can help to make sure that they're not distracted. And you can ask them to stand up to the finest and best in this country. And that will ensure a good

result, not just in November but far more important for our children and our grandchildren.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in the Regency Ballroom at the West Tower of the Chicago Hyatt Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Steve Protulis, executive director, and Tom Buffenbarger, board member, National Council of Senior Citizens; Lois Wellington, president, Congress of California Seniors; George Becker, president, United Steelworkers of America; Jay Mazur, president, Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; Douglas Fraser, former president, United Auto Workers; Justin Dart, former Chair, President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities; and Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Message on the Observance of Independence Day, 1996

July 2, 1996

I am pleased to join my fellow Americans across the nation and around the world in celebrating Independence Day.

On this day each year, we gather with family and friends to commemorate the anniversary of the signing of our Declaration of Independence. With vision and courage, our Founders stated unequivocally to the world: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." These were literally revolutionary concepts, and they fundamentally changed the course of human history.

Today we are living through another period of profound and historic change—change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another and to the rest of the world. But the truths set down in our Declaration of Independence are immutable, and they continue to light our path into the challenges and possibilities of the future. Equality, individual rights, life, freedom, opportunity—we still cherish these values, and we must continue to reaffirm them daily.

America is a work in progress, and we have strived through decades of challenge and change to become what our Founders envisioned on our first Independence Day. As we continue that endeavor, let us work together to create an America that remains the world's strongest force for peace, justice, and freedom. Let us work for an America that is not driven apart by differences but instead is united around shared values and respect for our diversity. Let us work for an America in which every one of us, without regard to race or religious belief or gender or station in life, can achieve our dreams. In this way we will best pay tribute to those who, 220 years ago, pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to guarantee our freedom.

Best wishes for a memorable Fourth of July.

BILL CLINTON

Remarks at a Reception for Representative Dick Durbin in Chicago

July 2, 1996

The President. Thank you very much.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Well, if we get them, they'll be a lot better if Dick Durbin is in the Senate, I'll tell you that.

First of all, I'm delighted to be here with Senator Simon and Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, my good friend Bill Singer, and all of you who have contributed to this terrific fundraiser. I want to say how very much I admire Dick and Loretta Durbin—they live their family

values, they don't just give political speeches about them at election time—and how happy I am to be here at this event.

When Dick was talking about being a Lithuanian, I was just thinking that the Chicago person in my household would like to be here tonight. But when we were in France for the G–7 meeting, and I left Hillary, and she went on to Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Estonia, and two or three other places. And she called me yesterday, and she told me about her day in Romania. And she said, "You realize all the places I'm going, all the people I'm going to see?" And she reeled them all off. And I said, "Look, I can make one trip to Chicago and see people from all those places."

So Dick reminded me of my wisecrack, and I thought I'd give it to you. [*Laughter*] It's really true about Chicago, and it's one of the things that makes it so wonderful. The mayor and Bill Daley took me down to the Taste of Chicago today, and I walked the streets, and I ate like a horse. [*Laughter*] But I was an equal opportunity eater. Every ethnic group got a fair and equal shot at me. And I'll have to run an extra 5 miles in the morning, but it was wonderful.

Let me say on a more serious note how much I appreciate the support I felt from all the American people when I went to Europe to try to get our allies to support the United States in our fight against terrorism in the aftermath of what happened in Saudi Arabia to our Air Force personnel. But I also want to compliment the Federal officials and those who worked with them for the arrests that were made in the terrorist incidents that were headed off in Arizona, which you doubtless read about in the press this morning.

And this is not the first time we've been successful in doing that. It's something we work hard at. And I say it to make this point: At the end of the cold war, when the world is not divided into Communist and non-Communist blocs, and when we can worry less—we haven't done away with the worry, but we can worry less—about the imminence of a nuclear war, we see this welling up of ancient hatreds based on race and ethnic group and religion. And we see the fact that we're more open to each other in terms of our ability to travel and our ability to send money and ideas and technology around the world in a split second, it makes us more vulnerable to the organized forces of destruction and especially to terrorists.

But what I want you to know is that if we work together and we're smart, we can't guarantee 100 percent security, but we can prevent a lot of these instances. In the Middle East, in Israel, for all the terrible terrorist incidents we see, I want you to know they stop a lot more incidents than ever occur. And we can do the same. We can do the same, but we've got to keep in mind the terrible sacrifice of innocent victims, and including those whose lives I honored in Florida on Sunday. And we've got to continue to work together. And I felt the support of the American people in that.

The other thing I want to say is that I know that you all support our common endeavors to try to do what we can to end this terrible rash of church burnings of black churches and other houses of worship around this country. That's been an especially painful thing for me because I feel so strongly about the first amendment, freedom of religion. I think it's one of the most distinctive things about the United States, that we have the freedom to believe whatever we want or even not to believe. And it's one of the reasons I think that we are, by all accounts, the most religious country in the world. And it gives character and depth to our Nation.

I don't think there's any big conspiracy, but I do believe it's evidence of this kind of dark impulse that you see welling up all over the world. There are a lot of people who are disappointed in their own lives and have problems, and we've now seen that some of these people that have been arrested, some that have admitted doing this, they've talked about their own lives, and it's obvious that they had a lot of problems. They were people, if they hadn't burned churches, would have evoked our sympathies because of the difficulties they were having in their lives.

And when people have frustrations, they can do one of two things: they can take responsibility for it and try to get help, or they can look for somebody else to blame and someone else to look down on. "No matter what kind of shape I'm in, there's always somebody else I can look down on. I think I'll go burn a church." And that is not only un-American, it is profoundly wrong and destructive. But we have to change the atmosphere in this country about that.

So the day before I came here, I declared this month National Month of Unity and asked

every American citizen to do something, either in their places of worship or where they work or in some other way, to reach out to people who are different from them and express our unity as a people around the shared values embodied in the Constitution of the United States of America.

And apropos of what Dick said earlier, we also took a little of the money that the Justice Department has for police officers and dedicated it to the 12 States that have suffered the most from the church burnings. And we said to every county, we will give you more police officers, or you can use the money to light up these churches at night or work people overtime or do whatever is necessary. But we want to do more to prevent these burnings, not just to catch the people who do it. And we have to do that.

Now, what's all this got to do with Dick Durbin's election? Everything. Everything. When I ran for President in 1991 and '92, it was, most people thought, a totally bizarre, almost—an unfulfillable adventure. The President at that time was at way over 70 percent in the polls. My mother was the only person that thought I was going to win. [*Laughter*] That's not true. Hillary always thought I would win. [*Laughter*] She did.

But apart from that, the pickings were pretty slim. And I did it without regard to whether we could win or not because I was very troubled that our country seemed to be sort of drifting into the 21st century. We had an exploding deficit. We had very weak job growth, the weakest since the Depression. We had a high unemployment rate. And we seemed to be drifting apart instead of coming together.

Just look around this room tonight. Look at the diversity in this room. And we've got to prove that the rest of the world is wrong when they fall out over race, religion, and ethnicity. We've got to prove that we can be better and bigger than that, not because we're intrinsically better human beings but because we've got a system and a history and a set of values in our Constitution that tells us how we ought to behave and that we know from experience really works in the world of today and will work in the world of tomorrow.

And I felt very strongly that unless we had a common shared national commitment to keeping the American dream alive for everybody without regard to their race or their gender or where they started out in life, to bringing this country together instead of letting it drift apart, and in maintaining the leadership of the United States for peace and freedom and prosperity, unless we all said that's what we're trying to do as we move into the 21st century, we'd just keep on drifting and lose a lot of the greatness of America and the extraordinary opportunity that the end of the cold war and growth of the global economy and the information age presents us.

And so I set out on this odyssey. And I guess the first big hurdle was cleared on Saint Patrick's Day in 1992, when we carried the Democratic primaries in Illinois and Michigan and it became obvious that unless a wheel ran off I'd be nominated. And so I thank you all for that.

When the American people gave me the chance to serve and I got to work with people like Paul Simon and Carol Moseley-Braun and Dick Durbin, we had a simple strategy. I thought we ought to put the power of the Government in Washington to work to create opportunity—not guarantees but opportunity—for every American to live out their own dreams, that we ought to insist on responsibility in return for that opportunity, and that we ought to consciously work to bring the American people together and push this country forward.

Now, I just talked to you about a couple of examples of bringing the American people together around our basic values. But that's what Dick Durbin's done. And the difference in the way we view the world and the way our opponents in the political arena view the world is daylight and dark. It's not just a little difference, it's a big difference.

When Dick Durbin fought against the Republican cuts in the environmental community right-to-know laws, to me that said everything. I mean, it seems to me that if you want to build a sense of community and you want to build a future for our children, you have to believe that you have to find a way to grow the economy and preserve the environment, and you have to believe that you can trust citizens to know what's in the chemicals that are in their own backyards and neighborhoods. But they wanted to weaken those laws, and Dick Durbin said no.

He mentioned the tobacco issue. I now know why no other President has ever fooled with this—[*laughter*]—it's what we used to call a

character-builder back home when I was growing up. [*Laughter*] But you know, the truth is that it's illegal in every State in America for children to smoke. But every day 3,000 of them start, and 1,000 of those 3,000 will die earlier than they otherwise would because of it. We worry about health care costs, the cost of Medicare, the cost of Medicaid, whether there have to be draconian cuts in these programs to save them. The truth is, if we could solve that one problem, we'd save more in health care costs than all these things we're talking about in Washington which would be destructive to the fundamental integrity of Medicare and Medicaid. It's an important issue.

But nobody really wants to deal with it, so they try to act like, well, this is a matter of personal liberty and the Government shouldn't be fooling with this, and all that. But it just depends on what your philosophy is. And Dick Durbin and Al Gore, who lost his only sister to lung cancer, and I believe that the law ought to be enforced, and we ought to take strong steps to stop the advertising, marketing, sales, and distribution of cigarettes to minors. And I think it's a very important issue.

But the folks on the other side, they really don't believe that. I mean, it's not like they're—you know, they really don't believe that. I know that Senator Dole said the other day he wasn't sure cigarettes were addictive—[*laughter*]—this morning said that he admired Dr. Koop, who was President Reagan's Surgeon General and as far as I know is a Republican but has always been very forthright about the dangers of tobacco to children. But he said that Dr. Koop might have had his views colored by excessive exposure to the liberal media that might have brainwashed him. Well, I think Dr. Koop's problem is that he has had excessive exposure of 50 years of medical practice and reading medical journals and having evidence and facts, and he is not clouded by the political pressure that can be put on by the interest groups on the other side. So he stood up to the heat about this.

Well, anyway, that's why I'm for Dick Durbin. I'm glad—that's a good reason to be for him. He was out there carrying on this battle all along, and he did a good job, and he'll do a better job if you ratify the positions we have taken in this coming election.

And I just want to make three arguments to you very quickly that I hope—I realize that, as we used to say down home, I might be preaching to the saved tonight. [*Laughter*] But I want you to go out and preach this for the next 4 months, because I need your help. Every one of you, if you can afford to be at this fundraiser tonight, you have the capacity to influence somebody else by talking, by talking and speaking. You can do it.

And if somebody says, "Well, why should I be for the President, or why should I be for Dick Durbin?" I want you to give them three arguments. Number one, these guys had a plan—a plan for the economy, a plan for crime, a plan for education, a plan for the environment, and a plan for family and community. And the results were good, and the other guys opposed them.

Look at the economic plan. When I introduced my economic strategy, I said, here's what we're going to do. We're going to reduce the deficit and get interest rates down. We're going to expand trade dramatically. Thank you, Bill Daley, for your help in that. But we're going to do it on fair as well as free trade terms. We're going to invest more in the education of our people, from pre-school all the way up to adults needing retraining. And we're going to keep investing in the environment and in technology and research, so that we can grow the economy. That was our strategy.

Here's what they said. Speaker Gingrich: "This will lead to a recession next year." Mr. Armey: "Clearly"—talking about our economic plan—"clearly this is a job killer." Mr. Dole: "Don't kid anybody; nobody is going to cut spending around here." [*Laughter*] Mr. Gramm: "We're buying a one-way ticket to a recession." The House Budget Committee chairman, Mr. Kasich: "This plan will not work. If it was to work, then I'd become a Democrat." [*Laughter*] Well, Mr. Chairman, we're saving a seat for you at the United Center. [*Laughter*] They were wrong.

Three and a half years later, we said, if you adopt this economic plan, we'll cut the deficit in half and have 8 million new jobs. It turned out we were wrong, too. The deficit got cut by more than half, and there are 9.7 million new jobs after 3½ years. They were wrong.

Dick Durbin mentioned the crime bill. You ask Senator Simon or Senator Moseley-Braun what it was like in the United States Senate when we were trying to get the crime bill. Well, they said it was the awfullest thing we ever saw. "We don't need 100,000 police. We didn't

need the Brady bill. We didn't need the assault weapons ban. We certainly shouldn't give the police any money or local community groups any money to prevent crime by giving kids someplace to go after school or jobs to do in the summertime." That was all wasted money, even though the police agencies were begging for the money for children to have something to say yes to. That's what they said.

But look at the results. One year alone, murder rate down in Chicago 11 percent, down in Springfield 35 percent, down in every major urban area in America. The crime rate is about to go down for the 4th year in a row. We are ahead of schedule and under budget in putting 100,000 police on the street.

They told everybody when they won the Congress back in 1994—one of the reasons they won it is they told all these people in rural areas that the Democrats were trying to take their guns away. Well, now we've had two deer seasons since they said that—[*laughter*]—two duck seasons. And every single hunter in America is still shooting with the same rifle if they wanted to. But I'll tell you something—but there are 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers who could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. They were wrong, and we were right.

Our plan said we're going to make college loans easier to get, less bureaucracy, lower cost, better repayment terms. We're going to put more kids in Head Start. They all voted against it. We said we're going to have national service and give people a chance to work in their local communities to help pay their way through college. Their leadership led the fight against that. Some brave Republicans broke away on that, but their leadership was against that.

We said, we're going to give tax cuts to the people that really need it. We're going to give a tax cut to the people on the bottom end of the wage scale that have children at the house and that are working 40 hours a week. Because if you work full time, you've got kids in your house, you shouldn't be taxed into poverty. The tax system ought to lift you out of poverty. That's what we did. Every one of them opposed it, but we did it. For the first time in years we had a reduction in the number of poor children. But we had to do it alone.

You heard Dick talking about family leave. Their leadership opposed it. You heard him talking about tobacco. Let me tell you about another big family issue. We fought hard in the telecommunications bill for the V-chip, which is not censorship. It just says if you're a parent and you've got little kids there and you've got 100 channels on the television, you ought to have the right to decide what they see before they're at least 11 or 12. And I think it was the right thing to do. And they opposed that.

They talked about welfare. We just went out and worked with the States and gave them permission to try to find ways to move people from welfare to work that were tough on work but not tough on children, didn't take cheap shots at kids or hurt them because they happen to be born to immigrant parents. But you know what? Three and a half years later, there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I became President. That's something we did.

So, argument number one: We had a plan; they opposed it. Look at the results: We were right; they were wrong. And I want you to tell people that.

Argument number two: Every election should be about the future. And there's more we have to do. I want to build on the family leave law. I think people should have a little time off if they have to go to a parent-teacher conference or if they have to take their parents or their children to regular medical appointments.

I believe that we ought to raise the minimum wage and not let it fall to a 40-year low. I believe we ought to pass that Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or somebody in your family is sick.

I believe we ought to change the tax law so that every American can be guaranteed 2 years of education beyond high school at the nearest community college. Every American should have it, every single one. I believe there ought to be a million young people in work-study given the chance that Dick Durbin and I had to work our way through college. That's what I think we ought to do.

This is about the future—how are we going to create more opportunity, bring the country together and go forward growing together—ideas about the future, not how we can divide the electorate up in some little segments here and segments there to wind up with more than a majority by terrorizing or terrifying half the people.

And the third thing is, I want you to say to people, this is a great election for the Amer-

ican people because there's almost no guesswork in it. [*Laughter*] Now, you think about it. You know, I mean, normally, in every election, especially in the Presidential race—I mean, you all took a chance on me in '92. I hope you think it worked out okay. But you did. But you did. But there's no guesswork. You know what I'm going to do. You know that. You know based on the last 3½ years that what I tell you I'm going to do, I'm either going to do it or get caught trying to do it. [*Laughter*] And also you know what Senator Dole and the Republicans are going to do, because they have already done it. I just vetoed it the first time. So you know what they're going to do.

So if the American people believe the country, the Presidency, and the Congress should be in the hands of the people who fought the family leave law, who fought the V-chip, who fought the tobacco initiative, who fought the economic plan, who fought the 100,000 police, who fought the Brady bill, who fought the assault weapons ban, who sought to gut the environmental protection of the country and weaken workplace protection and make it easier for people to raid the pension plans of their employees, they can do that. And they know. And there is no guesswork. [*Laughter*]

Now, you're laughing because you never thought about it that way, have you? But if you like that budget I vetoed in '95, you can have it. And you can get it within 6 months, the first 6 months of 1997. All you have to do is give them the White House and the Congress, and they will give it to you.

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. But if you don't like that, then you better make up your mind that as citizens one of your responsibilities for the next 4 months and 1 week and a few days is to go out and tell everybody you talk to that there are three reasons you ought to be for Dick Durbin and Bill Clinton. We had a plan; it got good results. We got a better set of ideas for the future. And you've got a clear choice.

And let's go back to what we started talking about at the beginning, to close. This is a great adventurous time for America. We have in the space of a few years dramatically changed the way we work and the way we live and the way we relate to the rest of the world. On balance, we're much better off for these changes, although there is a lot of upheaval and a lot of our folks are still having a tough time.

And we are now going to, in the next 4 years, walk across a bridge right into the next century. This election is not like 1992 when the issue was change against status quo. Now you have two very different views of change. But there is no status quo option. And the American people have to decide now, am I going to get on that bridge and walk into the next century, or am I going to get on that bridge and walk into the next century.

They honestly believe, the other side does, that the things we do together through our Government are a legacy of the industrial age of America and basically, except for national defense, by and large not worth doing; that we'd all be better off if we were on our own and unburdened by terrible things like the environment protection law and the family leave law and all those intrusions into our lives; that any tax cut is better than any spending program, even if it's a college loan program or putting tens of thousands more poor children into Head Start. But I can tell you, they believe in it. It's sincere. It's not just contributions and all that stuff you hear that try to make people give. These are two honestly different visions of the future.

I believe that there has never been a great country that grew greater by shrinking opportunity. I believe that the only way we can continue to grow greater and deal with the challenges of the modern world and turn this extraordinary diversity of America into our most precious asset is if we decide we're going to give everybody opportunity, insist on responsibility as part of the bargain, and then find ways to grow together, to respect our diversity, to tolerate our honest differences, to celebrate the rainbow of America. That's what I believe.

But you have to decide what you believe and whether it's worth fighting for. And I recommend a simple test. Ask yourself what you want this country to look like 20 years from now or 30 years from now, when your children or your grandchildren are your age. Ask yourself what kind of legacy you want to leave to them and whether you really think we'd be better off if we told folks, "You're on your own. Have a good time at the tender mercies of the global economy out there in cyberspace somewhere." Or wouldn't we be better by saying, if you look at the 220-year history of this country, it is the long, sometimes painful, sometimes agonizingly slow journey of a people to come closer and

closer and closer to their ideals of equality of opportunity and decency and justice and fairness, and giving everybody a chance to live out their dreams.

Now, that's what this election is about. You have to help your fellow Americans decide which road we're going to walk into the future. And if they understand the choice, I think we know what the answer will be.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. at the Sheraton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to William S. Singer, chair of the reception, and William M. Daley, cochair, Chicago '96, host committee for the 1996 Democratic Convention.

Remarks at the Chicago '96 Dinner
July 2, 1996

Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, before I say anything I want to, by way of introduction and being true to my past—back when I had a life and I did other things—I want to say that I enjoyed the music that this fine orchestra has given us tonight, and I think we ought to give them a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you.

It is wonderful to be back in Chicago tonight. I want to thank all of those who have spoken before and those whom they represent, and all of you for your contribution to help make our convention a success.

I thank Leslie Fox and I want to thank Dick Notebaert, who has done many, many commendable things for our country as CEO for Ameritech, but helping to make sure we have a good convention in Chicago is one that I will especially long remember.

I want to thank my good friend Bill Daley for his fine work. He's always there when you need him. He even came to the White House when I needed him to help me pass NAFTA, and this country is in a lot better shape because of it. And I thank you.

I want to thank the mayor, who, along with many other gifted public officials in this area, including my friend and fellow Arkansan John Stroger—thank you, sir. I think the mayor has made a special point of trying to do what works and trying to make Chicago into a big family. He and Mrs. Daley come from big families, so they can set a good example for the rest of us. But I also believe they've tried to make Chicago into a family.

When I first met Hillary, a long time ago now, and she began to talk to me about Chicago, and then I got to know her family and I began to spend a lot of time here, I realized that this was truly a unique city, in some ways perhaps our most American city. I was at an event for Congressman Durbin a few moments ago, and he was talking about his mother being a Lithuanian immigrant. And I said to the group there that when I talked to Hillary last night—we were in France together for the annual meeting of the seven largest industrial nations and Russia, and afterward she stayed on to visit, I think, seven or eight countries in Central and Eastern Europe. She just finished the day in Romania. And so she was bragging on her day in Romania. She said, "Well, I've been in Romania. I'm going to the Czech Republic. I'm going to Hungary. I'm going to Poland. I'm going to Estonia." And she said she was going to a couple other places. And I said, "Well, I'm going to Chicago, and I'll see people from all those places with just one stop." And I said, "You could have stayed home and done all that with a lot less effort, you know." [*Laughter*] I'm very proud of her, and I'm glad she is doing this for our country. But it makes the point about Chicago.

I'd like to thank Debra DeLee, our convention coordinator, and all of the people here who have worked here on our behalf and on the Democratic Party's behalf. You all know that I'm also indebted to Chicago for a lot of things. My campaign in 1992 got off to a real jump-start here. When I spoke to the leaders of the various State Democratic parties in 1991 here at this very Navy Pier, I announced that David Wilhelm would be my campaign manager, and

I know he and Deegee are here somewhere tonight, and I want to thank them.

I have been blessed by a lot of people from Chicago who have helped me immensely: Avis LaVelle and Amy Zisook who are here tonight, and a lot of others of you who have been with me, and I thank you for that.

So this is a special place. It was on Saint Patrick's Day in 1992 that I was essentially declared the nominee of the Democratic Party because of our victories in Illinois and Michigan. And I have a picture in my private office in the White House of Hillary and me, in green, under the confetti in Chicago on Saint Patrick's Day in 1992. I will always remember that.

You know, I think that this great city has hosted more conventions than any city in American history. It has also hosted more Presidents. According to the notes I have here, it says they include Presidents Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Harding, FDR, and Eisenhower. I hope that if your luck holds, I'll make the Democratic line on that list a little longer than it was.

Throughout the history of this great city, from its days as a railroad center to its days as an industrial powerhouse and an ethnic melting pot to its offering a haven of opportunity to African-Americans from the South, including so many from my home State, to the efforts it has made to transform itself as the economic realities of our country has forced those changes, Chicago has time and again come back, always stronger, always better, always proving that it is the city that works.

Mr. Mayor, you and your late father and your mother and all your friends and your colleagues in this city, from all different walks of life and all different racial and economic backgrounds, deserve a lot of credit. You are proving that the cities of this country have a great future in making America what it should be, and I thank you for that.

I also want to thank you all, without regard to your political party, for opening your hearts and minds and your pocketbooks to make this convention a success. This country works best when it has two competing visions, two competing approaches, an honest and open debate, and people who are empowered by that debate to make decisions about what they want for themselves and their families and their future. You have given us a chance to show the Democratic Party at its best. And I think that is important.

For the last 3½ years I have tried to break out of this debate that dominated our political life for too long, because it seemed to have no relationship to reality: one side saying Government is the problem, another side saying Government is the solution. I think the solution is to do what works. That's what Chicago does: what works to give people opportunity, what works to reinforce responsible behavior, and what works to bring us together as a community. And if we do that we will be rewarded.

We are going to have the opportunity as a people to actually decide which road we want to walk into the 21st century, and I think that is very exciting. And I hope that the American people will get caught up in the spirit of that in this election year and not be diverted by the politics of division and destruction that too often dominate the easy moments in the headlines.

For there are fundamental questions we have to come to grips with. What's the best way to guarantee opportunity for every American willing to work for it? If we have come to the end of the industrial era and we are living in a world dominated by information and technology, if the cold war is being replaced not just by a global economy but a global society, how are we going to guarantee that everybody has a chance to live out their dreams? Not to guarantee a result, but a chance. If the world is being dominated on every continent, it seems, by new security problems from terrorism to organized crime, abusing the openness of a global society, how are we going to keep this most diverse of all of the world's democracies from being consumed by the kind of ethnic and religious and racial conflicts that are literally destroying countries and peoples all over the world? In other words, how are we going to bring out our best and beat back the darker impulses that are latent in every society?

I believe with all my heart that the best days of this country are still ahead of us. And when I imagine what I want America to look like when my daughter is my age and, hopefully, I've got a whole nest of grandkids to worry about, when I've long since forgotten about politics, I want it to be the most peaceful period in world history. I want it to be a period where people compete with one another in economics, education, and athletics, and not in military contests.

I want it to be a period when we are making unprecedented efforts to solve the remaining mysteries of biochemistry so that we can unlock the terrible problems that still plague us, that take too many people away from this life before their time. I want it to be a period where people in this country without regard to their racial or religious background or their gender or wherever they start out in life actually have a chance, if they work hard and behave in responsible fashion, to dream their own dreams and live them out. And I believe there is a very good chance that we can achieve that.

I want it to be a place where we have at least learned to work with our friends and neighbors to limit terrorism and limit organized crime and limit the spread of weapons of mass destruction from abroad. And in this country we have worked to bring safety and sanity back to our streets and neighborhoods.

And Mr. Mayor, I just want to say, you mentioned the crime bill. One of the things that I believe is critical to the success of our democracy is making families believe that they can actually bring children into this world and raise them in their neighborhoods and send them to school every day with a reasonable expectation of safety. It is not true that the crime problem is insoluble. We can make it better. We are making it better. And if we keep working on it we will return to the days when we are actually surprised when we see the evening news lead with the report of a serious crime. That's when we'll know we have won. But we can do that, and that is an important part of the 21st century we should all be trying to build as well.

When my daughter is my age, I want us to have unraveled the great mystery that we must unravel if we're going to continue to grow and see all these developing countries, particularly the populous ones like China and India, grow, which is how can we grow the economy and enhance the environment instead of destroying it. We don't want global warming. We don't want more greenhouse gases. But we do want more growth, and we want our neighbors around the world to have more growth so they can buy more of our products. We have to make a commitment as an American people together to the cause of environmental enhancement and economic growth. And no one has solved it entirely yet. I want America to lead that fight. And we'll be in a position to do it.

These are the things I think about when I imagine what I want our country to look like. And my goal is to have a convention here in Chicago that will enable the American people to know the vision we started with; what we, as a party, have achieved; what we stand for and what we believe the honest, important differences are between ourselves and the Republicans. And then I want us to go out of Chicago and give this election back to the American people, on the big, sweeping issues that will help all of us to answer the question, what do we want our country to look like 20 years from now?

If Chicago can give that gift to America it will be in part because I will be looking to Chicago to illustrate what happens when you have an effective crime bill, what happens when you have effective strategies to open educational opportunities to people, what happens when you have effective strategies to try to give private sector investors an incentive to invest in neighborhoods that have been long since forgotten. In other words, how do you make America work?

You are a shining example of that. I believe all America will be very proud of you when this is over. And I believe if we can prove that Chicago is working and that there is a partnership involved in that, as the mayor said, then we have a much better chance of having too much when America debates the big important issues and people are really free to ask and answer that question: What do I want my country to be like for my children and my grandchildren? What do I believe America should stand for 20 or 30 or 40 years from now? That is the question we will decide in this election, whether we do it consciously or unconsciously. Chicago will help us to do it with a clear head and a strong heart. And for that, I thank you very much.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Navy Pier. In his remarks, he referred to Leslie Fox, executive director, Chicago '96, host committee for the 1996 Democratic Convention; Richard C. Notebaert, cochair, Chicago '96; Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago and his wife, Margaret; John Stroger, president, Cook County Board of Commissioners; Avis LaVelle, former press secretary to Mayor Daley; and Democratic fundraiser Amy Zisook.

Remarks to the National Education Association
July 3, 1996

Well, thank you for that wonderful welcome. And thank you for your good spirit and your enthusiasm. And I want you to keep it all the way to November.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to begin by thanking Keith Geiger for 7 magnificent years of leadership for the teachers of America. He has been a great leader, a true champion for educational reform. And I was more moved than I can say by the kind words he spoke before I came out.

I'm sorry that we're a little late, but I understand that our security precautions delayed your voting. [*Laughter*] I'm sorry for that, but I do want to congratulate Bob Chase and all of you who will be leading the NEA.

I also want to thank our Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, who came over here with me. I believe he is the best Secretary of Education we ever had, and I thank him for that. I also want to thank Dick Riley for having what at the time was a novel idea. He thought he ought to have an actual teacher working with him in the Secretary's office. And she's here today. I want to thank Terry Dozier for leaving the classroom and coming to work with Secretary Riley.

I'd like to thank the NEA for sending Sharon Robinson, our Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement, to our administration. And I also want to thank you for Debra DeLee, who's done a great job managing our convention in Chicago and getting ready for this great new campaign.

Four years ago I had the pleasure of addressing this assembly. And when I looked at the film that you just showed back stage, I saw that address and I said, "Gosh, I had a lot less gray hair then." [*Laughter*] Well, I earned that gray hair. [*Laughter*] But if it advanced the cause of education and ensured a better future for the children of our country, every gray hair was worth it. And I thank you for staying with us in these fights.

As teachers, administrators, custodial workers, the members of the NEA are out there every day working with and for our children. I thank you for that. And today I want to talk to you about where we're going from here.

Four years ago, when you endorsed my candidacy, I told you that I was running because I wanted to see a vision I had of our country in the 21st century fulfilled. I wanted our Nation to go into the next century with the American dream genuinely alive for every American without regard to race or gender or religion or region or the station that he or she starts out in life. I wanted to see our country come together instead of be driven apart by our differences. I was tired of seeing the American people cut up into little pieces at election time for short-term political gain, instead of reveling in our diversity, respecting our differences, and joining hands around shared values. And I wanted to restore the sense of community in America. And I, finally, felt very strongly that our country, at the end of the cold war and the dawn of this new global information age, had to continue to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

I had a simple strategy. I wanted to renew the basic bargain in America of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a commitment to the community of our country, the idea that we can do more together than we can apart.

Well, we've been working on that for 3½ years. I guess it's about time for a report card before we make a decision on contract renewal. I want to talk about three things here: the record, the alternative, and the future.

When I became President, our economy was stagnant. We had the slowest job growth since the Depression. We had a spiraling deficit. I said, please enact this economic plan, to Congress. We'll cut the deficit in half and produce 8 million jobs in 4 years. Well, you know what the Republicans did. They all voted against it and said it would bring on a recession. Well, they were wrong, and we were right. In 3½ years, we now know the deficit will be cut by more than 50 percent in 4 years. And instead of 8 million new jobs, our economy has produced 9.7 million new jobs in 3½ years.

I asked the Congress to pass a crime bill with 100,000 new police officers, a ban on assault weapons, more funds for punishment and prisons, but more funds for prevention, too, to allow children to do something constructive after

school and on the weekends, and to help them pay for summer jobs in communities that couldn't afford it.

The leadership of the other party fought us every step of the way on that and on the Brady bill. They told a lot of people out in the rural areas of our country who love to hunt that their weapons would be in danger if our dangerous proposals passed, and that nothing would be done to lower the crime rate. Well, we had a couple of years to see now. Do you know that we had two deer seasons in my home State and two duck seasons, and every single hunter is still shooting with the same rifle they had before the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban passed? They did not tell them the truth. But there are some people who didn't get guns: 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get guns under the Brady bill. They were wrong, and we were right about that.

In 1996 the crime rate will go down for the 4th year in a row in America because we're putting more police officers on the street, working with communities, helping kids, giving people something to say yes to, preventing crime as well as catching criminals. They were wrong about that, too. We need to keep on going till we put all those police officers on the street.

When it came to welfare reform, I said we ought to move people from welfare to work, but we should be good to the children and tough on the work requirements, not easy on work and tough on the kids. That's the fight I had with the majority in Congress today, and why I vetoed what they call welfare reform. They said we couldn't do it. But we have now given over 60—60— permissions for experiments to over 40 States. Three-quarters of the people in this country on welfare are already under welfare reform experiments. And you know what? Child support enforcement has gone up 40 percent since I have been in office, and there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I took the oath of office.

When it came to families and communities, it seemed to me what we had to do was to make it possible for more people to succeed at home and at work. Most parents are working people today, and most people who work have to work to support their children. We ought to be struggling to make it possible for people to succeed at home and at work. So we cut incomes taxes for 15 million hard-pressed working families, so that no one who works full time and has a child in the home would be in poverty. We passed the family and medical leave law so people could get a little time off when a baby was born or a family member was sick.

And guess what? Poverty began to go down for the first time in many years. And for the first time in a decade average wages are going up. So I believe we're moving this country in the right direction.

Perhaps most important, as the film and as your speakers have said, thanks to the Congress that was in place in 1993 and 1994, we expanded Head Start dramatically, passed the Goals 2000 program, reformed chapter 1, passed the school-to-work program, expanded Pell grants, passed the direct college loan program which cut the cost and improved the repayment terms so that no person should ever fail to go to college because they were worried about the burden of the loans they would owe afterwards. These things have made a real difference. And we passed a national service program that has allowed 45,000 young people to earn some money for college by serving their communities all across the United States.

That's the first element of the contract evaluation. We had a strategy; it was implemented; the results were good.

The second thing I want to say is that when you're fixing to hire somebody, there's always the question of, well, if you don't hire this person, who will you hire? And in this case, the happy choice for America's educators, for America's parents, and for all American citizens is you don't have to guess in this election. There is no guesswork.

You know what both parties will do. You know what both candidates will do. They've already put their program in. It'd be the law today, except I vetoed it. If you want it, you can get it. Give them the White House and the Congress; it will be the law of the land in 6 months.

You think about that. You just think about that. [*Laughter*] If you want, for example, to back away from our commitment to 100,000 police, you want to repeal the assault weapons ban, you want to undermine protection for the environment and safety in the workplace, and make it easier for corporations to raid their employees' pension funds—if those are the things that you want, you can have it. Just give them the Congress and the White House, and they'll

give it to you. They already tried to do it once. We stopped them, and we will stop them again.

If you believe we ought to drastically cut or eliminate all these education reforms, even the Eisenhower Professional Development Program, which you have continued to support in your own way, and I congratulate you on your commitment to that, well, you can get that. Give them the White House and the Congress, and they'll give it to you. They tried once, and we stopped them. If you want, in other words, people who believe it was a mistake to pass the family and medical leave law, a mistake to pass the Brady bill, a mistake to pass the crime bill, a mistake to pass the economic program, you can have it.

But that is the choice. And let's not be muddle-headed about this. We now have the evidence. The American people can simply choose. One position is the one that I embrace and that virtually all the members of our party embrace who are running for the Congress. And that is that the American people should have opportunity, not guarantees but opportunity, to make the most of their own lives if they're willing to be responsible for it. That is the clear understanding that we become a greater country when we work together. The other side says, Government is always the problem, and you're better off if you're on your own. I think that we're right, and they're wrong. But the American people are being given the chance to decide, and you have to help them make that decision.

Finally, there is the third element of the contract decision and maybe the most important, and that is, so what if you did a good job, that's what we hired you for. [*Laughter*] What are you going to do tomorrow and next year and for the next 4 years? And that's very important, because while things are better now than they were 4 years ago, this country still has significant challenges. The crime rate is down, but juvenile crime is up. The economy is up, but not every American who works is up. The country is closer to peace than it was, but as we saw again last week, we still face the problems of terrorism, organized crime, the proliferation of dangerous weapons. And we have to work together with our friends around the world to continue to push for peace and freedom.

So what about the next 4 years? Well, there's plenty to do, folks. In the area of the economy, unless we can get this Congress to act, we've got to raise the minimum wage. We can't let it fall to a 40-year low. It's not right.

Yesterday I was in Chicago, and I had an occasion to go to Grant Park to that great Taste of Chicago festival they have every year. I hated this; I had to go from food booth to food booth to food booth. [*Laughter*] And it was a burden, but someone had to do it. [*Laughter*] But anyway, I was at one of these booths talking to the folks who work there, and this young woman looked at me and she said, "You know, I really appreciate the fact that you're trying to raise the minimum wage. And I hear these people who are opposed to it say everybody in the minimum wage is some middle class kid living at home with his parents." And she said, "Let me tell you something. I'm a 28-year-old single mother with two children, I work for the minimum wage, and I go to college at night. And it's not true, and I need a raise." And that's the truth. And we need to do it.

We need to pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill so that people don't lose their health insurance when they change jobs or someone in their family has been sick. We need to pass a real welfare reform bill that is tough on work but good to kids, that lifts up families and enables people to succeed at home and at work. That's what we want for everybody.

We need to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on our streets, because we're not through. The crime rate is still too high, and it will be too high until you go home at night, turn on the television, and you're genuinely surprised if the lead story on your evening news is the latest terrible crime. I want you to be surprised about it again, and we can bring that kind of safety back to America if we work at it.

We need to pass "family leave II" and give working people the opportunity to have more flexible work hours and let people take a little time off not just when a baby's born or when there's a family emergency but also to take their parents or their kids to regular doctor's appointment and to go to parent-teacher conferences at the school.

And in education we have a lot to do together. I am committed to see every classroom and library in every school in this country hooked up to the Internet by the year 2000, and we're going to keep doing it.

I want to thank our teachers who are working—100,000 of them—with the support of the NEA and other groups, to teach another 500,000

teachers in what they call the 21st Century Teachers Effort, to be the kind of teachers who can make maximum use of the new technology going into the classrooms. We need to do that.

We need to make college education even more available. That's why I proposed a $10,000 tax deduction per year for the cost of college tuition. That's the right kind of tax cut, and it would help a lot of teachers who are parents.

But I think we should do even more. I believe if you look at all the evidence, it is clear that it is simply not enough to have a high school education if you want to get a good job with a growing income. And I believe the time has come to make 2 years of education after high school just as universal as a high school education is.

I believe the way to do that is to give the American people a tax credit, every single person a tax credit of $1,500 a year for the cost of going to your local community college and make it refundable so that everybody can afford to go. Give it to everybody the first year; give it to everybody that keeps a B average the second year; let everybody at least have access to a diploma from a community college, and we will raise incomes in this country and bring this country together. It is the right thing to do. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I believe that we should do even more for people who are in the work force. I proposed, with the help of the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Education, that we take 70 big Federal job training programs and consolidate them and put them into a block of money and give people who are unemployed or underemployed a certificate that basically says, you can take this to your local community college or to any training facility you want for up to 2 years. If you lose your job, you can immediately begin to get retraining at the place of your choice in your community that will help you the most to start your life again.

I also think we need to do more to help you in your work. I think we should. I want you to understand that if the budget process this year works out like it did last year—I hope it won't; I'm working hard with the Congress—but I am not going to tolerate an assault on the fundamental structure of educational opportunity and educational excellence in this country. It is wrong. It is wrong.

We have to do more to help you to make schools safe and going to and from school safe. We have worked hard, but still no teacher should ever fear when he or she is in the classroom or going to and from school. No student should be so afraid that they cannot learn. And we work very hard to preserve funding for the safe and drug-free schools program, to enforce our zero tolerance for guns in the schools policy. And we will continue to work to help schools deal with the problems that they face every day, that teachers face every day, and to try to find opportunities to bring people together.

Last year I had the opportunity to work with the Secretary of Education and the Justice Department on a set of guidelines to schools to deal with the complex questions that often arise when children seek to practice or at least express their religious convictions. We didn't want to turn our schools into religion-free zones, and we didn't want to violate the first amendment. Because of the work that Secretary Riley and the Attorney General did, we have heard from schools all over America saying, this is not an issue anymore; we have resolved this; we thank you very much. And I hope it has helped you in your school.

We said to people in California and around the country who wanted to try experimenting with school uniforms, "Well, they did it in Long Beach, and you can do it, too, if you want to do it." And I went to Long Beach, California, and I heard young people tell me amazing stories about this. A young man stood up and said, "We picked our uniforms in our school. We picked green and white because the gang colors are red and blue. And for the first time, all our kids can now walk to and from school, and they're not scared anymore." He said, "It's the first time in 2 years I can walk to school without having to look over my shoulder."

I had another young woman say that even the wealthiest kids in the school district were better off after they adopted their policy because now, people judged themselves based on what was on the inside instead of what was on the outside. I thought it was pretty perceptive. It may or may not be the right thing to do. But I sure think you ought to have the right to do it.

We have worked hard with other communities to develop community curfews. One of our suburban communities here in the Washington area adopted one just last week. I was in New Orleans talking about the community curfew there. There was a huge drop—a huge drop—in juve-

nile crime in the city of New Orleans after they adopted their curfews. Kids don't need to be out on the street at all hours of the night, they need to be home or in a secure place.

And by the way, the thing I really liked about what they did in New Orleans is that they didn't punish people who were on the streets. They took them to a community curfew center, and they started working with them, and they found out what the children needed and what they were facing, so that it would not only have the disciplinary effect of getting kids off the street, it has the positive effect of giving at least them a chance to meet with people who could help them to put their lives in good order and take it in the right direction.

Now, I want to propose today one other thing that I think is quite important, that I have cared a lot about for a long time. One of the most important things we can do to promote learning and to keep our children safe is the most obvious, old-fashioned thing that I dealt with when I was in school myself, back in the dark ages—[*laughter*]—and that is to insist that children be in school and not on the streets.

Truancy is a warning signal that a child is in trouble and is often a gateway to crime. The difference between success and failure in life for our children is whether they're learning on the streets or in the school where they belong. The street is not an acceptable alternative to the classroom.

When I was Governor we actually passed a bill which made it possible for local communities to fine parents if they refused to show up at parent-teacher conferences or permitted their children to be chronically absent. I know the NEA has called for Federal action to crack down on truancy. So I want to tell you about two things that we're doing in response to the call that you issued. First, earlier today I directed the Department of Education to send this manual—I don't know if you can see it; it says, "Manual to Combat Truancy"—to every school district in America. It shows that when parents are held accountable and when communities come together, you can do something about this problem.

In Milwaukee, for example, attendance is taken at every period in all high schools. Police pick up truants and take them to counseling, again, not just negative but positive. Parents are called at home if their child did not attend school. Daytime burglaries: down by one-third.

In Atlantic County, New Jersey—[*applause*]. I'd say that's the highest density of teachers per capita in America based on the cheers there. Listen to this. In Atlantic County, New Jersey, families of truants receive intensive counseling, and the vast majority of the students wind up going back to school.

In New Haven, middle school truants go before a panel of high school students. This is very interesting. In New Haven, middle school students go before a panel of high school students and have to sign responsibility contracts.

So these are good things to do. The Federal Government should not decide what to do; we should help you determine what you're going to do. We should support you when you do it. We should make sure it's legally defensible. And we should encourage every community to do the same thing to put our children back in school.

Yesterday Secretary Riley announced that he would give a total of $10 million to 25 school districts to help them keep their children in school. This is a beginning. But I want you to know because of what you and others in education have said to me all across the country, this will become a national priority, and we will keep at it with you until we turn this issue around. And I thank you for that.

Now, those are the three points I want to make. One, when you helped me and Al Gore and indeed our entire administration family—and by the way, I wish the First Lady were here, but she's in Central Europe today, representing the cause of freedom, and I thank you for that. When you helped us, we said, we have a vision for what we want our country to look like in this extraordinary era of possibility. We have a strategy to achieve that vision. Well, 3½ years later, we did what we said we'd do, or we got caught trying. [*Laughter*] The results have been positive. Second, there's a clear difference here. And third, we've got good ideas for the future, and a lot of work still to do.

Now, what I want you to think about as I leave—we've had a great time today, and I loved all the cheering and the shouting, and it made chills run up and down my spine and kind of got me in the humor for the next 3 or 4 months to do what we have to do. And I thank you for that.

But this is what we used to call back home, preaching to the saved. [*Laughter*] And there's

something to be said for that, but it's not enough. And I want you to take just one moment to be serious before I go. I want you to just ask yourself, now or when you leave, to take a few moments to think about everything you can think about about your country today, all the good and the things that you think are not so good, and then say, "What would I like America to look like when my children or my grandchildren are my age? What do I want America to be like 20, 30, 40, 50 years from now?"

We are going to walk across a bridge into the next century beginning with this election. And it's not like 1992 where you can say credibly, this is change against the status quo. That's not so. There is no status quo option. These are two very different visions of how we should walk into the 21st century and what kind of bridge we should build to go there. And the decisions we make will profoundly affect what America looks like when your children and your grandchildren are your age.

Now, in the end, that matters more than all the petty concerns we might have. It matters more than even the immediate and serious personal concerns we might have. Because in the end, for the same reason you decided to commit your careers to education, our fundamental obligation is to maintain and strengthen this country. And we have never been able to do it except by broadening opportunity and by bringing more and more people together, by breaking down the barriers of bigotry and prejudice and fear and bringing this country together in this vast melting pot of freedom that is the most remarkable experiment in self-government in all of human history. We are being given an historic responsibility now, you and I, to pick which bridge we're going to walk into the 21st century. And that will determine what this country will be like when our children and grandchildren reach our age.

So, what I want to ask you to do is to go beyond the preaching to the saved. I want to ask you to walk out this hall determined, with all your other responsibilities and all your other pressures and all the challenges of the classroom and the schoolhouse, to spend whatever time you can between now and November talking to your family, your friends, people who don't work with you every day, people who don't have the same insight you may have into what goes on here, about these big questions.

Because I believe with all my heart, if the American people are given back this choice, if they get to look at the big things, not the divisive, distractive, destructive, puny elements that too often dominate our politics, the American people will do what they've been doing for over 200 years; they will make the right decision. And your children and your grandchildren will be the richer for it.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:22 p.m. at the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Keith Geiger, outgoing president, and Bob Chase, incoming president, National Education Association; and Terry Dozier, former Teacher of the Year and Special Adviser to the Secretary of Education.

Statement on the Russian Presidential Election
July 3, 1996

As we wait to receive the final results of the Russian elections, and as our Nation prepares to celebrate our own freedom and independence, I want to recognize the historic significance of what we have seen in Russia today.

From Vladivostok to Kaliningrad, tens of millions of Russians returned to the polls to complete the process of selecting their President. The Russian people can take real pride in this extraordinary achievement. After centuries of imperial rule and decades of Communist oppression, they have asserted their right to have a voice in the decisions that affect their lives. This election process shows just how far Russia's political reform has come over the last 5 years.

The American people can take pride as well in our steady support for Russia's democratic reform. As the results are counted, we will shortly learn the choice of the Russian people. But one thing is clear: Today was a triumph for democracy in Russia.

Statement on Signing the Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996
July 3, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3525, the "Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996," which will make it easier to prosecute those who set fire to churches. I applaud the Congress' swift, unanimous, and bipartisan passage of this bill. I have signed it promptly upon its transmittal to me so that the new law can go into effect as soon as possible, but I plan to acknowledge the Congress' role more formally and discuss the importance of this measure at an appropriate occasion next week.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 3, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3525, approved July 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–155.

Memorandum on the Western Power Outage
July 3, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of Energy

Subject: Western Power Outage

Yesterday, there was an unexplained power failure in the Western power grid, disrupting electric service to hundreds of thousands of customers in 15 Western states. The outages had a ripple effect as power stations across the vast grid automatically shut down as the result of experiencing a surge. The outages caused numerous problems throughout the region, including disruptions of train service, traffic problems, loss of air conditioning, interruption of telephone service, and interference with water supplies.

I direct you to provide to me a report within 30 days, that:

1. Analyzes the cause of yesterday's outage;
2. Describes the extent and duration of the outage;
3. Analyzes whether the outage could have been prevented and whether the Western Systems Coordinating Council (WSCC) electric reliability system responded as anticipated to the initial outage;
4. Makes recommendations for any operational or regulatory changes at WSCC; and
5. Assesses the adequacy of existing North American electric reliability systems and makes recommendations for any operational or regulatory changes.

I have directed that these steps be taken to assure the reliability of the Nation's electricity infrastructure. A steady supply of power is a vital factor in both the local and national economies and is essential for the safety of all Americans. The swift implementation of this directive will assure that these interests will be protected.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Remarks on Independence Day at Patuxent River Naval Air Station, Maryland

July 4, 1996

Thank you very much. First of all, Admiral Newsome, thank you for welcoming us, and thank you for the fine work that you and your colleagues do here every day to make our country stronger in so many ways.

Congressman Hoyer, thank you for your leadership, thank you for being with us today on Independence Day and for what you do every day for this district and for our Nation.

I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Craig Koppie, who saved both of our lives out there when the eagle got a little nervous—[*laughter*]—she wanted to be free even more than we wanted to free her, I think—[*laughter*]—and to Jamie Clark and to all those here who work to conserve our Nation's treasures.

We have Federal employees here. We have some State employees here from Maryland who are devoting their careers to preserving our environment, our natural resources, and our precious species. And I'd like to ask all the rest of us on this Independence Day to thank them for what they do for America. [*Applause*] Thank you very, very much.

I want to thank all the people who are here from the Department of the Interior. I see Deputy Secretary Garamendi, and there are many others here from the Interior Department. We've seeded this crowd today.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to Bruce Babbitt. We have fought in many ways to try to make sure that America would enhance the quality of its environment and enhance the diversity and strength of its natural resources as we continue to grow the economy and move into the 21st century. I said when I sought this position in 1992 that I did not believe that we could march into the 21st century and leave our children and grandchildren the legacy they deserved unless we found a way to grow the American economy and preserve the environment, enhance our natural resources. Bruce Babbitt has been the point person in that endeavor. He has certainly endured more personal attacks for standing up for America's environment and for our natural resources than any other member of this administration. He has fought a long and sometimes lonely battle. But in the last year we have seen the American people clearly adopting the position we have fought for all along. They know that America's future depends upon the preservation of our natural resources. And that will be Bruce Babbitt's enduring legacy. I am very grateful to him, and I know all Americans are.

I want to thank the State officials from Maryland who are here, including Maryland State Treasurer Richard Dixon and Senator Mike Miller, the president of the Maryland Senate; and other senators and delegates who are here; and people from Saint Mary's County, the county commissioners who are here. I thank all of them for coming. I thank John Griffin, the secretary of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

And I'd like to ask, since Jamie recognized them, I'd like to ask Mollie Beattie's aunt and uncle to please be recognized: Herb and Michelle Morris. Would you all stand up and be recognized? Thank you so much for being here today. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to say a few words about Independence Day and American eagles, but before I do, I'd like to take just a moment on our Independence Day to celebrate and applaud the freedom and independence exercised yesterday in another part of the world. As people who cherish the right to choose our leaders and have a say in our Nation's destiny, we should take just a moment on our Independence Day and reflect on what happened in Russia yesterday.

When I was a boy growing up, it would have been unthinkable that in just a few decades the Soviet empire would be no more, the Soviet Union would be a collection of independent countries, and the great Russia would be a free country with free elections.

Millions and millions of Russians, well over 60 percent of the eligible voters, returned to the polls yesterday and cast a free and open vote for Russia's democratic future. This is a historic achievement. The Russian people have turned their back on tyranny; they are turning the corner toward freedom. They and their leaders have cleared another important hurdle in building a new and enduring democracy.

While the final results have not yet been announced, it is clear that a majority, a substantial majority of the Russian people, voted for President Yeltsin and for the path of reform. I want to congratulate President Yeltsin on his reelection—has a nice ring to it. [*Laughter*] I want to congratulate the Russian people most of all on this milestone. They have been consistent in being good citizens, turning out in these elections, and showing that they are fully capable of exercising the powers of democracy.

So as we celebrate our freedom and independence, we applaud them for their freedom and independence as well. That bodes very good news for the future of the entire world as we move together into a new century.

I think it is altogether appropriate for us to begin the celebration of our democracy on the Fourth of July with the celebration of the rebirth of our national symbol. After our Nation was founded two centuries and two decades ago, the Founders chose the bald eagle to represent all that America stands for. The American President has always carried that symbol everywhere, as I have here today.

Since Secretary Babbitt mentioned it, and since Benjamin Franklin had such a good sense of humor, I'm sure he would be amused to know that many people identify those of us in public life with turkeys as often as eagles, I think. [*Laughter*]

On our first Independence Day—listen to this—on our first Independence Day, as many as a quarter-million bald eagles soared over what is now the continental United States. Those eagles seemed as enduring as the strength, the unity, the justice, and the freedom upon which our Nation was founded. And so it didn't seem to matter much in the beginning and for a long time that their treetop habitat was destroyed and that they were shot down from the sky.

But Thomas Jefferson warned Americans about our environment. He wrote, "For if one link in nature's chain might be lost, another might be lost, until the whole of things will vanish by piecemeal." The bald eagle, the symbol of Jefferson's words in our Declaration of Independence, became a symbol of his warnings as well. They became the victims of vanishing forests and poisonous pesticides. And 25 years ago there remained only 400 pairs of bald eagles in the lower 48 States. Our noble bird was dying off.

That made our country take a good look at itself. We saw our dirty lakes and streams, and we began to clean them. We saw soot and began to remove it and other dangerous particles from the air. We saw waste sites bordering places where families live and children go to school, and we began the work of removing hazards from our soil. We banned DDT, and both parties came together to pass the Endangered Species Act. Because America made this commitment to work together, we began to make our environment whole. We renewed our compact with nature.

On this Independence Day let me say to all Americans, we must not do anything that would weaken our health and safety and environmental laws. The freedom to breathe clean air, drink safe water, pass a safe world to our children, to share our environment with God's other creatures, these are liberties we dare not take for granted and we dare not turn our back on. Let us rededicate ourselves to our common, nonpartisan American commitment to preserve the environment.

Though human deeds almost erased America's symbol from our skies, human wisdom and good sense brought it back. Now the time of the bald eagle has come again. Now more than 4,500 bald eagle pairs nest in our lower 48 States.

Two years ago Mollie Beattie, who was the first woman to serve as the Director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, released a bald eagle to mark a milestone in its reverse. The bald eagle was being officially reclassified from endangered to threatened. Last week Mollie Beattie passed away much too soon. But she left us an enduring legacy of passion for our Earth and its creatures which she instilled in all who were fortunate enough to know her.

The bald eagle you saw a few minutes ago has been captive while it was nursed back from a fractured shoulder. And you heard Craig say when we released it that the bald eagle was named in honor of Mollie Beattie. And in her honor today I say, let us all, on Independence Day, rededicate ourselves to the preservation of this wonderful land and these wonderful creatures which God has given.

Thank you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:18 a.m. at the Goose Creek Bridge. In his remarks, he referred to Rear Adm. Mary Newsome, Commander,

Naval Air Warfare Center; Craig Koppie, biologist, and Jamie Clark, Assistant Director for Ecological Services, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service; and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia.

Remarks at an Independence Day Celebration in Youngstown, Ohio
July 4, 1996

Thank you. What a beautiful day. I am so glad to see this great crowd here. I want to thank Clare Maluso—excuse me, I'm having a little trouble with my voice, but I hope you can hear me back there. I want to thank Clare Maluso for doing such a fine job with this event. I want to thank Mayor Ungaro and the other members of the city council who are here. I want to thank Congressman Traficant for what he said and for the work he does for you in Washington every day. I want to thank the other officials who are here, the members of the county commission, especially David Engler, who's pled your case to me on so many occasions.

I want to thank this wonderful choir for getting us off to a good start. Weren't they great? [*Applause*] Thank you.

Reverend Powell, you are the best looking 94-year-old woman in the world. I was told before we came out here that her husband was a steelworker so long ago that he started working at 15 cents an hour. So she's seen a lot of things happen in this community. And hearing her optimism and her hope for the future should be encouraging to all of us.

I wish that Hillary were here with me today, but she's representing our country—[*applause*]—thank you. She is representing our country in visiting on our day of freedom a lot of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe that used to be dominated by communism that themselves are now free. And they invited her to come for this week, and I think it's a good thing to be doing.

Somebody joked with me—I don't know if any of you have seen this new movie "Independence Day"—but somebody said I was coming to Youngstown because this is the day the White House got blown away by space aliens. [*Laughter*] I hope it's there when I get back. [*Laughter*] Anyway, I recommend the movie. I got a chance to see it the other night.

The last time I came here—the Congressman referred to it—it was in 1992, and I almost broke up a wedding party. Our bus caravan literally ran into the wedding of Judy and Mario Riccardi. And I was so impressed by them, and I thought she was such a beautiful bride and he was such a lucky fellow, that I invited them to get up on stage at our rally. And they did. And I was just trying to sort of help the marriage get off to a good start. That was 4 years ago, and since then they've had one child, and another one's on the way. So I hope that our campaign made some contribution to it. I understand they're here. Would they stand up. You all stand up. Give them a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you. Bless you.

I also had an opportunity to see a lot of folks from Youngstown last year when you brought your national championship football team down, and I enjoyed that. And they'll be back.

I wish I could stay all day and stay through the evening and see the fireworks display that I know Bruce Zoldan's going to do. But I just want to thank you for giving me a chance to be a small part of your bicentennial.

This is a day where all Americans put aside their business and their political preconceptions and just celebrate the freedom of our country, a day for family and friends, for softball and barbecue and music, a day to remember that even though we sometimes take the blessings of liberty for granted, millions of people around the world would give anything to share them. So I wanted to share with you my feelings about some joyous news a long way around the world.

Yesterday the Russian people went back to the polls in a free and fair election. They had an election; then they had a runoff. And it was the second election. That is, they had once elected a President, and now we were going to see if democracy would take in a country that was so long dominated by Communists, and before that by the czars. With a decisive voice, the Russian people chose democracy.

Yesterday, even in the runoff election, almost two-thirds of them showed up to vote, to say, "We want to control our destiny." They deserve enormous credit for the remarkable progress they have made toward democracy and toward a free economy. And yesterday they said, "We want to keep on moving forward. We choose freedom. We choose democracy. We choose hope. We choose the future."

Over our own 220-year history, we know it's not easy to preserve democracy, to meet its own challenges, to keep pursuing life, liberty, and happiness as our Founders intended us to do. Well, we've all got a stake in what happens in other countries that we used to be so far apart from. And I hope that all of you today, in just a good old-fashioned American gesture, would join me here in the heartland of America in congratulating President Yeltsin and the people of Russia for their commitment to the freedom that we love.

Two centuries ago at another time of great challenge and change, a group of Revolutionary War veterans were given this piece of land in an unchartered wilderness. They were told to go take the land, cut the path to the West and to the American future, take responsibility to seize the opportunities offered by our young democracy. They were pathfinders into a new land, trailblazers for our new Nation. Their work helped to build us into the greatest, strongest, most prosperous nation in the world.

Throughout your history, Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley have been at the heart of this Nation and its life. When our great steel mills and factories built the world's greatest industrial power, Youngstown led the way. When the forces of democracy joined to defeat fascism and then to defeat communism, Youngstown led the way.

Your hard work and your enduring values have been a shining example to all America. Now those same virtues and values will bring this region back and carry America into the 21st century still the world's strongest force for prosperity and peace and freedom, still a place where the American dream is alive for every single American who is willing to work to achieve it.

Two hundred years ago, the people of Youngstown were pioneers. You were then pioneers as you built the world's greatest industrial machine, and now again you are pioneers as you make the great transition into a new economy and a new century.

For many years, as the steel industry was battered by a changing economy, this city was hit hard. But instead of sinking into defeatism, you stepped into the future, manufacturing specialty steel and aluminum and liquid crystals for computer displays. You are becoming a trade and a storage hub for the world. Youngstown is ready to take off, to move into the 21st century more vital and prosperous than ever.

I know you've united in an effort to build a world-class air cargo facility at the Youngstown Warren Regional Airport. We will continue to be a strong partner in that effort. Last April we announced Federal assistance to help Youngstown plan for this facility and to move forward. Now our administration has recommended $47 million in Federal funds to help to develop the airport. And I know with the Congressman's help and work we can work together and get it done.

The challenges you have faced here are really challenges all Americans are facing, and we have to meet them as you are working to meet them, as one community, one America reaching out across the lines that divide us, pressing forward and never looking back.

For decades, Youngstown milled the steel that built the bridges that spanned our great rivers and linked our great cities. Now your values must build the bridges to carry us all into a new century. On this Independence Day let us resolve to keep our families strong and our children healthy.

We are all saddened by the deaths yesterday of eight people from the fireworks in southern Ohio. Let us pray for their families. And let us resolve to pull all the closer to our own families.

Let us resolve to make sure that all of our people have a chance to be winners in this new economy. I am very grateful that in the last 3½ years America has cut its enormous deficit by more than half and generated 9.7 million new jobs. But I know there are still Americans who want to work and who could be good workers who don't have jobs. I'm very grateful that after 10 long years the average wages in our country are beginning to rise again. But I know there are too many people who are working harder and harder without getting those raises. So let us resolve to increase incomes and grow together, not drift apart.

I am grateful that we are entering the 4th year in a row when the crime rate is coming down in America; that we are putting 100,000 police on the street; that we are protecting our people from the real problems that we can protect them from with initiatives like the Brady bill that has kept 60,000 fugitives, felons, and stalkers from buying guns when they should not have been able to do it.

But we must resolve to keep working at this until we take our streets back from crime and gangs and drugs. We can never say we have dealt with the crime problem adequately until you can go home at night and turn on the evening news and be genuinely surprised instead of numbed if the lead story is a crime story. That's when we'll know we have restored America to where it ought to be.

Let us resolve to give our children the world's best education. I am glad for the progress that has been made in that, but I won't be satisfied until we have done more. By the year 2000, every schoolroom and library in this entire country should be connected to the Internet so that every child has access to the virtues of the computer age.

And I want every single person in America who needs it to be able to go on to college. I want the college tuition of every family to be deductible up to $10,000 a year. And I want us to reach the point in America where 2 years of education after high school are just as universal as those first 12 years. We need that guarantee. And that's why I've proposed a tax credit for 2 years of community college for every American of any age to go back and get the education and training they need to make the most their own lives. It is important.

I am grateful for the progress we have made in relieving tensions with Russia and reducing the nuclear threat and helping to make peace in places like Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, and Haiti. But as we mourn the 19 brave young men who gave their lives for our freedom and security in Saudi Arabia, let us resolve to keep working to be a beacon of freedom in the rest of the world and here at home.

We know that terrorism can strike anywhere, whether it's in the World Trade Center or Oklahoma City or Tokyo or London or the Holy Land. And we know it can strike from sources within and without. But we know almost always it is fueled by religious or ethnic or racial hatreds that make people look down on other human beings as less worthy than themselves. That is not the American way. And let us resolve to continue to fight it.

This week, I declared officially that this month, July, would be a month of national unity, calling on Americans of all faiths, from all walks of life, to join together to combat and speak against the rash of burnings of African-American churches and other houses of worship in this country. Let's say on this July 4th, this is our America, here. That is not our America. We want this America for all Americans.

Opportunity and responsibility, faith and family, freedom and community, respect for law, and respect for one another: these are the bridges across which we must walk to the 21st century. These are the bridges you are building here now in 1996, in the 200th year of Youngstown's existence. Our values and our visions are as sturdy as tempered steel. If we remember what it means to be Americans, how blessed our great Nation has been, how great we are, and how great we can be when we come together to meet our challenges and protect our values, then the best days of America are still ahead.

I ask you just to think of this as you wave your flags on the Fourth of July. What did those people mean in 1776 when they said, "We hold these truths to be self-evident"? What does it mean to believe that we're all equal, that we all have a right but not a guarantee to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? What does it mean to say everybody should have an equal opportunity, but everyone should provide equal responsibility? What does it mean to say that we are greater together than we can ever be on our own? These are the things you must ask.

And think about this: With all the changes you've been through and all the troubles you've seen, this is still the greatest country in the world. And what we have to ask ourselves is, what do we want America to look like when our children grow up to be our age, or our grandchildren? What do we want it to mean to them when they pledge allegiance to the flag and say they are still pledged to the Republic for which our flag stands, one Nation—one Nation—under God, with liberty and justice for all. Think about that. The answer will be clear.

Thank you. Good luck. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:24 p.m. at Riverfront Park at the ceremony celebrating the 200th anniversary of Youngstown and the 150th anniversary of Mahoning County, OH. In his remarks, he referred to Clare Maluso, director, Federal Plaza; Mayor Patrick J. Ungaro of Youngstown; David Engler, Mahoning County commissioner; Rev. Elizabeth Powell, pastor, World Fellowship Interdenominational Church; and Bruce Zoldan, president, B.J. Alan Fireworks Co.

Statement on the Russian Presidential Election
July 4, 1996

On behalf of the American people, I extend warm congratulations to President Yeltsin and to all the citizens of Russia on the successful completion of this vigorously contested Presidential election. Yesterday's historic vote underscores how far Russia's democratic development has progressed in just a few years. While the official results have not yet been announced, it is clear that President Yeltsin and reform have won a decisive victory.

The credit for Russia's remarkable achievements over the last 5 years in developing the institutions of democracy and a market economy goes to the citizens of Russia and to their leaders, in particular President Yeltsin. The Russian people, through their participation in the electoral process, have pronounced themselves firmly in favor of the politics and economics of choice.

From the outset of my administration, the United States has been steadfast in its support of political and economic reform in Russia. We renew that commitment today as the Russian people move to consolidate these gains and complete Russia's integration with the global community. Few could have imagined the profound changes in Russia that we have seen since 1991. The changes are testimony not only to the progress that has been achieved, but to what the future can bring.

Remarks on the Unemployment Rate and an Exchange With Reporters
July 5, 1996

The President. Good morning. Today, we had good economic news for America's working families. Four years ago today, unemployment was nearly 8 percent; job growth was anemic; the deficit was at an all-time dollar high; wages were stagnant. We promised to take these economic challenges head-on. Our critics said it wouldn't work. But today's news, once again, proves them wrong.

Unemployment has dropped to 5.3 percent. The American economy has created 10 million jobs since the beginning of this administration. The deficit has been cut more than half, and wages for American workers are finally on the rise again. We have the most solid American economy in a generation. And it's good news when America can have high job growth, strong investment, and low inflation.

In 1993 we put in place a comprehensive strategy: cutting the deficit, expanding trade, rewarding work, investing in the skills and the education of our people. We have a lot more to do. We must make sure that every American has the tools that he or she needs to make the most of the opportunities in this new economy. We have to make sure that income growth continues. That's why we should balance the budget, pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy health reform bill, raise the minimum wage, improve pension security, and improve access to college and training for all Americans. Our strategy is working, and this is no time to turn back.

On this Independence Day weekend, we Americans have a lot to celebrate. Just yesterday, the Russian people also showed the power of democratic ideals and free markets by turning out in large numbers to vote for the forces of

reform. And by reelecting President Yeltsin, the Russian people have decisively chosen the path of progress.

This morning I spoke with President Yeltsin to congratulate him on his victory and on the victory of the Russian people. The United States and Russia have accomplished a great deal over the last 3½ years. I expressed to the President my determination to build on that progress, to advance the security and the prosperity of both the American and the Russian people.

I wish all Americans a happy Fourth of July weekend. We have two things to celebrate: more than 10 million new jobs and a continued hope for a greater peace and stability in the world in the wake of the elections in Russia.

Q. Are these jobs all in the service area? I know that President Chirac sort of nicked you a little at the summit, saying that they were basically fast food——

The President. Yes, but that's actually not accurate. Martin Baily's going to come up here and brief you, from the Council of Economic Advisers, about them, and he can talk about this in great detail. But our analysis shows that of the new jobs, the vast majority are in higher income job categories and are full-time jobs. So we believe that there is not only a stabilizing of the economy but a stabilizing upward of the economy if you look at the job mix, if you look at the categories in which they are.

President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Q. When will you see President Yeltsin again? And how did he sound? Did you ask him about his health? How did he sound?

The President. I didn't have to ask him about his health because he sounded so good. We joked. I told him that, you know, in January a majority of the people of Russia said they wouldn't vote for him for reelection. And so he's had a remarkable turnaround. He sort of took the "comeback kid" label away from me. [*Laughter*] But he sounded quite good.

And in answer to your question, I don't know when we're going to meet again. But he is going to have some folks coming over here to see us. And Vice President Gore is going soon to Moscow—I think within a week, a week to 10 days—to take up his regular meetings with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. So whatever we need to deal with in the near term we'll probably use that channel as we normally do.

Claire [Claire Shipman, CNN].

Branscum-Hill Trial

Q. Are you prepared for your Whitewater testimony on Sunday, and how do you feel about another session?

The President. Fine.

1996 Campaign Financing

Q. Mr. President, a question about campaign contributions. Your administration has been very critical of Senator Dole for accepting a lot of money from the tobacco industries. Yet, there is an article today in the Wall Street Journal saying that the DNC had accepted a lot of money from tobacco industries and had kind of been channeling it out to the Democratic State parties. Is there any difference in Dole accepting money from the tobacco industries and your administration?

The President. Well, first of all, look at what I have said. What I seek to highlight is the difference in our policies. There is also a huge difference—I mean, it's roughly, I think, a five to one difference in the ratio of contributions. I think over 80 percent of their money, I believe, is the tobacco industry's money I believe has gone to Republicans.

And what I've been critical of is the apparent impact of this. We have evidence of the Republican Party chairman calling State Republican officials around the country, when the Republicans out in the country are thinking about doing the responsible things, to restrict access of young people to tobacco and urging them not to do certain things. And we had the repeated opposition of Senator Dole to what we're trying to do to restrict the advertising of tobacco products to children and the distribution of them, and going to areas where he thinks there will be a receptive audience for that and attacking my policies.

So what I think is, you know, we have an open and free country and people who are citizens should be able to contribute to whomever they wish. But when you see a pattern of contributions and then a dramatic difference in the policies, it is the policies and their impact on the American people that I'm most concerned about.

And the American people should look at where I stand and where he stands, and they should decide whether they agree with us. Then because all the contributions are reported, they can decide whether they think the contributions

have anything to do with the policy position. That's how I think it ought to be analyzed.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. During the exchange, a reporter referred to President Jacques Chirac of France, and the President referred to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia.

Statement on Signing the Single Audit Act Amendments of 1996
July 5, 1996

Today I have signed into law S. 1579, the "Single Audit Act Amendments of 1996." This Act will help make Government work better by reducing the burden and cost of Federal audit requirements on State and local governments and nonprofit organizations.

The Single Audit Act of 1984 replaced multiple grant-by-grant audits with a single annual or biennial audit process for State and local governments that receive Federal assistance. S. 1579 builds on and improves upon the 1984 Act in several ways.

First, it will help save millions of dollars by reducing the need for costly audits without reducing essential Federal oversight. The threshold that triggers an audit requirement will be raised from $25,000 to $300,000. This preserves audit coverage for 95 percent of Federal assistance.

Second, the bill will reduce the audit burden for well-managed entities. Nonprofits and State and local governments that have put into operation management controls that assure the proper use of Federal assistance will be subject to less burdensome audit requirements.

Third, S. 1579 will improve the oversight of Federal assistance programs, totaling over $250 billion annually, by focusing on the programs presenting the greatest financial risks to Government. Placing greater emphasis on program risks will ensure that Federal assistance is being used properly, while also ensuring the most effective use of Federal audit resources.

My Administration was actively involved in the development of this legislation, and strongly supported its passage. I am pleased to sign this important legislation.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 5, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1579, approved July 5, was assigned Public Law No. 104–156.

The President's Radio Address
July 6, 1996

Good morning. This holiday weekend we celebrate America's birthday and the values that hold us together as a community and a country. It's a time for family and fun, for games and fireworks and backyard barbecues. Tonight smoke will curl over homes on nearly every block as millions of families gather around the grill for the most American of meals, hamburgers and hotdogs and barbecued chicken.

Today I want to talk to you about the steps we're taking to make sure the food we cook in backyard barbecues is safe and wholesome. Our families have every right to expect the food they serve their children is safe. They have every right to expect the world's most bountiful food supply will also be the world's safest. And in fact, our food is very safe.

Nearly a century ago, after muckrakers exposed dirty conditions in meat-packing plants, we made a national commitment to protect the public from unsafe food. It was one of the first ways we came together to meet the challenges of that new industrial age. Last year, we put in place new safety precautions for seafood. And

in recent years, we've learned that we all must continue to be vigilant on meat and poultry safety, and we learned it the hard way. For every year, scores of Americans still die and tens of thousands become sick from eating meat or poultry that is contaminated with harmful bacteria.

We all remember how in 1993 tragedy struck hundreds of families in the western United States. Undercooked hamburgers served in a fast food restaurant were contaminated with a deadly strain of *E. coli* bacteria. Five hundred people became ill, and four children died.

The parents of many of the *E. coli* victims turned their grief into a determination to help others. Some of them are here with me today. In the face of this unspeakable tragedy, they had one insistent question: How could this have happened? I asked that question too, and I asked my administration, what can we do to prevent it from happening again?

Now, sometimes food makes us sick because it's undercooked. But sometimes families have been exposed to illnesses because some meat and poultry shipped to our supermarket shelves contained invisible and deadly bacteria. The reason was shocking and simple: For all our technological advances, the way we inspect meat and poultry had not changed in 90 years. Even though we know that killers such as salmonella can only be seen with a microscope, inspectors were still checking on meat and poultry by look, touch, smell. We relied on an overworked cadre of Government inspectors, rather than working with the industry and challenging it to keep food safe.

Under the direction of Vice President Gore and Secretary Glickman, the United States Department of Agriculture has worked with industry, scientists, farmers, parents, and consumers to completely revamp our meat and poultry inspection system, to revolutionize the way our Nation protects food safety. This morning I want to announce the major changes that the U.S. Department of Agriculture will take to keep food safe and to protect our children from deadly bacteria.

First, we're challenging every meat-packing plant in America to do scientific tests or take other safety precautions at every step of production. Each company must design and put in place its own tough plan. We're not imposing a detailed list of do's and don'ts. We're working with industry as partners, challenging them to find ways to make our meat the safest it can be. Each plant will be held accountable for meeting high standards at every step of the process.

Second, we're insisting that every slaughterhouse begin to conduct rigorous scientific tests to make sure the meat is not contaminated with deadly strains of *E. coli* and salmonella bacteria.

Third, companies will have to improve their sanitation procedures. All too often, food is contaminated because simple sanitary rules are not followed.

All these changes will be phased in over the coming months to make sure they are done right. These new meat and poultry contamination safeguards will be the strongest ever. They are flexible, and they do challenge the private sector to take responsibility. They also use the most up-to-date science to track down invisible threats. They protect the public without tangling business in redtape.

Parents should know that when they serve a chicken dinner they're not putting their children at risk. Parents should know that when a teenager borrows the car to get a fast food hamburger, the hamburger should be the least of their worries. Our new food safety initiative will give families the security to know that the food they eat is as safe as it can be.

To be sure, parents will also still have to take responsibility. There is no way to make food entirely free from risk; nature simply won't let us. So everyone should follow warning labels, be careful how you handle raw meat and poultry, and make sure it's well cooked before you serve it to your family.

These days families have enough to worry about. They shouldn't have to fear the food they eat is unsafe. With the tough steps we're taking today, America's parents should be able to breathe a little easier.

Have a safe and happy Fourth of July weekend.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With President Aleksander Kwasniewski of Poland and an Exchange With Reporters

July 8, 1996

President Clinton. Let me begin by saying I'm delighted to welcome President Kwasniewski to Washington and to the Oval Office, and I want to thank him for the hospitality that he extended to the First Lady a few days ago.

The United States and Poland have established a strong partnership. We've worked together in the Partnership For Peace. Our troops are serving together in Bosnia. We are the number one foreign investor in Poland. And I am very pleased with the state of our relations and the aggressive leadership that the President is giving to his nation.

We're going to discuss a lot of issues that are affecting our future relations and the future of Poland, including the question of NATO enlargement, which has been a disciplined, open process since 1994 now, since the United States initiated it. And I want to reiterate my conviction that the process will continue and will bear fruit in the way that we have done it. I think that we are doing it in the right way, and that's the way I think we should continue to do it.

But I'm looking forward to our discussion. I've wanted to meet him for some time, and I got a great report on Poland from Hillary the other night, so I'm looking forward to it.

NATO Expansion

Q. Mr. President, will you talk about the timing? As you say, this has been going on since 1994. Will you talk about the timing of NATO expansion?

President Clinton. We will. Certainly we will. We'll talk about what is planned for the December ministerial and what will happen after that.

Q. Senator Dole has talked about 1998. Are you willing to be as precise as that?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I'm glad that he supports the expansion of NATO. And secondly, I think it's important for me as President to adhere in all my public comments to the things that we've agreed among our NATO allies to do. Keep in mind, this is a process that has to proceed by consensus, and we have to have the support of all the allies to do what we wish to do. So, I will continue to say what I have said all along. But you should make no mistake about it, NATO will expand.

Former Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado

Q. President Clinton, it looks like here in the United States, Governor Lamm is going—former Governor Lamm is going to enter the Presidential race. I wonder what your sense of that is and whether you're worried that it might erode some of your support?

President Clinton. I just don't know. I've known him a long time. I like him. And I hope if that happens—hope his wife will do what she said she was going to do. [*Laughter*] Did you see what she said?

Q. Which was what?

President Clinton. That she'd be for me if she thought it would undermine our position in the election. [*Laughter*] I like him very much, and he'll have to do whatever he wants to do. And I hope we have a good, positive debate.

Q. Are you surprised that someone who is supposed to be a friend of yours would enter the election?

President Clinton. No.

Airplane Hijacking in Cuba

Q. A Cuban plane has just been hijacked to the U.S. Navy base in Guantanamo Bay. What is your reaction to that?

President Clinton. I understand the passengers have been returned, and the pilot stayed. And as far as I know, there was no further incident.

Q. Thank you.

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Poland and NATO Expansion

Q. Mr. President, have you proposed any new timetable for NATO expansion?

President Clinton. Let me, first of all, welcome President Kwasniewski to the White House and to the Oval Office. And I want to thank him for the warm hospitality extended to my wife last week. She had a wonderful trip to Poland and has given me a great report on it.

We are going to discuss NATO enlargement and a number of other things. As to that, I want to emphasize that the United States secured the agreement of our allies in NATO to expand NATO, and we did it under circumstances where we agreed that we would follow a certain deliberate process. We will do that. We will probably take some further steps on that when the ministerial meets in December. I'm certain that more action will be taken there. But the important thing is that NATO is going to expand and we're going to do it in a deliberate fashion, in an open fashion, as we have said all along.

The second thing I'd like to say is I'm very pleased with our present level of cooperation. I appreciate the service of Polish troops in Bosnia. I appreciate the participation of Poland in the Partnership For Peace. And our economic relations are growing stronger every day, and I'm very pleased with the level of investment of the United States in Poland. I hope we will be able to continue that.

I'd like to ask the President to make a statement, and then we'll answer your questions.

President Kwasniewski. Well, you understand Polish a little bit, for after so many years in the United States you speak English early.

[*At this point, President Kwasniewski continued speaking in Polish, and a translation was not provided.*]

Q. Mr. President, when are you going to say who and when will be admitted as new members of NATO?

President Clinton. Well, that's what we're going to discuss in December. But I know it is something that is sometimes perhaps frustrating to you, but you have to realize, NATO is a group that operates together. And a NATO pledge is a solemn pledge; it's a security pledge. And one of the ways that we have secured agreement from all of our allies with all the various factors involved to expand NATO is that we have worked with them together in a very deliberate fashion.

So our next meeting is in December. I think further steps will be taken in December. And I think that is what I should say at this point, consistent with my obligation to them.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:31 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Dorothy Lamm, wife of Richard Lamm. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks on the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative

July 8, 1996

Thank you very much. Joseph and Tina Chery, your son must have been a remarkable young man to inspire such devotion and vision, and we thank you. We thank you for your work, and we thank you for your courage and heart in being here today. And we thank you, too, ma'am. Thank you very much.

Mr. Vice President, Secretary Rubin, Attorney General Reno, Under Secretary Kelly, thank you all for your good work. Senator Robb, thank you for being here today, sir, and for your leadership.

I thank the police chiefs, the prosecutors, the public officials from all across America who are here today, who know better than anyone that we will never be able to protect our children from violence or take our streets back for them and away from guns and drugs and gangs unless we all work together, as Mr. Chery said.

In the State of the Union Address, I challenged our Nation to focus on this issue of youth violence. It is a supreme irony that we are living in an age of greater possibility for young people to live out their dreams than at any point in our history, but we are moving into the 21st century with youth violence on the rise, with too many of our children killing children, and too many others raising themselves on the street, and too many others simply vulnerable because they're going about their lives and they happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time because we permitted those wrong places to develop and we permit them to continue to exist.

I'll never forget the young man I met in Long Beach, California, who was in a junior high

school. He told me that his school had developed a school uniform policy because of the gangs in his neighborhood. And they figured if they all wore green clothes to school every day, nobody would shoot them. And he said it was the first time in 3 years he'd gotten to walk to and from school without having to look over his shoulder.

There is no future for these young people unless we move to take it back for them. As the Vice President said, we have worked very hard with many of you and others to place a comprehensive strategy to take back our streets from guns and gangs and violence and drugs. Many of you have been a part of it; we thank you for that. And the strategy is beginning to work. We believe this will be the 4th year in a row when the crime rate will go down.

But we all know there is still way too much crime in America, and we know that while crime is going down in the country as a whole, youth violence is going up. While drug use has been going down and cocaine use has dropped dramatically, casual drug use by young people is going up. So we have to do more to focus our strategy on youth violence. That's why we strengthened the safe and drug-free school law, why we instituted a policy of zero tolerance for guns in schools, why we're now encouraging communities more strongly than ever to enforce their truancy laws and to take steps ranging from school uniforms to community curfews.

The drug strategy announced this spring by General McCaffrey focuses on young people. We are mounting a nationwide crackdown on gangs. And this spring I sent to the Congress legislation to make it easier to prosecute gangs. This January in the State of the Union Address, I said that if a teenager commits a crime as an adult, he should be prosecuted as an adult, and that is a proposition that is gaining wider and wider agreement.

But as we take on this problem of youth violence, if we're serious about it we cannot avoid dealing with one of its most terrifying elements, teens with guns. This is an amazing fact; listen to this. The number of teenagers committing crimes without guns is the same today as it was in the 1970's, two decades ago. Let me say that again. The number of teenagers in the United States today committing crimes without guns is the same today as it was 20 years ago. The number of homicides by teens who have guns has tripled.

Today, if a gang member is caught committing a crime with a smoking gun in his hand, often as not, the gun is simply put in a police locker with little further investigation. Yet we know that gangs often buy in bulk from a single, shadowy supplier, a criminal network that channels an arsenal of weapons to young criminals or would-be criminals.

We need a national campaign to cut off the flow of guns to teens who commit crimes. Today I am directing the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Justice to work with local law enforcement in a new nationwide initiative. In the 17 cities already mentioned, we will, for the first time, see that every time a gun is used in a crime and seized by law enforcement, it will be tracked through a national tracing system to find out where it came from. We will use that information to target those criminal gunrunning networks that are peddling guns to our teenagers.

Local and national prosecutors have agreed to work together to break up these criminal gangs. And the new data from these 17 cities will give us a much better idea of how the black market in guns actually operates and how to break it. Police on the beat, prosecutors in the courtroom, Federal investigators in the crime lab, they'll all work together in a genuine national team to take on the gunrunners.

Those who illegally peddle guns to our children will get a simple message: We will find you, we will prosecute you, and we will punish you. We owe that much to fine families like the Cherys, to the children they lost and the children they still have, to give to this world and to our future.

We have to give the future back to all of our children. We cannot permit the United States to go into the 21st century the richest, the most powerful country in the world, with more opportunities available to more young people to live out their dreams than ever before, and keep allowing our young people to die before their dreams ever have a chance to take shape.

I thank the law enforcement personnel who are here and those who stand with you all across America. I thank the members of the administration who have worked on this. Most important, I thank the Cherys and all the families who have known the most unimaginable loss any human beings can know for having the cour-

age to stand with us and demand that we do better.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Joseph and Tina Chery, whose son was killed in a gang crossfire in 1993, and Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.), Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Memorandum on the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative
July 8, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General

Subject: Implementation of the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative

Firearms violence is a scourge on our society. Homicides committed by young people with firearms have nearly tripled since 1985, and other types of gun-related violence have been on the rise. Too many guns are in the hands of our Nation's children.

Through the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act and the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, we have reduced criminals' access to firearms, including military-style assault weapons. We are using the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994 to take guns out of schools, making schools a safer learning environment for our children.

In addition, working in cooperation with State and local law enforcement in unprecedented fashion, Federal investigators and prosecutors have successfully disrupted numerous illicit gun markets across the country over the last 3 years. We need to strengthen our efforts to clamp down on these illegal markets, especially those that provide crime guns to children.

The Department of the Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) has developed a pilot program that will trace all guns used in crime that are seized by Federal, State, and local law enforcement officers, and work with that trace information to help identify illegal gun traffickers. The project utilizes an innovative computer software system that examines crime gun trace information and provides law enforcement officers with crucial investigative leads about the sources of these guns. By analyzing patterns of gun trafficking that exist in an area, we are developing more effective law enforcement strategies to target illegal gun traffickers for prosecution, particularly those who put guns into the hands of our Nation's young people.

I am directing you to implement this project in 17 pilot cities: Atlanta, Georgia; Boston, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; Birmingham, Alabama; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Cleveland, Ohio; Inglewood, California; Jersey City, New Jersey; Memphis, Tennessee; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; New York, New York; Richmond, Virginia; Salinas, California; Seattle, Washington; San Antonio, Texas; St. Louis, Missouri; and Washington, D.C.

In addition, you should work with local, State, and Federal law enforcement in each of these cities to ensure that all crime guns seized in their cities are traced and to develop joint investigative and prosecutorial strategies to combat the problem of illegal gun trafficking. Your efforts should build upon existing partnership programs with State and local law enforcement officers, such as the Anti-Violent Crime Initiative.

You should jointly report to me in writing by August 8, 1997, on the first-year accomplishments of this project.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions

July 8, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1) and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council.

The Government of Iraq crossed a new threshold of noncompliance with its cease-fire obligations in early June when it repeatedly blocked attempts by U.N. weapons inspectors to enter certain Iraqi government facilities. The investigators from the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) were attempting to enter Special Republican Guard sites where they believe Iraq may be hiding information on its weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs.

Under a number of Security Council resolutions, Iraq is obligated to grant UNSCOM inspectors immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any location in Iraq they wish to examine. On June 12, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1060 deploring Iraq's failure to meet these obligations and demanding that Iraq comply. Upon adoption of the resolution, the Iraqi regime immediately and publicly restated its refusal to grant the required access.

Consequently, on June 14, the Security Council directed the Executive Chairman of UNSCOM, Rolf Ekeus, to travel to Baghdad to try to secure Iraq's compliance. The Council armed Ambassador Ekeus with a strong, unanimous Council statement condemning Iraq's continued intransigence and noting that its behavior constitutes a clear and flagrant violation of a number of Council resolutions, including the cease-fire resolution (687). On June 24, Ambassador Ekeus reported to the Council that Iraq had agreed to meet its obligations regarding the inspections.

Iraq remains out of compliance with numerous other requirements of the Security Council. Iraq continues to stall and obfuscate rather than work in good faith toward accounting for the hundreds of Kuwaitis and third-country nationals who disappeared at the hands of Iraqi authorities during the occupation. Iraq refuses to return all of Kuwaiti military equipment stolen during the occupation, as well as priceless Kuwaiti cultural and historical artifacts looted on instruction from Baghdad. Iraq continues to provide refuge for known terrorists.

Saddam Hussein's unwillingness to comply with the norms of international behavior extends to his regime's continuing threat to Iraqi citizens throughout the country. We and our coalition partners continue to enforce the no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq as part of our efforts to deter Iraq's use of aircraft against its population. Tragically, on June 25 a petroleum truck parked near the barracks that housed U.S. military personnel deployed to Saudi Arabia in support of the Operation Southern Watch no-fly zone enforcement operation exploded, killing 19 and wounding over 250 American military personnel, many seriously. This heinous and cowardly attack will not deter our efforts in enforcing the no-fly zone.

Iraq's repression of its southern Shi'a population continues, with policies aimed at destroying the Marsh Arabs' way of life as well as the ecology of the southern marshes. The human rights situation throughout Iraq remains unchanged. Saddam Hussein shows no signs of complying with U.N. Security Council Resolution 688, which demands that Iraq cease the repression of its own people.

The United States, together with international and humanitarian relief organizations, continues to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of northern Iraq. Security conditions in northern Iraq remain tenuous at best, with Iranian and PKK activity adding to the ever-present threat from Baghdad. We continue to facilitate talks between the two major Kurdish groups in an effort to help them resolve their differences and increase stability in northern Iraq.

On May 20, Iraq and the United Nations signed a Memorandum of Understanding setting forth the terms for the implementation of Resolution 986 which, among other things, will permit Iraq to sell $2 billion of oil to purchase food, medicine, and other materials and supplies

for essential civilian needs. The United States has long supported implementation of Resolution 986 to provide the Iraqi people the relief that Saddam refused to provide. The details of implementation continue to be discussed, and we are hopeful that the resolution will be implemented shortly. We are determined to see the resolution implemented as the Council intended: a mechanism to bring relief to suffering Iraqis, while denying the benefits of the oil sales to Saddam and his associates.

In October 1994, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 949, which demanded that Iraq not utilize its forces to threaten its neighbors or U.N. operations in Iraq and that it not redeploy or enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq. In view of Saddam Hussein's proven record of unreliability, we have felt it prudent to maintain a significant U.S. force presence in the region in order to maintain the capability to respond rapidly to possible Iraqi aggression or threats against its neighbors. Throughout this period, an air expeditionary force has been deployed to Jordan as part of that presence, and a similarly constituted air expeditionary force will shortly deploy to Qatar as the aircraft in Jordan redeploy to the United States.

Since my last report, the Multinational Interception Force (MIF), has successfully countered the latest Iraqi attempt to illegally export petroleum from the Basrah and Khor az Zubayr port facilities. During April and May 1996, MIF vessels intercepted the greatest number of oil tankers, tugs, and offshore resupply vessels in 2 years. New and repeat violators carrying Iraqi petroleum products worth an estimated $1.2 million and Iraqi dates worth an estimated $1.1 million were diverted.

For the first time in Iraq sanctions enforcement history, all states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have accepted diverted vessels and have enforced the U.N. sanctions regime. Once vessels have been turned over, and oil and date cargoes have been seized, the sale proceeds are then deposited in the U.N. escrow account and the vessels' crews deported. As a result of the MIF's enforcement efforts, we are observing an effective deterrence of sanction violations.

We continue to provide reports of MIF diversions to the U.N. Iraq Sanctions Committee as part of our close coordination and consultation with the United Nations and with Security Council members on the issue of maritime Iraq sanctions enforcement. We have also notified the Sanctions Committee of evidence of continued Iranian complicity in the export of Iraqi petroleum products.

We continue to achieve a significant foreign policy objective in maintaining multinational participation in the MIF. We received firm commitments or serious proposals from New Zealand, Belgium, and Canada to send frigates to participate in the MIF in late 1996 and early 1997.

Other countries have made different but important contributions toward enforcing the U.N. sanctions against Iraq. For example, Honduras recently deflagged four vessels and Belize deflagged three vessels. India has initiated "registry deletion" proceedings against vessels operating under its flag, and the United Arab Emirates is currently considering the deflagging of a vessel diverted twice for violating the sanctions.

The MIF will experience an increase in workload as a result of the Government of Iraq's acceptance of U.N. Security Council Resolution 986. We have revised our Notice to Mariners, which governs the maritime regime in the Gulf, to require prior notification and strict observance of maritime trade with the Mina al Bakr oil terminal. Our policy remains firm: sanctions enforcement measures continue to send a clear message to commercial shippers, and most importantly to the Government of Iraq, that there will be no action to completely lift or modify sanctions until Iraq has established its peaceful intentions by complying with all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions. The United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 687, continues to resolve claims against Iraq arising from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. Currently, the UNCC has issued over 850,000 awards worth more than $3.3 billion. The UNCC has been able to authorize only limited payments for fixed awards for serious personal injury or death, as Iraq is not in compliance with all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions, and U.N. sanctions remain in force. However, under U.N. Security Council Resolution 986, if Iraq sells the full amount of oil initially authorized, $600 million in revenue will go to the Compensation Fund, based on the requirement that 30 percent of oil sales proceeds be transferred into the Fund. Because the UNCC has issued over $3.3 billion in

awards, funds generated by this sale of oil will be sufficient to pay only a portion of the claims issued to date.

To conclude, Iraq remains a serious threat to regional peace and stability. I remain determined to see Iraq comply fully with all of its obligations under U.N. Security Council resolutions. My Administration will continue to oppose any further relaxation of sanctions until Iraq demonstrates its peaceful intentions through such compliance.

I appreciate the support of the Congress for our efforts and shall continue to keep the Congress informed about this important issue.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 9.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel

July 9, 1996

Prime Minister's Visit

Q. Mr. President, do you think it's a good idea for Prime Minister Netanyahu to sit down with Yasser Arafat personally and try to work out the problems between the Israelis and the Palestinians?

The President. Well, I think it's a good idea for him to sit down with me. And we're looking forward to it. We'll be able to—we'll answer your questions later. I think we should wait until after we have a chance to visit to answer questions.

Terrorist Attack in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Q. Has there been any progress in determining who was responsible for the terrorist action in Saudi Arabia?

The President. Well, I got an update yesterday. I think the investigation is progressing. I don't know how to—I don't want to answer your question specifically. I feel confident that the investigation is being handled in the proper way and it is progressing.

Q. If it is state-sponsored, though, is there going to be U.S. retaliation if you can conclude that a state was responsible for this action?

The President. Let me—let's do the investigation first.

Prime Minister's Visit

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, are you bringing the President information about Palestinian violations of the accord, sir?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. First of all, I'm bringing with me to the President a lot of good will from the people of Israel to the people of the United States and from the leadership of Israel to the leadership of the United States. I'm sure we'll have a productive discussion, and I'm sure you'll bear with us until we do.

Terrorist Attack in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, do you think there are any Syrian links to the bombing in Saudi Arabia?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Well, I thought that the President's suggestion of first investigating and then declaring may be not that frequent among political leaders, but I think it's wise. It's a wise suggestion in which I'll follow.

Q. Do you have any evidence of Syrian involvement? Do you?

The President. Thank you. We'll answer more later. Thank you.

Secretary of Defense William Perry

Q. Mr. President, Secretary Perry seems to be getting a pretty tough grilling right now up on the Hill. Do you still have confidence in Secretary Perry?

The President. Oh, absolutely. He's been a very good Defense Secretary. This is a tough issue. That's why I appointed General Downing to look at it all, to get the facts, and to evaluate the security situation there and elsewhere where our people might be at risk. And we will do a good job of that. But I think the American

people recognize that, on balance, our military people have done a good job and that he's been quite a good and effective Defense Secretary. I have full confidence in him. And I believe that every fairminded person, when they look at his record, will feel the same way.

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Prime Minister's Visit

The President. Let's get everyone in first.

Prime Minister Netanyahu. This is the most genteel press of all, the Israeli press. They're all pussycats here.

The President. Let me, first of all, say I'm delighted to have the Prime Minister here. I've looked forward to having a chance to have this conversation. He and his family arrived late last night, and I'm glad to see him looking so bright-eyed this morning. And I think that I should defer answering any substantive questions until we have a chance to visit. When we have a chance to visit, we're going to make ourselves available to you, and I'll answer whatever substantive questions you have then.

Q. Mr. President, will you promise the Prime Minister that in the second Clinton administration the Embassy will move to West Jerusalem as the law of the land says?

The President. I'll promise the Prime Minister to answer questions after we have a chance to visit.

Q. Mr. President, are you going to change your policy towards Syria?

The President. I'll talk about all this after we have a chance to visit. I want to visit with the Prime Minister first.

Q. Mr. President, are you expecting to get any specific answers from the Prime Minister regarding Hebron, as an example?

The President. I expect we'll have a good conversation.

Q. [*Inaudible*]—the chemistry between you two is important to you, Mr. President?

The President. I have always thought it was pretty good. I read the Prime Minister's—one of his books a long time before I even ran for President before, and I've always been very interested and admiring of his understanding of the problem of terrorism, which I think he explained to the world in advance of many other people focusing on it. And I just read his most recent book. And we've always had a cordial relationship. So I'm looking forward to renewing it and working with him.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:10 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Gen. Wayne A. Downing, USA (Ret.), Director, Downing Assessment Task Force. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel
July 9, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. Please be seated. I'm very glad to welcome Prime Minister Netanyahu to the White House. This is his first visit since taking office, and it gave me an opportunity to congratulate him on his victory in the election in May.

Israel has changed governments, but as I told the Prime Minister, the historic relationship between the United States and Israel has not and will not change. The bonds that unite us are as strong as ever today. I am proud that our relationship is broader, deeper, and more firmly rooted than at any time in Israel's history. And I am determined that it should remain so.

The Prime Minister and I had a good talk on many issues. At the heart of our discussions was the question of how to bring a comprehensive peace that is secure and lasting to the Middle East. I told the Prime Minister that I am committed to maintaining the progress that has been made toward that goal, and he told me the Israeli people had given him a mandate to make peace with security, a peace that will bring at each stage a growing sense of security for the people of Israel and all the people of the

Middle East. The Prime Minister and his Arab partners can count on the full support of the United States towards that end.

Peace that we seek is not an abstraction. It must bring security, dignity, and a better life for Arabs and Israelis alike. Above all, peace and security must be indivisible, because peace without security is impossible, and true security without peace cannot be achieved.

I was encouraged by the Prime Minister's statement that he will be working closely with the Palestinian Authority on full implementations by both sides of the Declaration of Principles and the Interim Agreement and on easing economic conditions on the Palestinians. We also agreed on the importance of negotiations with the Syrians. We both believe it is vital to continue to bring the nations of the Middle East together through regional initiatives and through institutions, especially economic ones such as this fall's Cairo economic summit.

We spoke at length about the threat posed to our mutual interests by terrorism. After the brutal attack on Dhahran, Americans understand better than ever that, as the Prime Minister himself has written, free societies must mobilize their resources, their ingenuity, and their will to wipe out this evil from our midst. I am pleased, therefore, to announce that we have agreed that the first meeting of the U.S.-Israel counterterrorism group created this past spring will take place this month. Our cooperation will be a key element in the global effort to defeat terrorism, an effort America has led at Sharm al-Sheikh and the G–7 conference.

We're also stepping up our joint efforts against the threat posed to Israel by missile proliferation. The United States has agreed to provide shared early warning information in Israel beginning before the end of next year—this year, excuse me.

Let me close by repeating something that I said to the Prime Minister in one of our earliest conversations in 1992. I said then I didn't believe the United States could make peace on behalf of Israel, that only Israel and its neighbors could make these decisions through direct negotiations. I felt that our contribution should be to minimize the risks to Israel of making peace so that Israel could have the confidence necessary to make a peace that will last. I still believe that.

That is why our commitment to Israel's security remains rock solid, why we'll continue to do whatever is necessary to ensure Israel's qualitative edge, why Israelis and no one else will ultimately have to decide the terms upon which Israel will make peace. Those who would try to drive a wedge between Israel and the United States will not succeed. We will strengthen the bonds between us, bonds that have helped to make possible the dramatic changes in the Middle East since 1992.

Now Israel is no longer alone in the region. Courageous Arab leaders have put aside decades of hostility and suspicion to extend the hand of partnership in peace. Just as we stand by Israel, so we will also stand with those in the Arab world who seek peace. I am confident that those who join us in the search for peace will see that they have made the right choice.

Mr. Prime Minister.

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Thank you, Mr. President. I'd like to thank you, Mr. President, for your gracious hospitality, a quick but very good lunch, for your warm welcome, which I think all the members of the delegation feel is genuine and is, I think, in the best traditions of American-Israeli relations. I hope you'll give us the opportunity to reciprocate in the near future. And I'd very much like to welcome you soon in Jerusalem.

The purpose of this visit is to express Israel's appreciation for American support and also to reaffirm that the relationship between our two countries transcends personalities and politics and parties. It is a bond between two peoples and a bond which I think has few equals in the international arena. And I think—and I know—that our relationship is today as solid as ever, and it will continue to be solid and friendly in the utmost degree.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, for the decisions you have made in this visit regarding enhancing Israel's security. We discussed a broad range of subjects whose goal is to enhance security and to achieve peace. And we discussed the many problems and challenges that face us still through the Oslo process and the negotiations with Syria.

I think we agree that those who are on the side of peace must show complete dedication to the fight against terrorism. Anything less will simply not do. Israel is eager to make progress, but we cannot do so alone. We want to live up to the agreements, but we cannot be the only side to do so. We're willing to move forward, but we cannot move forward without reci-

procity. And for us, the key word is reciprocity and the fulfillment of obligations undertaken by both sides. And while we yield to no one in our desire for peace, on the question of security and terrorism, we will not accept the notion that peace and terrorism can coexist under one roof. I'm confident—I must say, I was confident before I came here and even more confident after I've had the opportunity to explore in some depth with President Clinton these and other issues—I'm confident that we can overcome the hurdles that face us and continue with a genuine process of seeking peace with security.

I have to say that I think that the Middle East needs something more than just the quest for these two areas. I think what we need in the region is a badly missing education for the peoples of the area for peace and human rights and democracy. I think we need a new way of thinking about relations between peoples and about relations with each other.

Our neighbors' children will accept and will learn to live with our children when they are taught that Israel is an integral, legitimate part of the region and that it is here to stay. And I think some serious efforts in this direction are needed. I think they will do as much and possibly more than all the agreements that we seek to achieve. And I'm sure that we have the resolve and we have the determination to work with those Arab leaders who are interested in a genuine peace to effect a psychological transformation in our area among the peoples, ultimately to guarantee the peace that we are working for and that we will strive for and that we all deserve, Arab and Jew alike.

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

Q. Mr. President——

The President. Well, let me say, first of all, how we're going to do this. We'll have one question from an American journalist, and then the Prime Minister will call upon an Israeli journalist. And we'll alternate until you run us out of the room.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, what did you tell the President about observing the concept of land for peace, pulling out troops from Hebron, and a possible meeting with Yasser Arafat?

And to you, Mr. President, after today's meeting, are you convinced that Prime Minister Netanyahu will pursue the peace process with as much determination and vigor as Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. We have now a history of negotiations with the Arab side, or I should say with Arab parties. I, myself, went to Madrid to initiate the breakthrough peace conference that opened up the direct negotiations between Israel and all of its Arab neighbors, the Syrians, the Palestinians, the Jordanians. We disagreed on this issue with the Arab delegations at the time but this didn't prevent us from convening in the room.

We have our own interpretation of land for peace, our own interpretation of 242 and 338 that calls for Israel to make concessions of land in order to achieve secure and recognized boundaries. As you know, Israel has made substantial concessions on all fronts. And the question remains, what are secure and recognized boundaries? Or for that matter, does fairness require that Israel yield 100 percent and the Arab sides yield zero percent? And will we have secure boundaries on the '67 borders? Well, obviously, we think differently.

Rather than delve into this discussion and into this debate, I again point to the direction that was achieved in Madrid and has been, I think, the basic guiding principle, namely that we can have different interpretations but that none of us tries to coerce the other side to accept our own positions as a starting point for negotiations, which have to be left open to their conclusion, obviously. And that is what we will do with the Syrians and with others.

On the question of Hebron, we have two commitments. We have a commitment to fulfill our obligations, and we have a commitment to maintain security. And the problem in Hebron is a serious problem of security. No government, including the previous government, could act precipitously in Hebron because the potential for explosion there is immense, and it could entail the kind of tragedies that we saw in Hebron recently, or for that matter, a few decades ago in 1929 when the entire Jewish community was massacred. We've had terrible violence directed at both sides. Hebron to us is also a subject of deep historical attachment. It's the oldest Jewish community on Earth, 3,500 years old.

So this has to be treated carefully. I'm looking into the problem. I explained to President Clinton in some detail our concerns and how we seek to reconcile these two interests, fulfilling

commitments on the one hand and maintaining security on the other. This is something I will discuss with my Cabinet colleagues, and I assure you that I'll be in touch with the President as we continue our deliberations.

The President. You asked me——

Q. About Mr. Arafat.

Prime Minister Netanyahu. You asked did we discuss Mr. Arafat?

Q. No. Are you willing to meet with Mr. Arafat? Do you plan to meet with Mr. Arafat soon?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Well, as you know, we have ongoing contacts with Mr. Arafat and with the Palestinian Authority. I have my own representatives who have been meeting with him on a regular basis, and we'll expand these contacts both in frequency and the level of the personnel involved. I said that if I deem it necessary for peace or for the interest of Israel to meet Arafat, I wouldn't rule it out, and I have not changed my position.

The President. You asked what I said to the Prime Minister. I said, first of all, I thought it was very important that there be a reaffirmation of the commitments that Israel has made in Oslo I and Oslo II, in all the accords that were signed; second, that I thought that there should be an attempt to continue the comprehensive peace process, that it was essential to keep working with the Palestinians, there should be an attempt to reengage Syria, to work on the problem of Lebanon.

You asked if I thought that the Prime Minister would pursue the peace process with vigor. The answer to that is, I believe that he will. There was an election in Israel. The Israeli people made a decision. Part of that decision was to take a different approach to the peace process from this point forward, at least somewhat different. Israel is a democracy. They made that decision. The Prime Minister has very strong views.

But I think if you look at the mandate that he received—and he's better to talk about it than I am—but I believe that the tide of history cannot be turned and that going back—and I said this to the Arab leaders very firmly before the last summit in Cairo—it would be a bad mistake. I think that we have to find a way for these parties to make their own peace. None of us from the outside can impose it on them. None of us should seek to impose it on them. The interest of the United States is to reduce the risks for peace undertaken by the peacemakers.

But I believe that we need to keep the tide of history going, because I don't believe there can be, ultimately, final security for the people of Israel without a resolution of the peace process that is positive. So I believe that the process will go forward. And I think we're going to have necessarily a period of adjustment, and those of us who care about it need to try to minimize the negative and maximize the positive and get through it as well as possible.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. President, do you share the view that you cannot negotiate peace with Syria as long as Syria harbors terrorists in Damascus? And will you, Mr. President, call President Asad, just as you did after every previous visit of state head from Israel, and tell him that he still has a partner for peace?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Well, I have said that I am prepared to negotiate with President Asad of Syria on peace. And I can tell you that the first item on my agenda would be the cessation of all terrorist attacks from Syrian-controlled areas in Lebanon via Hezbollah, or for that matter, other terrorist attacks from groups based in Syria.

And I think it's only right. I think that it's peculiar to have peace talks that are progressing while you have a terror campaign parallel to it. So the cessation of hostilities usually precedes all peace negotiations. In fact, I'm hard pressed to find exceptions in modern history. And if there are exceptions, we shouldn't follow the exception; we should follow the rule.

This is what I would do. And I think that this would be conducive to building trust that is badly needed between Israel and Syria in order to move forward with the negotiations on much more sensitive issues.

The President. I would make two points very quickly. First, the United States is opposed to terrorism as practiced by anybody, anywhere. And our concerns with that have been an impediment in the improvement of our relations with Syria, which we have sought on its own merits and as a way to aid peace in the Middle East. We have an uncompromising position on terrorism, and we will maintain it, even if we have to pay for it from time to time.

Secondly, I do intend to communicate with President Asad. I have to decide—you're the first person that asked me about a telephone call, so it hadn't occurred to me one way or

the other. It just sort of happened before. But we stay in regular contact about the peace process. And I have before, and I will again, on the basis of this meeting, reaffirm my belief that he should maintain contacts with Israel and discuss peace without preconditions.

Q. Mr. President, some 150 U.S. rabbis sent you a letter yesterday asking you to cut off aid to the Palestinians and Israel if they don't live up to their commitments under the peace process. Is that something you would even consider doing? And short of that, what other steps might be considered to ensure compliance with the proposals in the peace process, such as tying U.S. aid to a continued moratorium on settlements in the occupied territories?

The President. Well, first of all, we have found pretty good results when we've worked closely with the Palestinians in getting increased compliance. And I think the absence of large terrorist attacks in Gaza and the West Bank is evidence of their increased capacity—which is different from their will—not only their increased will but their increased capacity to comply with the terms and the agreements which bind them as well as Israel.

So I don't believe that I should talk about what I would do if it's obvious that they had abandoned any attempt to comply with their obligations when it seems to me that, at least in the areas where we've been principally concerned, they have been willing to do more and they have been increasingly able to do more. So I want to focus on the ability of Mr. Arafat to succeed in holding up his end of the bargain. And if there comes a time when it's obvious they have no intention of doing that, then I'll cross that bridge when I come to it.

Israeli Election

Q. Can you explain to Mr. Netanyahu why you, Mr. President, and your administration were perceived as though it supported forcefully Mr. Peres to become the next Prime Minister?

The President. I don't think it needed that much explaining. [*Laughter*] If there's one thing I've learned in years of dealing with Mr. Netanyahu, he's a very bright man. Sometimes I wish I could explain things that don't need much explaining.

The important thing is——

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Mr. President, we didn't discuss the election results.

The President. We didn't discuss it at all. That's right.

Yes, go ahead, Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, CNN].

U.S. Economic Aid to Israel

Q. Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister—in the past, Mr. Prime Minister, as the opposition leader in Israel, you've spoken about the need for Israel itself to voluntarily move away from its economic dependence on U.S. economic as opposed to military assistance. Are you willing now to give up that $1.2 billion a year in economic assistance given Israel's economic progress?

And Mr. President, would you welcome a decision by Israel to give up that U.S. economic aid at this moment?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. You're quite right that I intend to move Israel towards economic independence. It's not a simple or a one-shot move. It requires a strategy and some very hard decisions, like the kind we took just 2 days ago in a record cut of the budget, which is merely one part of our economic policy, which will also be deregulation, privatization, the breakup of cartels, and so on—all of which is hard to do, because of vested interests, with political costs, and certainly in the economic budget cuts, with considerable pain in some quarters of the population. But I'm committed to doing it. And I have no doubt that this policy pursued over the course of the coming 10 years will be able to move Israel considerably towards that goal of economic, and I stress the word economic, self-sufficiency.

This doesn't mean that I can do it tomorrow, and I haven't said that I will. The only news that I can give you, Wolf, is that this is a visit of a Prime Minister to Washington without a bag of goodies that we ask for. We came in saying, "We're doing it on our own. We're cutting our budgets, and we'll handle it on our own." But I must say that I appreciate the military assistance and the assistance in the security field especially, including the decisions the President took in this visit regarding early warning systems that are so important for us. And this is something that I think is appreciated by the entire people of Israel.

The President. I agree with the Prime Minister's statement. I think that the capacity of the Israeli economy to grow because of the talents and the diversity of its people, the strength of the people, is virtually unlimited. I think it

will really take off in the years ahead. I think we should be supportive of that process. And there may come a time when aid is no longer needed and no longer sought, but I don't believe that this is the time to do anything to destabilize where we are. We need to focus on our goals in the Middle East, including greater economic prosperity in Israel and for our Arab supporters of the peace process as well.

Israeli Settlements

Q. Mr. President, how do you see the settlement policy of the new Government of Israel? And, Mr. Prime Minister, can you react to the President's response to this question, please?

The President. Well, first of all, keep in mind the settlements as an issue in the abstract, or the larger issues of settlements, are, by prior agreement of the parties, to be resolved by agreements. That's the first thing.

Secondly, we know as a practical matter that the settlements issue can become a contentious one, can become a problem—not the only problem in the peace process. So it's something that we have said repeatedly has to be handled with great care.

Now, I think just saying those two things is about all that needs to be said. This is something that the more you talk about it, you could do more harm than good in the ultimate peace process. But I think those are the two touchstones, the lodestars that ought to guide decisions as we go along on settlements.

Mr. Prime Minister.

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Thank you, Mr. President. I had the opportunity to present to the President and earlier to the Secretary of State some statistics that showed that the—under the last 4 years under the Labor government of Mr. Rabin and Mr. Peres, the population of the—the Jewish population in the areas of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza grew by 50 percent—five-zero—roughly at a rate of 10 percent a year, and compounded it gives you the 50 percent.

This is natural growth. These are living communities. They have families. People get married, they have children. Because of the cost of housing in Israel, which is so high—and beyond the green line—also people move there to find cheaper housing and so on. So there's been a natural growth in the existing communities, and that is—I assume that no one here is expecting us to do less than the Labor government on this point.

Secondly, regarding the question of additional or new settlements, this is obviously something we don't preclude, but the precise pattern, the decision of how, when, where to do this is something that I'll deliberate with my colleagues. And we shall do so; we shall reach a decision that I think should guide us on how we view the final political settlement. I think it's important to have a direction.

But at the moment what I can tell you is that we have not yet decided on the precise pattern of our settlement policies so there is no concrete answer to your concrete question.

The President. Peter [Peter Maer, NBC Mutual Radio].

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President and Prime Minister, a couple of questions on the Palestinian issue. To you, Prime Minister, do you agree with the assessment that the President gave a couple of questions back—to the assessment of, rather, the Palestinians' will and capacity to deal with terrorists and other troublemakers?

And President Clinton, would you have liked to have heard, or maybe you did privately hear, a firmer commitment from the Prime Minister to a set time for a meeting with Yasser Arafat?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. I think that the fulfillment of commitments is central. And I am not just saying it as a trick, as a ruse, as a stalling device. We inherited two agreements, Oslo I and Oslo II, not to our liking. I thought they would lead to an expansion of terrorism. I thought they would have other consequences. But I inherited them as Prime Minister. And governments keep agreements. The same applies to the sides, the parties that sign agreements with the Israeli Government. And therefore, we expect the Palestinian Authority to fulfill the central commitments it undertook in Oslo. I think this would be only natural and this would put them, I would think, in a moral position to ask us to fulfill the remaining of our obligations.

There are two central commitments of Oslo—there are many, but the two central ones on which, may I say, I got elected, promising to ensure that they're fulfilled. The first one is Jerusalem. There is, unfortunately, systemic violations of a solemn commitment that the PLO—or I should say, the Palestinian Authority—un-

dertook in Oslo not to have any of their offices or governmental activity in Jerusalem. And they have offices in Jerusalem, formal PA offices operating in Jerusalem, in direct contravention of Oslo. They also have security personnel, in direct contravention of Oslo. We expect the Palestinian Authority to desist—cease and desist from these activities in order to conform with their obligations. We wish them to conform, and we wish ourselves to conform.

The second major area is security. I think that what has happened 4 months ago, after the spate of suicide bombings, was that the Palestinian Authority realized for the first time that unless it acted to curb the terrorist attacks emanating from PLO domains, then no government in Israel—and this time I'm talking about the former government—even it could not continue with the process. And as a result they began to act. And I say "began." They're acting. They've showed a capacity to curb terror emanating from their domains if they so wish. And this I think the President hit it right on the nail—right on the—I think he hit the nail right on the head.

And the crucial question for us is, A, that this be done fully, which means dismantling Hamas—or disarming Hamas and Islamic Jihad members from their weapons. It also means not releasing criminals or perpetrators of terrorist acts, and a few other things. And this remains to be fulfilled. But there has been movement in that direction, which I think is important.

I would say one thing on security. I think the crucial thing, the crucial awareness and understanding that we are trying to communicate to the Palestinian Authority is that the battle against terrorism cannot be episodic. It cannot be a product of whim or tactics or strategy. We're moving together towards peace. Don't use terror—indirectly, of course—don't use terror as an instrument of policy.

It is virtually almost true—it is not always hermetically so, but it is virtually always the case that most of the terrorists' actions, the grievous ones, the terrible ones, that have been launched against us are done not by shadowy groups or isolated individuals but by known organizations whose activities can be curbed by our negotiating partners. And therefore, it is not true to say that by insisting that terror be curbed we're hindering the peace process, because it is our negotiating partners in the peace process who have the capacity to stop the terrorism.

This is something we expect them to do. This is something they've shown a capacity to do. They can continue doing it. And if they do it, our response will be very, very positive in a number of areas and especially and most directly in the economic areas.

You know that in Gaza they're suffering. In the PLO—in the PA areas, they're suffering because of lack of employment, because of the closure. I do not view the closure as a principle that has to be enshrined forever. I think we can and we should pursue a policy of economic openness with the Palestinian Authority. And I'd like to help out in the economic field. But the closure, as you know, is one of the consequences of the absence or the failure of the Palestinian Authority in the past to conform with their obligations vis-a-vis security and fighting terrorism.

I think it's intertwined. And our policy again is reciprocity—fulfill the commitments, I think precisely as the President said, on both sides and maintain security.

The President. Peter, you asked a specific question. Of course, the Prime Minister's already addressed this. They clearly have very high level contacts already established. And what I said to him, I'd be glad to say to you in public. I said, "I think it's critical to do that, and I think the more contact, the better." I said what I said here, that I have been impressed by the increasing—not only the increasing will but the increasing capacity of Mr. Arafat and the Palestinian Authority to run their own affairs in security and in other areas. There's a world of difference in their ability to do this between now and 1993. And I believe that making sure that Israel and the Palestinians were on the same page, understood each other, and made the maximum number of agreements about how they were going to proceed is critical to keeping the peace process going.

The details of it, I have—you've heard the Prime Minister comment on that, and that's a decision for them to make.

We have one more question over here.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. President, don't you think that Mr. Arafat is your peace partner and should not be left out guessing until such time that you will see fit for Israeli security to meet with him? I think that it is a necessary element which will guarantee both the security of Israel and the Palestinians that you meet im-

mediately. And when will you, sir, since you expressed your opinion about the closure, when will you lift the closure and allow more Palestinian workers to work inside Israel?

And Mr. President, your administration has spent a great deal of time and effort to bring peace to the Middle East, especially between the Palestinians and the Israelis. At this juncture, Mr. President, don't you think that a summit between Mr. Arafat and Mr. Netanyahu, King Hussein, and President Mubarak under your auspices here at the White House before November 5th will add a lot of good to the element of stability and possibly solution? Because these things which happened here at the White House were very fruitful, and they brought a lot of good feelings to the people in the Middle East.

Thank you.

Prime Minister Netanyahu. I've said that we may have agreements and we may have disagreements, but I assure you that one of the things that will not happen is that we will not have disagreements as a result of lack of communications. The communication channels will be open, they will be complete, and they will allow us to understand each other at the highest levels.

You had a second question, I think. [*Laughter*] What was that?

Q. Which was, when will you allow more Palestinian workers to work?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. As soon as the security conditions—I deem—as soon as I deem the security conditions will allow it, I will ease the closure.

The President. Let me just say, one of the most encouraging things to me about our conversation was the clear understanding the Prime Minister showed of the difficulty the closure is imposing on the Palestinians, not only in terms of not being able to move across the borders and go to jobs in Israel but also in destabilizing their own environment and undermining our ability, for example, to encourage others from the United States and elsewhere to invest in their territory.

So we understand that. And also, I think that security is clearly the test. So this is, obviously, the next area where Mr. Arafat and the Prime Minister and his government need to go to try to reach an understanding. But I was encouraged by that.

In terms of your suggestion about a summit, my experience, sir, is that when these things are called there needs to be an understanding in advance about what is going to be achieved and how it's going to be achieved. To be fair to the Prime Minister, he has just taken office not very long ago; he's just constituted his government. And I think it would be premature to do that at this time.

But I believe the more contact we have at the higher levels, the better off we're going to be and the greater the likelihood of achieving peace. But I do not believe it's the appropriate time to do that now.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 127th news conference began at 2 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority and President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria.

Remarks on Senate Action on Minimum Wage Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters

July 9, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. This was a very good day for America's working families. Today's vote by the Senate means that 10 million hard-working Americans will get a little bit of help to raise their children and keep their family strong. A 90-cent increase in the minimum wage will honor our most basic values: work and family, opportunity and responsibility. It will help working people without hurting our economy, and it is plainly the right thing to do.

Today the minimum wage is not a living wage. You can't raise a family on $4.25 an hour. This action by the Senate today restores the biparti-

san commitment that the minimum wage will keep pace with the cost of living. This action will directly benefit millions of hard-working Americans. Sixty percent of minimum wage workers are women. More than a third are the sole breadwinners in their household. Over 2 million children live in poor or near-poor families where a worker earns the minimum wage. And they will now get a raise.

I'm gratified that a bipartisan majority of the Senators rejected a killer amendment that would have stopped this bill. The provision would have been a powerful incentive for employers to push employees out of their jobs after 6 months. It would have locked millions and millions of Americans into lower wages.

The way has now been cleared for final passage of a minimum wage bill. I call on Congress to send me the final bill quickly. The differences between the House and Senate versions are not significant, and American workers should get their raise as soon as possible. There's no reason that minimum wage workers should have to wait any longer for their raise. This is not a time to nickel and dime our working families. Our economy is sturdy. We have 10 million new jobs; unemployment at 5.3 percent; nearly 4 million new homeowners; rising real hourly wages for the first time in a decade. Now we have to make sure that all Americans have the opportunity to benefit from a growing economy.

This has been a difficult fight. But it turned out to be a real victory for the working families of this country. Today's vote by the Senate will make it possible for more of our people to be rewarded for their hard work, to believe that there is opportunity on the other end of their responsibility.

Again, I thank the Members of the Senate who took this step. I thank the Members of the Congress, both parties, who supported it in both Houses. I look forward to the speedy resolution of the two bills and to signing it into law.

Let me say one other thing. Today is a special day for me, and since the Vice President's here, I wanted to announce that this is our fourth anniversary. It was 4 years ago today that I asked and he accepted the—I asked him to become Vice President, or at least the nominee for Vice President, and he accepted it. It has been 4 years of great adventure. It's been a wonderful partnership. And I believe that historians will record that he has been the most effective and influential Vice President in the history of the country. And I just wanted to have this chance to acknowledge 4 great years and to thank him for his remarkable service and his steadily improving sense of humor. [*Laughter*]

Budget Legislation

Q. How do you feel about a CR that runs through March, sir?

The President. A CR to do what?

Q. [*Inaudible*]—that runs through March at fiscal—[*inaudible*].

The President. Well, I would hope we could get some of the appropriations bills passed. My understanding is that there are some that we're pretty close to an agreement on. And I would hope that we could keep working into September after we have the August recess to see what else can be done.

There's still a lot of things that need to be done. We need to pass Kennedy-Kassebaum. We need to pass a good welfare reform bill. And I'm still open to any kind of progress we can make on the budget. So I will work with the Congress in any way possible. We have to keep the Government open, and we have to keep the fundamental functions of the country going forward. But I would hope that we wouldn't give up this early on the prospect of progress.

Minimum Wage and Former Senator Dole

Q. Mr. President, former Senator Dole's press secretary says you're playing maximum politics with the minimum wage, yet you were silent for the first 2 years of your administration on the increase of the minimum wage and that he has supported an increase in the minimum wage. Are you playing politics with the minimum wage?

The President. Does that mean that he's changed his position, and he now supports this minimum wage increase?

Q. He says he supports—as of May 24, 1996, he was in support of the minimum wage, according to the Congressional Record and the press release that they put out.

The President. Well, good for him. That's good.

The Vice President. With or without the poison pill?

The President. I mean, if he is now in support of this bill, I hope he will say so and urge

the leadership in the Senate and the House of his party to send me the bill right away. And I think the American people should say that we're glad he supports the bill. If in fact he changed his position in May to support it, I think it's good.

Let me say, I never opposed—the implication that I, like Senator Dole and the Republican leadership, opposed the minimum wage increase in the first 2 years is simply false. Let's remember, though, we did first things first. The first thing we did was to double the earned-income tax credit, so that we could say over a period of years we were going to take all working families who work 40 hours a week who had children in the home out of poverty. That was a very important thing to do on its own merits. And that took a lot of doing. That took virtually all of 1993. It was an important part of our economic plan, and it was opposed by all the Members of the other party in the Congress. So we focused on the earned-income tax credit in the first 2 years.

The change of parties in the '94 election had nothing whatever to do with raising the minimum wage. When I ran in 1992, I said I thought we ought to take action to keep the minimum wage up with inflation. And it hadn't been raised in 5 years; it needs to be raised.

1996 Election

Q. Mr. President, on this anniversary it seems only fair to ask you when you plan to officially announce what has clearly been your intention all along here, to seek reelection?

The President. I don't know. [*Laughter*] I don't know. We haven't made a decision about an official announcement. I can tell you this, that I'm going to try to keep my team together. I hope that we'll—I'm hoping for an eighth anniversary. How's that?

Small Business and the Minimum Wage

Q. Mr. President, what do you say to small-business owners who say they'll have to lay off workers if the minimum wage is increased?

The President. I would say two things. First of all—first, in 1993, when we made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut by increasing the expensing provisions by 70 percent, and again in this minimum wage bill, there are tax relief provisions for small businesses, a number of them which will actually put more money into the hands of small businesses. So that this—even the most hard-pressed small businesses should not be adversely affected by this.

Secondly, there have been study after study after study showing—the vast majority of the studies show that a moderate increase in the minimum wage, especially in a strong economy, does not increase the unemployment rate. We have produced over 10 million new jobs as a country in the last 3½ years. But the people who are still out there working for $4.25 an hour can't live on it. And it is simply a myth to say that most people on the minimum wage are middle class kids living at home with their parents.

I was in Chicago the other day, and some of you probably were with me at that Taste of Chicago event. And I went to one of the food booths, and there was a woman there who said, "I really appreciate you trying to raise the minimum wage. I'm a single mother with two children working full time on the minimum wage and going to school at night. And it's just not true that we're all living in comfortable circumstances. Most people are having a tough time like me."

And that's what I think the answer is. This country has been well-served over a long period of time by having a minimum wage that guaranteed a decent level of subsistence. And remember this, these are people that virtually have to spend everything they make. And when they earn more money, they will turn right around and spend it with small businesses all across the country. They'll spend it at those eating establishments. They'll spend it at the dry cleaners and the places that do laundry. They'll spend it on supporting their children. And therefore, they will be lifting the American economy up, and they'll be helping a lot of small businesses, too.

The Vice President. Could I say something? Could I add a word since—in view of the occasion I feel it's okay to interject one word here. I remember when we started this fight. I believe it was the Jim Lehrer show went and asked the question you just asked——

The President. I remember that.

The Vice President. ——to employees who are making the minimum wage. And you know, they're the ones who really ought to give the answer. And I remember vividly one woman in southern Virginia who was making the minimum wage, was asked by the reporter, what

about this argument that if they increase your minimum wage X amount, your employer might reduce the number of jobs in your workplace. She thought just for a minute and looked at him straight in the eye and she said, "I'll take my chances."

And that's the way people who were making the minimum wage feel about this question. And the studies indicate that they're right, especially in today's economy.

Helms-Burton Legislation

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to enact the Helms-Burton legislation that would allow lawsuits to move forward?

The President. Would you say that again, please?

Q. Do you plan to implement title III of the Helms-Burton legislation which is due on July 16th to allow those lawsuits to move forward?

The President. I'm sorry, I have not made a determination on that. That has not come to me for a determination yet, so I can't comment.

Let me—before I leave, I also want to say a special word of thanks to my longtime friend Secretary Reich, who has carried on this fight for the minimum wage and for a minimum wage that would not be crippled by exempting millions and millions of workers from its impact. And so this was an especially sweet day for him as well, and I thank him for his efforts. And I thank you again, all of you, for being here. This is a great day for our working families.

Thank you.

Assault Weapons Ban

Q. Mr. President, what's your response to Dole's statement on assault weapons?

The President. Let me say, I'm not entirely sure what he meant when he said what he said. My position is clear. I fought for and passed the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, the 100,000 police. If he now believes that we were right on that, then I applaud that. But it's not clear to me that that's what he said. So I can't comment on what he said because I'm not sure what he said.

Thanks.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:10 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on the Program To Train and Equip the Bosnian Federation Armed Forces

July 9, 1996

I am pleased to announce the start of the U.S.-led train-and-equip program for the armed forces of the Bosnian Federation. The purpose of this program is to assist in providing Bosnia with the ability to defend itself and thereby promote security and stability in the region. The program will also help ensure that upon IFOR's departure, a military balance exists among the former warring parties so that none of them are encouraged to resume hostilities.

Full commencement of the train-and-equip program was conditioned on the Bosnian Government fully complying with two commitments: first, the Dayton provision mandating the withdrawal of foreign forces and terminating its intelligence cooperation with Iran, and second, the passage of a new Federation Defense Law leading to the integration of Federation military forces and the creation of western-oriented defense institutions in Bosnia. On June 26, I certified that the Bosnian Government had met its commitments with regard to foreign forces and relations with Iran.

I am very pleased to say that this afternoon the Bosnian Federation Parliament adopted a new Defense Law. Bosnian President Izetbegovic and Federation President Zubak have overcome many significant issues in order for the Defense Law to become reality. Their leadership reflects a commitment to a workable Federation Government, and this law is an essential building block of a functioning Federation. When implemented, it will strengthen security for all Bosnians and contribute significantly to a lasting peace in the region.

With the passage of the law, the Bosnian Government has made good on its commitments. Now we can make good on ours: the U.S.-led, international train-and-equip program will begin immediately. We anticipate the program will start in a matter of days in Sarajevo when the Federation signs a contract with MPRI, a U.S.-based company which will execute and manage the program within Bosnia. MPRI will conduct its first training session for senior military leaders in Bosnia within approximately 3 to 4 weeks.

The U.S. drawdown and transfer of approximately $100 million worth of military equipment to Bosnia will also now begin soon. The drawdown package includes individual equipment items, tactical communications assets, small arms and ammunition, main battle tanks, armored personnel carriers, light antitank weapons, and utility helicopters.

NOTE: In his statement, the President referred to President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and President Kresimir Zubak of the Bosnian Federation.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Coastal Zone Management

July 9, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit the Biennial Report of the Office of Ocean and Coastal Resource Management, National Ocean Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) for fiscal years 1994 and 1995. This report is submitted as required by section 316 of the Coastal Zone Management Act (CZMA) of 1972, as amended, (16 U.S.C. 1451, *et seq.*).

The report discusses progress made at the national level in administering the Coastal Zone Management and Estuarine Research Reserve Programs during these years, and spotlights the accomplishments of NOAA's State coastal management and estuarine research reserve program partners under the CZMA.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

July 9, 1996.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting

July 9, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Communications Act of 1934, as amended (47 U.S.C. 396(i)), I transmit herewith the Annual Report of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) for Fiscal Year 1995 and the Inventory of the Federal Funds Distributed to Public Telecommunications Entities by Federal Departments and Agencies: Fiscal Year 1995.

Since 1967, when the Congress created the Corporation, CPB has overseen the growth and development of quality services for millions of Americans.

This year's report highlights ways the Corporation has helped millions of American families and children gain new learning opportunities through technology. At a time when technology is advancing at a pace that is as daunting as it is exhilarating, it is crucial for all of us to work together to understand and take advantage of these changes.

By continuing to broadcast programs that explore the challenging issues of our time, by working with local communities and schools to introduce more and more children to computers and the Internet, in short, by honoring its com-

mitment to enriching the American spirit, the Corporation is preparing all of us for the 21st century.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

July 9, 1996.

Remarks on Signing the Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996

July 10, 1996

Thank you very much and good morning, ladies and gentlemen. I want to join first with the Vice President in thanking Senator Kennedy, Senator Faircloth, Congressman Hyde, and Congressman Conyers and all the Members of Congress for supporting this legislation in such a vigorous and such a prompt way.

I think all of you know that we are here today to emphasize publicly our solidarity with this cause and with this piece of legislation. Ordinarily we would be here at a signing ceremony, and I want to say a special word of appreciation to the Members of Congress, especially to the sponsors, because this bill came down to the White House while the Congress was out of session, and every Member we discussed this issue with said, "Go on and sign the bill, Mr. President, because we don't want to lose a single day when this bill will not be a law of the land." And I thought it was important for you to come down here so that America could see the breadth and depth of support in the Congress, among religious leaders who are here, and community leaders for this legislation and for this cause.

This act makes destructive hate crimes against houses of worship a Federal crime. It doubles the maximum sentence for these crimes that cause injury to people. It increases the statute of limitations from 5 to 7 years. It passed unanimously, and that is a great tribute to the depth of conviction in the Congress about this issue.

We all know that burning churches is an outrage. Since January of '95—listen to this—more than 190 incidents of fire or desecration of houses of worship have been reported in the United States. While many have been targeted at black churches in the South, there have also been attacks on synagogues, mosques, and white churches in all parts of this country. When these attacks are motivated by hate, they are an affront to our basic commitment to religious liberty and racial tolerance, and in so doing they pose a challenge not just to those whose houses of worship are desecrated or burned but to the entire Nation and to our future as a common community.

These attacks, as the Vice President said, may be intended to divide Americans, but they have just the opposite effect. We all know when someone burns a house of worship it must mean that the person committing the crime views the people who worship in that house as somehow fundamentally less human. And that is wrong. We know it's wrong, and we know it violates everything that this country was founded upon. We see a spirit today with Republicans and Democrats here that rejects that and says America is better than that.

The National Church Arson Task Force which we have created is mobilizing the forces of the Departments of Justice and Treasury, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and other Federal agencies, working with communities all over our country to catch and to prosecute arsonists, to prevent further burnings, and to help communities to rebuild. I have directed FEMA to coordinate a prevention effort, and we have taken steps to provide $6 million through the Bureau of Justice Assistance to law enforcement and other community efforts in 13 targeted States.

It's also important to know that arrests are being made. In the last 3 weeks, arrests have been made in connection with fires in North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Missouri. Tomorrow Vice President Gore is meeting with leaders of the insurance industry here at the White House to build on their pledge to work in partnership with all of us to prevent these crimes.

And while, I say again, not all these crimes are racially motivated, a significant number of them are. We have to continue our struggle

against racism and religious bigotry. I want to compliment all the religious organizations and other groups in this country that have agreed to come together to help to rebuild these churches, showing that we can reach across lines of race and religion and region to bring all law-abiding Americans together in this rebuilding effort.

Recently I declared this month of July National Month of Unity, calling on religious leaders of all faiths and citizens from all walks of life to reach out to one another to strengthen the ideals that light our way as Americans and keep us strong. In recent days, here on the lawn of the White House, we have seen another sort of flame in America, the Olympic flame, which symbolizes the best of the human spirit. The other flames of these awful church burnings symbolize the worst instincts of those who would take us back to a time of terrible division and hatred. But it's the Olympic flame, carried by American citizen heroes all over our country, which is now burning throughout the South, making its way to its final destination in Atlanta.

As the world looks to our Nation as the host country of the 100th Olympic games, let us resolve anew to extinguish the flames of bigotry and intolerance and keep the flame of religious freedom and ethnic diversity and respect for all Americans burning brightly in this Olympic season.

Thank you all for your contribution to that effort, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:20 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. H.R. 3525, approved July 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–155.

Remarks to the NAACP Convention in Charlotte, North Carolina
July 10, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. President Mfume, I hope you do get your 4 more years. [*Laughter*] And I hope I get to hang around to work with you.

Madam Chair, Bishop Graves, Hazel and other distinguished members—[*laughter*]. Hey, she met me outside and kissed me. [*Laughter*] Brother Williams, thank you for singing for us. Reverend Hooks, you're looking young and handsome, I'm glad to see.

Ladies and gentlemen, last year I know the First Lady came to visit with you, and she had a wonderful time. And she is completing a trip that she made on behalf of our country after the meeting of the G-7 industrial countries in France. She went to a lot of the nations that used to be part of the Soviet empire, that were once Communist and are now free. And she's had a wonderful trip. Last night I talked to her. She was in Finland, and so far north the Sun never really goes down at this time of year. So I knew she wouldn't be mad when I woke her up at 2 o'clock in the morning to talk. [*Laughter*] And she asked me to give you her best.

I also want you to know what I did. The last thing I did before I got on the helicopter at the White House to come here today was to meet with Mickey Kantor, our Secretary of Commerce, and Michael Brown, Ron Brown's son, and the delegation who are leaving today to finish the mission Ron Brown started in Bosnia and Croatia. And I was especially proud that almost all the companies who lost executives on that terrible day sent replacements to go on this mission to finish the work of advancing the cause of peace. And I want to thank you, Mr. President, and all of you, for the tribute that you gave to Secretary Brown yesterday.

I am honored to be here today because of what the NAACP has meant to America. As a young boy growing up in the segregated South, it was the NAACP that gave all of us hope that there could be a better day. I told Myrlie—I don't think she quite believed it—that in early 1974, when I started my political career, I actually purchased a membership at the Mallalieu A.M.E. Church in Fort Smith, Arkansas. I came to a meeting one Sunday afternoon and bought myself a membership card. I hate to say that because I'll get a letter from Kweisi next week pointing out that I have not kept up my renewals over the last 20 years. [*Laughter*]

What a difference a year makes. Last year you announced your new leadership, a new sense of partnership, a new spirit of commitment to go into the 21st century. You elected Myrlie Evers as your chairman. You elected this great former Member of Congress—[*applause*]—that's right, give her a hand. You elected this great Member of Congress as your new president and CEO, Kweisi Mfume. As you might imagine, given the way things are around here in Washington, I miss him more than ever. I was riding in with Congressman Mel Watt from Charlotte today, from the airport, and we were talking about—where's Mel? He's here somewhere I think, Congressman Watt. And we were talking about what a great voice Kweisi was in the Congress. But I think we gained a greater leader in the struggle for equality and progress in America when he changed jobs.

I want to thank you for making your voice heard again for economic justice, for the empowerment of all voters, for educational excellence for our children. And I want to thank you especially for your effort to bring young people back into this organization and into the spirit of citizenship in America. We need these young people. After all, they have more tomorrows than yesterdays. [*Laughter*] There are some days when I resent that, but it's true. [*Laughter*]

And we can't remake our yesterdays, we can only make tomorrows. And we can't afford to have young people saying, "Well, oh, this doesn't matter. It doesn't matter whether I am involved in the NAACP. It doesn't matter whether I vote. It doesn't matter whether I'm in a community group to try to help save my peers from drugs and gangs and give them a bright future and a better life." It does matter. It matters.

And because of the dedication of Mr. Mfume to the young people of his congressional district and to the young men in his own family, he brought that conviction that he could inspire young people to his work here. And in a way, it may be the lasting legacy of this period of reform of the NAACP that you brought the young blood of America back into this organization, fighting for the future and working together. And I hope he will stay with it. I'm glad that us gray-haired people still have a role in it, however. [*Laughter*]

My fellow Americans, our Nation, as you all know, is at a crossroads. We are only 4 years away now from a new century in a new millennium. Anytime you change the calendar in that way, people start to think in bigger ways. They start to imagine the great significance of the moment. But it happens to be true now, for we are undergoing a sweeping change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to the rest of the world.

We are leaving the cold war that dominated most of our lives behind and moving into a new global village, if I can use my wife's term, with lots of opportunity and a lot of troubles, some of them new and some of them very old. We are moving away from the industrial age into a new era dominated by information and technology, where more people will have more opportunities than ever before, but unless they have the capacity to seize those opportunities, they'll be left behind faster than ever before. So when I sought this office, I did so because I wanted to get our country ready for the 21st century, because I thought there were three simple things that we had to do.

One is to make sure we enter the next century with the American dream alive for everybody who is willing to work for it, without regard to their race, their gender, their region, or where they start out in life: high, low, or somewhere in the middle.

Secondly, I thought we had to find a way to resist these destructive winds that are blowing in so many other countries to divide people by race and religion and ethnicity and, instead, come together in a greater sense of community, to bridge our divisions, respect our diversity, extol our shared values, and make America stronger because of our diversity, not weaker because of it.

And the third thing I wanted to do is to make sure that in this new world our country continues to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. It matters in Haiti. It matters in South Africa. It matters in Northern Ireland. It matters in the Middle East. It matters in all these countries, but it matters to us here at home, when we can work with the Russians to reduce our nuclear arsenals, when we can work with other countries to stop the proliferation of dangerous weapons, when we can cooperate with other countries to prevent terrorist incidents before they occur. It matters that America is a force for peace and freedom and prosperity. It matters to every single one of you.

My strategy to achieve that vision was remarkably simple. I thought we had to reassert the basic bargain in American citizenship: more opportunity for everyone and responsibility from all, and the understanding that that responsibility includes our common responsibility not just to make the most of our own lives and our family lives but to be good citizens for our communities and for our country.

At this time of decision, that's what I hope the discussion will be about in this election year. We've come a long way in the last 4 years, but we've got a long way to go. Four years ago when I became President, the economy was stagnant. We had the slowest job growth since the Great Depression. The deficit was spiraling. We had quadrupled our national debt in only 12 years from what we'd done in the previous 200. We put in place an economic plan designed to cut the deficit, expand trade for American products on free and fair terms, and invest more in the people of this country, wherever they lived and wherever they were starting out in life. And 4 years later, it's made a difference.

I said 4 years ago that if the Congress would adopt my plan I thought it would cut the deficit in half and produce 8 million jobs. Well, in 3½ years, we know it's cut the deficit by more than half and produced over 10 million jobs. That is a good beginning for the American people.

For much of the last 4 years the African-American unemployment rate has been in single digits for the first time in 20 years. There are 100,000 new African-American-owned businesses. After falling by $2,000 in the previous 4 years, median income for African-American families has increased by $2,400, or 11 percent, in just the first 2 years of this administration. Average wages are going up now for the first time in a decade. Homeownership is the highest in 15 years; there are 3.7 million new American homeowners. The growth of homeownership among African-Americans is higher than the national average. And one reason is we have a Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in Henry Cisneros that has worked to cut the closing costs on those homes by $1,000 for first-time homebuyers.

So we're moving in the right direction. But we have to keep working until all of our people can reap the rewards of this time of change, including those that have not been reached by the recovery, those that have been downsized in competition, those that are stuck in place because they don't have the education and the skills to move up. So we have to keep working on balancing this budget because that keeps the interest rates down, the investments coming, and takes the burden off these young people you're trying to get interested in their own future.

But we have to do it in a way that recognizes our obligations to each other, that keeps the community together. Yes, reform Medicare, but don't create a two-class system and make the oldest, the poorest, and the sickest seniors more vulnerable. Yes, slow the inflation rate in Medicaid, but don't give up the guarantee that we have a national responsibility to take care of poor pregnant women, poor infant children, people with disabilities in families all over this country, and elderly people who have to go into nursing homes. I think that's our common responsibility. We don't have to give that up. Neither should we reduce our commitment to excellence in education and to the environment in the name of balancing the budget, because that's not necessary to be done.

We have to go on with the cause of health care reform. There's still too many people in this country that don't have health insurance or that lose it. That's what the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill is all about. It simply says you don't lose your health insurance if you lose your job, you're moving from job to job, or if someone in your family has been sick—a simple little guarantee that could immediately benefit over 8 million Americans who are working in this country trying to support their kids and hold their families together. And I hope the Congress will pass it without delay.

I was very happy that yesterday the Senate voted to pass a 90-cent increase in the minimum wage, something we need very much. Ten million of our hardest-pressed workers will get a raise. And I urge Congress to go on and pass it now. It's passed the House and passed the Senate. Let's go on and pass it just as soon as possible. Get it on up here so I can sign that bill and we can give people a raise.

In addition to the minimum wage, there's some other provisions in that bill that I'm very proud of that have, to be fair, bipartisan support. One is—and for all of you in small businesses, it will matter a lot—we're going to increase the expensing provision of small businesses, their writeoff capacity, from $17,500 to $25,000 a year. That's important for a lot of you here

in this room. It was only $10,000 when I took office, and the small-business community said it ought to be 25. If that bill gets to my desk, it will be 25.

The other thing that I think is very important is that this bill contains a package of pension reforms which will make it easier for people who work for small businesses and people who are self-employed, and especially for people who have to change jobs a lot—people who are out there selling computer software or otherwise have to move from job to job—to take out a pension, to keep it when they're unemployed, and to keep it when they move from job to job without being interrupted. People ought to be able to save for their family and save for their own retirement even if they're working in little businesses, even if they're self-employed, even if they have to move across the country, even if they have to change jobs. That is in there with the minimum wage bill, too.

Four years ago we had a lot of rhetoric on crime but not a lot of action, and the crime rate was at unbelievably high levels. But there was a quiet change going on in many of our communities, who recognized that we had to have more police on the street trying to prevent crime, not just catch criminals; relating to people in the communities; working with the parents; working with the children. They recognized that in addition to tougher punishment for serious offenders, we needed more prevention programs for community activists who wanted to help save these kids.

And when I became President I asked the Congress to pass that kind of crime bill, and they did. And now we're putting 100,000 police back on the street. We're taking guns off the street with the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill. We're increasing penalties for people who should be punished more, but also giving our young people something to say yes to.

Under the direction of General McCaffrey, who this week is chairing a conference in El Paso, Texas, on how to stop drugs at the border, we are targeting a drug strategy to help young people. We cannot let another generation of our young people fall into the trap of drugs and gangs and crime.

We're working with communities all over this country with innovative strategies, not telling people what to do but saying, "If you want to do this, we'll help you." School uniform policies in places like Long Beach, California, or Las Cruces, New Mexico. We're working on enforcing the truancy laws—kids ought to be in school, not on the street during school hours, I think—and helping people do that. We're working on community-based curfews. And I'm holding up to this country especially the example of New Orleans, where they had a huge drop in juvenile crime not only because they imposed a curfew system but because when they caught a young person out after curfew, instead of just punishing the person, they took these young people to a curfew center and said, "Tell me about your life. What's going on in your life? What are your problems? What can we do to help?" It was a positive as well as a disciplinary move. And the juvenile crime rate is going down dramatically.

These things are working all across America. We set up a framework in Washington, but all we're really trying to do is help people at the community level come together and take responsibility for their own kids and their own future. And we are now seeing the 4th year in a row where the crime rate is going down. And that's something to be proud of.

Now, having said that, you'd be cheering from the rafters but for two things. Instead of polite applause, we'd get a roaring cheer, but there's two things that keep you from giving a roaring cheer. What are they? Number one, the crime rate's still too high. So what if it's lower? It's still way too high. And that means it's important. We dare not turn back on a strategy that's working. We've got to keep strengthening our community efforts, putting more of these people out on the street who can be community police officers.

I won't be satisfied with this crime problem until we can meet this test—we will never purge the country completely of crime because you can't—at least the President doesn't have the power to alter human nature. The preachers here can call on a higher power, but I can't. So we'll always have some crime. What will be the test for you, when you know that the crime rate is at a manageable, acceptable level in a civilized country? When you go home at night after a long day at work and you flip on the evening news, and the lead story is not a crime story, or if it is, you're surprised instead of deadened by it. You're really surprised. Then you will know that we've got the crime rate going in the right direction for good.

The other thing that bothers people is that even though the crime rate's going down in the country as a whole, the rate of crime and violence by people under 18 is going up. We've still got too many innocent kids being killed in crossfires by drive-by shootings. We still have too many kids that are out there raising themselves in the streets, so they wind up in gangs because everybody wants to be part of something. Most people can't just live wandering around as hermits all alone. So if you put people out there on the street and they have to raise themselves, they wind up in gangs because people don't want to be alone. There's not another compelling alternative. We have to fill that gap. And we have to do the things that are responsible, those of us who are responsible for the future. We cannot lose another generation to gangs and guns and drugs. We cannot waver on it.

We cannot show weakness, and we dare not cater to special interest groups on this. We are determined to stand by the ban on 19 deadly assault weapons. It was the right thing to do. We are determined to stand by the Brady bill's requirement of waiting periods.

Let me just tell you, I know when we passed the Brady bill and when we passed the assault weapons ban in 1994—and Mr. Mfume will tell you this—we lost some Members of Congress who actually lost their seats in Congress because they voted for these bills. People went into their districts, called voters on the telephone, sent them letters, ran ads saying, "These people are trying to take your guns away from you. They're trying to end your ability to go out in the country and hunt." That's what they said. And, you know, most people who work hard don't have time to keep up with what's going on every day. A lot of people didn't know, and they went right in and dutifully voted against these Members of Congress. And some of them gave up their seats.

But you know what? It's been 2 years now—two deer seasons—[*laughter*]—two duck seasons, two turkey seasons, two quail seasons, two squirrel seasons, and everybody in this whole country that likes to do that is still shooting at those animals with the same gun they had before we passed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. Every single soul. So they didn't tell the truth. But I'll tell you who doesn't have guns. Because of that Brady bill, 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not been able to get handguns to pull the trigger on innocent American citizens. We were right, and they were wrong about that, and we've got to stand tough on it.

Now, this year, we've gone through a great debate about whether or not to repeal the assault weapons ban. I couldn't believe it. Just 4 months ago the House of Representatives actually voted to repeal the assault weapons ban. They want to take Uzis out there and shoot at the deer. [*Laughter*] Wild turkey fly fast; you need lots of bullets. [*Laughter*] I'm kind of laughing to keep from crying about this.

And let me say, there's now a lot of talk about, you know, where the major candidates will stand on this repeal of the assault weapons ban, who will push for it, and won't, and whatever. But I will say one thing that the Republican candidate for President has not said and probably will not and cannot say. I will veto any attempt to repeal the assault weapons ban or the Brady bill. I will veto it.

We should stand with law enforcement. We should stand with the victims of crime. You can't tell me it doesn't make any difference. I'll never forget a handsome young business man from northern California I met a couple of years ago when we were fighting this battle. He had a beautiful young daughter, but his beautiful young daughter no longer had her beautiful young mother, because the beautiful young mother just happened to be in a highrise one day when a madman happened to walk in and cut loose with an assault weapon.

Now, people go crazy; these things happen. But if he'd had a revolver instead of an assault weapon, there wouldn't be so many people dead in that building. And this is important. This is an important issue. So I ask you all to think about this and talk about this.

And let me just tell you something that makes, again, Kweisi's attempt to bring all the young people in here so important. Just starting in grade school now, we have the largest group of young Americans—more diverse than ever before in terms of their racial and ethnic backgrounds—the largest group of young Americans entering our school system since the baby boomers entered right after World War II.

It was thought for a long time we would never have a group of youngsters that large again. This group is larger. They are more likely to be people of color. They are quite likely to come from families with difficult situations, or at least dif-

ficult economic situations. We must turn this problem of juvenile violence and gangs around before they reach their adolescent years if we don't want to reap the whirlwind of this.

One way we have to do it is with the right kind of welfare reform. Three-quarters of the people in America on welfare are already under welfare reform experiments because of the action our Government has taken to encourage strategies to move people from welfare to work.

My criteria is simple. I don't mind being tough on requiring people to work, but we ought to want for people on welfare what we want for ourselves. What do we want? We want to succeed at home and at work. We want to be good parents, and we want to be good from 9 to 5. We want to feel good about ourselves when we come home from work, but we want to feel good about ourselves when we leave home with our kids behind. That is the simple test. So I say, tough on work, yes; tough on kids, no way. Be good to the kids. Invest in child care.

And we've had time enough now to see who is right. We have 1.3 million people less on the welfare rolls today than the day I took the oath of office as President of the United States. That's the way to move people from welfare to work: support them with child care and then require those work requirements.

And the most important thing we can do is make a wholesale commitment to educational excellence and educational opportunity in this country. We have got to do more. People say we've done a lot on that in the last 15 years. Not nearly enough. We've expanded Head Start but not enough. We've worked to shrink class sizes and help teachers be retrained. We've worked to encourage States to set high standards and to give them the flexibility they need to meet the standards. We've worked to open the doors of college wider than ever, increasing the Pell grants, changing the student loan program so that people could borrow the money at lower costs with less hassle and then have the option to pay it back as a percentage of their income, so that no young person should ever drop out of school because of the burden of a student loan.

But we have to do more. I am determined to see every classroom and every library in every school in the United States of America hooked up to the Internet by the year 2000 so the poorest kids can get the richest education and have access to all the information that any student anywhere in the world has.

I believe that the best tax cut we could give the American people is a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year. I believe that we ought to make at least 2 years of college after high school just as universal as a high school education is today. I think everybody ought to have access to it. That's why I have proposed a $1,500 refundable tax credit, enough to pay the entire tuition cost at the typical community college in the United States, so that everybody of any age can at least go back and get 2 years of college so they can do well in the world toward which we're going.

If you want to inspire young people of the future, you at least ought to be able to tell them—you at least ought to be able to tell them—you ought to be able to look them right in the eye and say, you will go to college if you do this. That's the least that we can do in Washington to help those of you who are out there in our neighborhoods help to rescue this generation of young people and give them something to say yes to and a bright future to embrace.

So these are the things that I think we ought to be focusing on: things that help people make the most of their own lives—not a guarantee but an opportunity; things that help build strong families; things that help build strong communities. They'll build a strong country. And it's one thing to preach to people that they ought to be responsible—and I'm for that—but if they are responsible, they ought to be rewarded with opportunity. The two things should go together as a bargain.

Let me say one other thing. Now that the cold war is over, we have, unfortunately, not a world free of danger. We've got a lot of security problems. You know it as well as I do. We just dealt with it with a terrible, terrible loss of our Air Force personnel in Saudi Arabia.

What is leading to all this terrorism around the world? What does it have in common, when the Hutus and the Tutsis just slaughter each other in Rwanda or Burundi? What does that have to do with people rioting in Northern Ireland? What does it have to do with the Bosnians, the Muslims, the Croats, and the Serbs and what they did to each other for 4 years after living together in peace for decades? What does it have to do with the continuing tensions in the Middle East?

Well, I think it has to do with human nature being vulnerable every day to taking the easy way of defining ourselves in terms of who we're not, instead of who we are; defining ourselves in terms of who we can look down on, instead of what we can look up to. What leads to an Oklahoma City bombing? What were those people thinking in that group in Arizona where our Federal officials broke it up the other day before—when they had that massive weapons cache and all those—at least they have been charged with plans to blow up all kinds of Federal facilities? What are they thinking about when they burn all those churches and synagogues or, in a few cases, mosques and Islamic centers? What are they thinking about?

I'm telling you, it's something endemic to human nature, something you have to teach your kids about all the time, something we all have to fight. It's almost like, every day you wake up and the scales are going inside you, you know, hope and fear, hatred and reconciliation. But there are people all over the world that look like they just can't exist unless they go out and kill somebody who is different from them—or at least keep them at arm's length.

And nobody has ever perfectly solved this problem. There are no perfect answers because, again, it deals with the human spirit and the things that are endemic to human nature. But that's why I know that even though we desegregated our schools and threw racism out of public facilities and elected African-Americans and Hispanics and Asian-Americans to Congress, passed civil rights laws, this job is a never-ending job, here and around the world. It's a never-ending job.

That's why, notwithstanding the political movement of the moment, after I studied it for several months I thought we could and should make some changes in the affirmative action laws, but that we should mend them and not end them. I thought it would be a mistake to end them and walk away. I think it's a mistake not to try to keep working for voting rights and greater impact of voting rights. And notwithstanding the recent Supreme Court decisions which, of course, we will all honor, we still have to be on a mission of making sure that the Congress of the United States represents the American people in a fair and plural way.

And it's why we have to keep standing against this rash of church burnings. You know, it's hard to think of anything an American could do that didn't kill a lot of people that would offend our sense of decency more than burning a house of worship. This whole country got started in part by people coming here so they could build their own churches and worship God in any way they pleased, and they wouldn't be oppressed here. That's how we got started.

In the darkest hours of our country, when we lived with the awful curse of slavery and then later with the problems associated with the attempt to escape it, if it had not been for the African-American church—if it had not been for the African-American church, what would have happened? We might have plunged this country into an orgy of violence and killing and lost tens of thousands more people and hardened our hearts against one another in ways that it would have taken a century or more to overcome.

An attack on a house of worship, whether it's a big old Southern Baptist church or a big old black Baptist church or a tiny synagogue or a Muslim mosque that only a few people ever frequent, is an attack on the whole idea of America. And it represents our problem in dealing with this curse of hatred based on race and religion and ethnicity that is sweeping the world and fueling so much of this terrorism.

I want to thank you for what you have done. The NAACP has worked with law enforcement and government and business and religious leaders to help us catch and prosecute people, and to help us rebuild, and to help us prevent these burnings. You know that my administration stands behind you. We created a national task force on these church burnings, headed, I might add, very ably by two of the finest African-Americans in our administration: Deval Patrick, the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, and Jim Johnson, the Assistant Secretary of Treasury for Enforcement. We've got over 200 FBI and ATF agents working to solve these crimes, going through the evidence, doing the investigations. And we're making arrests. In just the last 3 weeks, arrests have been made in connection with fires in Missouri, North and South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Washington. And just this past Monday, while you were here, two members of the KKK were charged with the burning of the Mount Zion A.M.E. Church in Greeleyville, South Carolina, where I visited just last month.

This morning before I left the White House, I met with a bipartisan group of congressional leaders to thank them for quickly and unanimously passing bipartisan legislation to make it easier to prosecute arson attacks against houses of worship. Also, that legislation authorizes a $10 million Department of Housing and Urban Development loan guarantee program to be used for church rebuilding, to work with the money that's been raised by the National Council of Churches, the guarantees of volunteers that have been given by Habitat for Humanity and others.

But we must do more. Two weeks ago, I began to convene religious leaders and Governors and others in the White House to talk about what else we can do. I asked the head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, James Lee Witt, who's used to working with local community groups when we have natural disasters, to work with the Justice and Treasury Departments, with the Governors to frame a national prevention initiative.

One of the big problems here in preventing these crimes is that you've got so many of these little churches that are out on country roads, and they're old wooden structures, and they don't even have a full-time staff, so they can't afford to have full-time people there as night watchmen. Keep in mind, so far there's no evidence of a national conspiracy. Most of these people are not armed when they sneak in in the middle of the night to do this. If you just had bright lights and somebody hanging around most of the time, it wouldn't happen. Last week I transferred $6 million to local communities in 13 States across the South. That's enough to pay for one new police officer in a county to drive around on these back roads to patrol the churches at night or for lighting or for whatever else they want to use it for to try to prevent—prevent—the fires from occurring in the first place.

And tomorrow the Vice President is meeting with leaders of the insurance industry at the White House to build on their pledge to work in partnership with all of us to prevent these crimes and to make sure that we can still get insurance for these churches. I've heard a lot about that from people, and it's important.

So we're going to do everything we can to stop these fires, to catch who is doing it, to rebuild. But I say again, this work we're doing here is dealing with a flaw in the human spirit that all of us have to fight always. We cannot—we cannot—let significant numbers of the American people turn into cowards acting in the dark of night on racial, ethnic, or religious bigotry. We cannot do that. We cannot let people in this country develop terrorist cells to manifest their hatred of their own Government in the greatest experiment in self-government in human history.

If we are going to continue to be a force against terrorism and against hatred in the rest of the world, we have to continue to purge ourselves of it. That's why earlier this month I signed a proclamation designating July as the National Month of Unity for Americans. I asked religious leaders of all faiths and citizens from all walks of life to reach out to one another, to strengthen the ideals that light our way and keep this country strong.

We have not always lived up to our promise. We're people; we're human; we make mistakes; we're imperfect. But we have never stopped trying. And we have never stopped moving. And as we enter this great new century, we have got to say that we're going to stamp out the fires of hatred and bigotry. We have got to say we are going to find a way to reject intolerance and heal our divisions. We have got to find a way to say, as your president has said, this is the new day begun.

I just want to leave you with this thought. A couple of nights ago I met with a group of business people to talk about a number of issues, and one of them said to me—he said, "Mr. President, I've been in business for over 30 years. I've built facilities in more than 25 nations. I have seen this world changed a lot." He said, "There is no country in the world today in better shape for the next century than the United States." And he said, "Our diversity, the fact that we are all so different, is an enormous asset in a global economy where information and ideas have to be exchanged at a rapid rate and people have to understand each other and deal with each other." He said, "That's why it's so important that we learn how to work together and be together, because if we do, there is no stopping this country."

I've said several times in the last few weeks—I'll just close with this. It seems like my life as your President has been dominated by fire in the last couple of weeks, arguably for longer than that. But I mean, literally, on the one hand there's the church fires, which are the symbol

of everything that is wrong, that we want to reject when it occurs in our country. And on the other hand, there is the fire that burns in the Olympic flame that's making its way to Atlanta.

And I'm sure every one of you has read as this flame has moved through your States of all these community heroes who are picked to carry the torch for a kilometer. Some of them were in wheelchairs and had to roll along; some of them were very old and had to walk along; some of them were great athletes and could fly along so fast the flame almost went out. But every one of them had one thing in common: They were picked to carry that torch because they were, first and foremost, great citizens.

There was a 74-year-old woman in Nevada that had taken 100 kids in who had been abandoned, so she took them in. There was a man who came in in Washington, one of the torchbearers at the White House, probably about 60, African-American man, who had devoted his life to rescuing the lives of children. And he walked up with 12 of his kids, and they were white, black, brown, and Asian-Americans. He had given his life to them. There was a Catholic nun who had devoted her whole life to fulfilling the Catholic social ministry in her community. There was the deaf president of Gallaudet University, our Nation's deaf university, who is in his late fifties. And when he left what he was doing with us, he was going that week to run a 100-mile race. There was a young woman who played basketball at the University of Tennessee whose body was crushed in an accident, and she thought her life was nearly over, her athletic career was certainly over. But by sheer force of will, she got herself back into shape, resumed her basketball career, helped them win a national championship, and is one of the leaders on our basketball team.

All of these people shared one thing in common—they're all different races, all different religions, all different backgrounds. They lived their citizenship. They bridged the differences between us. They were looking for the future. They saw themselves in terms of who they were, not in terms of what they weren't; in terms of what they could become, not who they were supposed to hate; in terms of what kind of partnerships and teamwork they could build, not how they could be divided.

That is the mission that the NAACP will carry, with great success and energy and commitment and conviction, to the hearts and minds of these young people into the 21st century. That is the mission we must be on. And that is what I hope and pray we will be discussing in this election season: How can we give to our children the kind of America they deserve to have.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. at the Charlotte Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Bishop William Graves, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Memphis, TN; Hazel Dukes, planning committee chair, and J.R. Williams, organist, NAACP 87th convention; Rev. Benjamin Hooks, former executive director, NAACP; and the late Ronald H. Brown, former Secretary of Commerce.

Remarks at Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte
July 10, 1996

Thank you. Didn't she do a good job? Let's give her another hand. Tracy was great. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'd like to thank Dr. Zeiss for hosting me here and for all the work that he does to give so many people an opportunity. I want to thank my good friend Congressman Mel Watt for the representation that he gives to you and for the service that he gives to our Nation.

I thank Harvey Gantt, who's been my friend for a very long time, for joining me here today and for his commitment to the education of all Americans and the opportunity for all the citizens of the great State of North Carolina.

I want to thank all of you for making me feel welcome. I was greeted when I came here by Brian Johnson, the president of your student body, and I got to learn a little bit about the

students who are here and this fine institution. I thank the mayor and the other local officials who are here and the educational officials from the State of North Carolina.

I am glad to be back in Charlotte. This is a little different experience. The last time I was here I got to do something Presidents don't get to do; I got to go to the Charlotte speedway and drive my own car, because there was a Mustang owners convention, and I am one. So I had a great time.

Today I want to talk about what puts all of you who are students here in the driver's seat for America's future. I think that this institution—and many people have talked about my abiding love affair with community colleges—but just look around you. Listen to Tracy's story. To me, the community college is the institution in America which most clearly reflects how we ought to be organized, how we ought to work together, and what we ought to be trying to do as we move this country into the 21st century.

You think about it. Compared to a lot of educational institutions, it's not very bureaucratic. It's flexible. The curriculum changes all the time, based upon the needs of the people and the changes in the economy. It's also a highly democratic—that's small "d"—institution. [*Laughter*] It's open to everyone. It also embodies the values that I think this country needs to work on as we move to the future. Everybody can have an opportunity. They can't seize it unless they're responsible enough to take control of their own lives, just like Tracy did. And there's a real sense of community here.

You go to any community college in America—and I've been to some in which there was as many as 70 or 80 different ethnic groups represented in a single community college—and the sense of community comes out of people's shared values and reaches across their racial, their ethnic, and their religious differences, so that people are stronger by working together than they are by emphasizing their division.

That's what this whole country needs to do. This country would work better if it worked more like a giant community college. Indeed, one of the things that Vice President Gore and I have tried so hard to do is to make our Federal Government less bureaucratic, less rule-oriented, more goal-oriented, to give people opportunities but not guarantees, and to give you a better service at a lower cost. I would be remiss, since I'm here in Charlotte, if I didn't say that the best example of that may have been created by a native of Charlotte, Erskine Bowles, who is here with me today, who ran the Small Business Administration.

When I became President, somebody who wanted help from the Small Business Administration, no matter how little their business was, had to fill out a form that was an inch thick, and it took weeks to get an answer. Under Mr. Bowles' leadership we cut the form to a page; we cut the waiting time to a matter of a couple days; we cut the budget of the SBA and we doubled the loan volume of the SBA; and we increased the diversity of the loan volume, including more women and more minorities, and never lowered the standards for anybody. We just did it the way community colleges do it, giving everybody an opportunity in a nonbureaucratic, efficient, effective way.

I want to ask all of you just for a few minutes today to think about where we are in the history of this great country. We just celebrated our 220th birthday. We're 4 years away from a new century that begins a new millennium. We're going through a period of rapid change in our economy and the way we work, the very nature of the workplace. It's affecting how we live and how we raise our children and how we organize our families and communities.

And we have also gone through a great change in the way we relate to the rest of the world in terms of our opportunities and our crises. We have more economic opportunity than ever before because of the global economy. But because of the global economy, people who don't have the kind of educational opportunities that are offered here at the community college are likely to get left behind and not have a chance at those opportunities.

We don't have to worry about nuclear war as much as we once did. And I'm proud to say that for the first time since the atomic bomb was dropped 50 years ago, there's not a single nuclear weapon pointed at the children of the United States of America. I'm proud of that.

But as we learned in the heartbreaking loss of our men in uniform in Saudi Arabia, when the Federal building blew up in Oklahoma City, when we thwarted the plans that were laid in Arizona a few days ago for terrorism, we have new security threats that are the direct result of having more open borders, more easy access to information, a higher technology world. And

what I want you to think about is, how are we going to make the most of the future? How are we going to meet our challenges and preserve our values? How are we going to reward work and family?

I believe more than I can say that America has a mission to get to the 21st century with the American dream alive for every person who's willing to work for it, with the American community coming together, not being more divided, bridging the gaps of race and religion and ethnicity and gender and region and even the incomes you start out with in life to find common cause the way you do here. And finally, maintaining the leadership of this country for peace and freedom and prosperity throughout the world. And I think the only way to do that is to reassert a basic bargain: opportunity in return for responsibility from all citizens and a strong sense of community in which every single person has a citizen's responsibility to make not only your families but your neighborhoods, your communities, and your country a stronger, more united place. That is how we will make the most of our future.

Our job in Washington is to give you the chance to make the most of your own lives, not to guarantee results. When I became President we had a drifting economy, an exploding deficit, the slowest job growth since the Great Depression. I asked the Congress to adopt a plan to reduce the deficit, to dramatically expand trade, to give tax relief to the hardest-pressed working families, to—even while we were cutting spending—invest more in education, in research, in technology, in environmental protection, in ways that would grow the economy.

I said I believe this will help our economy. I think it will cut the deficit in half and create 8 million new jobs. Well, 3½ years later, we know the results. Our deficit is going to be cut by more than half, and our people have now produced 10 million new jobs in 3½ years, 320,000 of them plus in North Carolina.

There was a mention about the minimum wage a minute ago. There has always been a debate about the minimum wage. Some people say if you raise it, it will cost jobs. Ninety percent of the studies say that if you raise it in a modest manner to keep up with inflation, it does not cost jobs.

Our economy—I just got back from a meeting of the great seven industrial powers of the world in France. Together, all of them together in 3½ years, have produced 10½ million jobs, a half a million in the other six countries and 10 million in America. We can afford to raise the minimum wage and give people a decent standard of living.

Last week I met a woman who was a student in a program like many you have here, in Chicago, at a festival there in which all the different eating establishments from all the different ethnic groups came out to the great Grant Park, overlooking Lake Michigan in Chicago. And I was going from booth to booth sampling the food. It was a hard job, but I had to do it. [*Laughter*] It's one of those things you just have to do when you're President. [*Laughter*]

But this young woman was—she said, "Mr. President, I appreciate the fact that you're trying to raise that minimum wage. I hear them talking about how the only people who make the minimum wage are teenagers who live at home in middle class families." She said, "I'm a 28-year-old single mother of two. I work full time for the minimum wage, and I go to college at night, and I need it."

I saw on television a few months ago a woman interviewed down in Virginia who worked in a factory. And they said to this lady—she was in her fifties—they said, "Well, they say you might lose your job if we raise the minimum wage." And she looked at the interviewer, and she said, "Honey, I'll take my chances." [*Laughter*]

So I say to you we've got to bring the benefits of this economy to everybody. But the real answer to doing that is to focus on creating the opportunity for people to continually improve themselves. And that's where education comes in. We all know that education has always been important for individuals. Today it's more important for individuals than ever before, and it is critical to the future of this country. We have to be able to move people into the work force with the skills they need and the ability they need to learn new skills throughout a lifetime. That is what I came here to say to you today.

And I have said to people for a long, long time now, it has been apparent at least—and I say, at least—6 years, since we saw the 1990 census, why there's increasing inequality in America, why, even when we grow jobs, inequality seems to increase. It's because too many people in the adult work force in the United States did not get a chance to go to a commu-

nity college like this one and get skills that would give them a good job with a prospect of a growing income. That is a clear and overwhelming reason.

And so we have worked hard, not just to increase Head Start and to help schools lift their standards in K through 12, but to increase access to higher education. In our first 3½ years we redid the student loan program so that people could borrow the money in a way that was faster and less costly and young people borrowing money and schools that participate in our direct loan program could have at least four different options about how to repay the loans, including limiting your repayment to a certain percentage of your income so no one would ever be discouraged from borrowing money for fear that they would be bankrupt in trying to pay it back. We increased the Pell grant program which I bet is popular. And I might say, I'm trying to increase it again. We passed AmeriCorps, as your president said, the national service program. And already 45,000 Americans have had a chance to earn some money to go to college by working in their community to help people solve problems at the grassroots level.

But I want to say to you that I do not believe that's enough. I don't think it's enough. I think we have to do more to raise the quality and the opportunities in the public school years. And the Vice President and I have made a personal commitment to see that every classroom and every library in every school in America is hooked up to the Internet by the end of this decade so that all children, no matter how poor they are, no matter whether they're in rural or urban districts, can access the same information that young people in the wealthiest school districts in America can. I believe in that.

But I also know that we have to find a way to get more adults to come back to community colleges and get skills so they can upgrade their own earnings prospects and strengthen their children's future. And we have to make available a college education to every person who wants to access it.

And I have made three proposals I want to reiterate here today because I think together they would revolutionize the prospects of ordinary Americans. The first thing I want to say is everybody who wants to go to college ought to be able to go. And I have proposed—I have proposed—that's assuming they do the work and deserve to stay. I have proposed giving every family a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition for 4 years for graduate school or whatever.

But I believe the critical thing here—if you look at how our economy is structured, the critical thing is to make 2 years at a community college as universal an experience as graduation from high school is now. We need to put a 13th and 14th grade into the American psyche; every American should think that it's just as essential as getting a high school diploma. It ought to become second nature to every person.

And I have proposed also giving families a tax credit, refundable for people who don't owe that much tax, of $1,500 a year for the first year of community college and a guaranteed $1,500 credit for the second year for everyone who maintains a B average. That would open up community college to all Americans. That would cover the vast majority of tuition bills in all the community colleges in America. It would help us to ingrain in people the notion that you can't quit after high school. Even if you have to go out and go to work, you ought to be going to your community college while you're working.

And the last thing I want to say is we need to do something for the folks in the work force who lose their jobs, who are dramatically underemployed. For years and years and years, your Government, I think, has hung on to a job training system that doesn't work. There are 70 different Federal job training programs. You need a slide rule and a computer and a place on the Internet to figure out whether you're qualified for one of these 70 programs. It breaks your head just thinking about it.

What I'd like to see us do is to get rid of all these programs, create a big pot of money, and give people a skill grant when they lose their job or if they're underemployed, worth about $2,500 a year and say, you can spend up to 2,000 of this at a community college or getting an education and training; you can spend 500 searching for a new job. You decide how to spend it. The Government doesn't need a bureaucracy to tell you that the best place is a community college within driving distance of almost everybody in America.

And I want you to think about it. If we made it possible in America for every adult who is stuck in a difficult economic situation to go back to community college; if we said we will pay

the tuition of every person who is starting in community college for up to 2 years; if we said, if you want to go to a 4-year school or to a graduate program we would give you a tax deduction for the cost of tuition; if we did those things, it wouldn't be long before we would see inequality diminishing, the American people growing together the way we did after World War II, because the single most important ingredient in opportunity for all responsible Americans is having access to an adequate education for the 21st century. That is a commitment I think we ought to make together.

And let me just say this as I close: I ask you to think about what you wanted your country to look like in the 21st century. I think about it in terms of what I want America to look like when my daughter is my age and has her own children. I believe this country can be greater than it is today. I believe our best days are ahead. I believe if we can find a way to deal with the security threats that face all civilized people around the world and our problems here at home and if we can create opportunity for everybody who is willing to be responsible and if we can come together across our differences in a stronger community, that the best days of this country are still ahead.

We can create opportunity for everybody who is responsible enough to work for it. We can build a stronger American community and revel in our diversity. We can maintain our leadership in the world. It all starts, however, with being committed to organize ourselves the way this community college is and being committed to giving every single American citizen the kind of opportunities that you celebrate here every day.

Keep up the good work; support it. This is not a partisan issue, it's America's future.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. in the Quadrangle. In his remarks, he referred to Tracy Tallent, graduate, and Tony Zeiss, president, Central Piedmont Community College; and Harvey Gantt, North Carolina senatorial candidate.

Statement on A&P Stores' Decision To Remove Cigarette Vending Machines

July 10, 1996

Every year hundreds of millions of packs of cigarettes are bought by children and adolescents. In a 1995 survey, more than 90 percent of 10th graders said it was "fairly easy" or "very easy" to obtain cigarettes. That is why my administration has proposed measures to reduce significantly the unlawful sale of tobacco products to young people.

I am pleased to commend the American business leaders who have also stepped up to the plate to tackle this problem. Today Mr. James Wood, chairman and CEO of A&P, and the A&P board of directors have announced that they will remove all cigarette vending machines from their stores by the end of this month. In doing so, they have responded to the challenge and taken responsibility for a problem everyone—parents, teachers, corporate leaders, community leaders, and clergy—must overcome together.

If more business leaders such as Mr. Wood and companies such as A&P took this type of decisive action and worked together with government, I am confident that we would achieve dramatic success on our efforts to keep cigarettes out of the hands of our children.

Remarks on the School Reconstruction Initiative
July 11, 1996

Thank you very much. I want to welcome Senator Moseley-Braun here, along with Senator Claiborne Pell, Senator Bob Graham, Congressman Ben Cardin, and Congressman Elijah Cummings. I thank them all for their concern for this issue and their leadership.

I think some of you know that I had originally planned to make this announcement in Senator Graham's home State in Florida, but Hurricane Bertha had other ideas. So before I get into the announcement, let me say that we are all watching the course of that storm. We pray that it doesn't cause extensive damage. The people of the Southeast know that we will be there to help them if it does. FEMA is now on the ground, and they are prepared. Our thoughts are with the people of the Southeast. And again, we're hoping for the best.

I'm here to announce a national commitment to rebuild our schools so that they can serve our children in the 21st century. Our Nation's mission must be to offer opportunity to all, to demand responsibility from all, and to come together as a community so that we can build better lives together. Our most basic expression of these values is perhaps the education we offer to our children.

We've worked hard to make our young people the best educated in the world as we enter the 21st century, putting in place a comprehensive strategy to renew our schools, to lift our standards at every level. We've expanded the Head Start preschool program. We've helped schools to help to set and to meet higher standards. We've also worked hard to develop higher standards and better training for our teachers. And we've created an important network of school-to-work programs for young people to be properly trained if they don't go on to 4-year institutions of higher education.

We're now on our way to connecting every classroom and library in the United States to the Internet by the year 2000. We're making our schools safer with the zero tolerance for guns in our schools and by encouraging and supporting communities to take their own initiatives, including school uniforms, imposing curfews, and stronger enforcement of the truancy laws. We're opening the doors of college wider than ever through lower cost student loans, including better repayment terms; expanded Pell grant scholarships—Senator Pell, thank you for that; AmeriCorps; and our proposals to give families tax cuts to pay for higher education.

But all this progress is at risk if our children are asked to learn in a landscape that is littered with peeling paint and broken glass, if our teachers are asked to build up children in buildings that are falling down.

I remember the schools that I attended. They were pretty typical. Most of them were fairly old when I was there. They weren't fancy, but they were clean, they were well-maintained, they were treated with respect. They sent every student a clear message: You are important to us. We take your education seriously. That was how my parents' generation kept faith with us, and that is how we must keep faith with our children.

Now, Senator Moseley-Braun mentioned this report from the General Accounting Office. I want to hold it up again because I want to urge every Member of Congress, every Governor, every State legislator, every local school official, every school board member who cares about the condition of education and the future of education in our country to get a copy of this report and to read it. The report came out 3 weeks ago. It was requested by a number of Senators, and it confirms that we are not honoring this generational compact.

I want to thank here, before I go forward, the Members of the Senate and the House who have been interested in this, those who are here whom I've introduced and especially Congresswoman Nita Lowey who is sponsoring efforts in the House along with Congressman Cardin and Congressman Cummings and others but most especially Carol Moseley-Braun. She was the first person who brought this matter to my attention as an area where the National Government ought to do something. And she has been literally dogged in her persistence in this issue, staying with it day-in and day-out, week-in and week-out, month-in and month-out. The school children of our Nation owe her a debt of gratitude.

The report shows that our Nation's schools are increasingly rundown, overcrowded, and technologically ill-equipped. Too many school buildings and classrooms are literally a shambles. According to the report, one-third of our schools need major repair or outright replacement; 60 percent need work on major building features—a sagging roof, a cracked foundation; 46 percent lack even the basic electrical wiring to support computers, modems, and modern communications technology. These problems are found all across America, in cities and suburbs and one-stoplight towns.

This is a matter of real urgency. In just 2 months our schools will open their doors to the largest number of students in the history of our Republic, 51.7 million. And enrollment is expected to continue to rise over the next few years.

We have to rebuild these schools for another reason as well. Increasingly our schools are critical to bringing our communities together. We want them to serve the public not just during the school hours but after hours, to function as vital community centers, places for recreation and learning, positive places where children can be when they can't be at home and school is no longer going on, gathering places for young people and adults alike. Bringing our schools into the 21st century is a national challenge that demands a national commitment.

Today I am proposing that the Federal Government for the first time join with States and communities to modernize and renovate our public schools. We will provide $5 billion over the next 4 years for school construction and renovation. Together with investments by States and localities, this would result in $20 billion in new resources for school modernization. That's a 25 percent increase over the next 4 years.

Our school construction initiative would be flexible. It would give communities and States the power to decide how to use the new resources. It would help those who help themselves, requiring local communities to take responsibility for this effort. And it would focus on sparking new projects, not merely subsidizing existing ones.

The schools of the future should be safe and spacious, good places to learn. The schools of the future should be equipped with computers, new media, and state-of-the-art science labs. And the schools of the future should not only teach our children during the day but bring together families and neighbors in the evening as community schools. Our initiative can help to make these goals a reality.

You know, we expect an awful lot of our schools. We expect a lot of our students in this age of possibility. And all Americans have a lot riding on their living up to these expectations. But we cannot expect our children and our teachers to build strong lives on a crumbling foundation.

This generation has a duty to give the next generation a future of genuine opportunity. Our children deserve the best. I am determined that they will get it. And this proposal will go a long way toward helping those folks who are out there on the frontlines of education to succeed and to build the brightest, the best prepared, the most secure, and the most successful generation of young people in the history of our Nation.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:15 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Letter to the Women of Srebrenica, Bosnia, on the Anniversary of the Fall of Srebrenica

July 11, 1996

To the Women of Srebrenica:

Today you have come together because of a horrible, tragic event that changed your lives forever. There can be no justification for the barbaric terror you and your loved ones endured, or for the losses you continue to suffer.

Over these past four long years, the United States has joined the international community sending humanitarian aid and later 20,000

peacekeepers. We have rebuilt roads and bridges. Now we are creating a commission to help you find your missing boys and men. And we are sending $5,000,000 to help you start businesses and get back on your feet economically.

These things we can do. But we know that it will take you, from the inside, to repair the fabric of life that has been ripped into shreds by aggression and hate.

And so the thoughts of our nation are with you as you gather in Tuzla not only to remember the past, but to shape your new future. The world is watching with deep admiration as you have invited women across Bosnia-Herzegovina to join you, reaching out across the lines drawn by war, to create a future of compassion and hope.

Hillary and I believe strongly in your mission to reunite your country. We applaud your courage, your strength, and your wisdom. We stand with you today in spirit, to say, "You are not alone."

BILL CLINTON

The President's Radio Address
July 13, 1996

Good morning. As we prepare to meet the demands of the 21st century, I believe our goal must be to offer opportunity to all Americans, to demand responsibility from all Americans, and to come together as a community to strengthen our shared values and to build a better future together. That is how we will meet our challenges.

This past week, those values were at work on Capitol Hill. Democrats and Republicans produced a bipartisan breakthrough for those Americans working hard to make the most of their own lives. On Tuesday, the Senate voted to pass a 90-cent increase in the minimum wage.

It's about time. You can't raise a family on $4.25 an hour, and if we don't raise it, the minimum wage will fall to a 40-year low this year in terms of what it will buy. So I congratulate the Republican Members of Congress who joined with the Democrats to honor work and family, opportunity and responsibility, by voting to give minimum wage workers a raise. They should send me the final legislation quickly, without delay. That will be a victory for both parties and, more important, for all working Americans.

The passage of the minimum wage shows what can happen when we're united, when we reach across party lines, when we work together. This can signify a new spirit of cooperation coming from Capitol Hill. If we continue this spirit, we can meet our other challenges as well.

No challenge is more important than replacing our broken welfare system. Throughout my Presidency I've been determined to enact reform that requires welfare recipients to work, provides child care, imposes time limits, strengthens child support enforcement by cracking down on deadbeat parents, requires teen mothers to stay in school as a condition of welfare. When necessary, I've acted without Congress. Our administration has approved 67 separate welfare reform experiments in 40 States to move people from welfare to work. Fully three-quarters of all welfare recipients are living under new rules right now. The New York Times has called it a quiet revolution in welfare. Today, 1.3 million fewer people are on welfare than the day I took office, and child support collections are up 40 percent.

For 3½ years I've worked with Congress to craft legislation that replaces welfare with work. For months, the Republicans insisted that welfare reform be attached to a plan I strongly feel is misguided, to repeal Medicaid's guarantee of quality health care for elderly Americans, poor children, pregnant women, and people with disabilities. I'm determined to make welfare reform the law of the land, but I've also made it clear that I will not allow Medicaid to be destroyed, and I don't care what bill it's attached to.

This week the Republican leaders in Congress announced that they are ready to work with me to pass a straightforward welfare reform bill that I can sign into law, instead of sending me legislation they know I'll veto. This can be a real breakthrough, a genuine turning point. We

are very close to replacing a broken welfare system with one that requires work, offers opportunity, and demands responsibility. If we work hard and work together we should now be able to pass real welfare reform and do it very soon.

Already bipartisan legislation has been proposed in the Senate by Democrat John Breaux and Republican John Chafee and in the House by Republican Mike Castle and Democrat John Tanner. These are good, strong bills. They would end welfare as we know it. They should be the basis for quick agreement between the parties. And I look forward to having a bipartisan welfare reform bill within the next month.

We should also extend this same spirit to our other pressing challenges as well. We should pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy health insurance reform bill which could benefit 25 million Americans by saying that you don't lose your health insurance when you change jobs or just because someone in your family has been sick. In its strongest form, this bill passed the Senate unanimously. But for months it slowed to a crawl as Republicans insisted on an untested and unlimited proposal for so-called medical savings accounts that have nothing to do with the fundamental purposes of Kennedy-Kassebaum reforms. So I urge them to reject the political games, and let's come to a quick agreement.

We should also reform our illegal immigration laws. I support legislation that builds on our efforts to restore the rule of law to our borders, ensures that American jobs are reserved for legal workers, and boosts deportation of criminal aliens. But some insist on kicking the children of illegal immigrants out of school. Every major law enforcement organization says this could lead to more crime. So let's put aside this punitive measure and reform our illegal immigration laws now.

It's no secret that this is a political year. And there will be plenty of time to discuss our differences in the months to come. But our Nation faces challenges that cannot wait until November: real welfare reform, a minimum wage increase, access to health insurance, stronger immigration laws. We can achieve all these things now if we work together.

I look forward to working with Majority Leader Lott, Speaker Gingrich, and the Democratic leaders of Congress to do the people's business in the coming weeks. If we're willing to put our differences aside for the sake of the American people, we can make this a time of genuine achievement for our Nation. It would not only be good for both parties, it would be very good for America.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 6:52 p.m. on July 12 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on July 13.

Statement on the Death of John Chancellor

July 13, 1996

Hillary and I were saddened to learn of the death of one of the true frontiersmen of television journalism, John Chancellor. John's scrupulous attention to the facts and his ability to capture the spirit of an issue won him the hearts and minds of the American people. From his historic coverage of a story very personal to me, the desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, to his renowned political reporting, John brought us the very best journalism had to offer. We extend our sincerest prayers and deepest sympathies to his family, his friends, and his colleagues at NBC News.

Interview With Tom Brokaw of MSNBC's "InterNight"
July 15, 1996

Mr. Brokaw. Good evening, and welcome to "InterNight." It's going to be a nightly primetime program here on MSNBC in which we talk to the major newsmakers of the day. What better way to launch this program tonight than with our guest, our special guest, the President of the United States. He faces an election campaign that will determine his and this country's future.

Mr. President, I was struck by the fact that we're here in the Roosevelt Room; no one personified the beginning of the 20th century better than Teddy Roosevelt. And as we come to the conclusion of the 20th century we're not only on cable television but we're on the cyber universe as well, on the Microsoft network. It's a remarkable time.

The President. I think Teddy Roosevelt would like this very much. This is a room that is named for Teddy and for Franklin Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt's Nobel Prize which he won in 1905 is here in this room. We keep it here. And he really brought us into the modern age, and we're now going into a very different kind of world. And I think it would excite him very much to see it.

Russia

Mr. Brokaw. We saw another demonstration of that different kind of world today when Boris Yeltsin stiffed the Vice President of the United States, to put it in inelegant terms. He stood him up. They had an appointment. The Vice President told me earlier this evening he doesn't know whether Yeltsin is in good health or not, or whether he, in fact, is just fatigued. Does that make you a little nervous, that we don't know the condition of his physical being?

The President. Well, we have—we don't know, but we have no reason to believe that he has a serious illness. We do not know. I talked to him just a few days ago; we had a very good talk. He was very glad that the Vice President was coming over. Mr. Mamedov, his Deputy Foreign Minister, was just here a couple of days ago, and I saw him. So in terms of the relations between the two of us, our two countries, we're doing fine.

And I would urge us not to read too much into it. After all, he's just finished an exhausting campaign. You know how exhausting it is to run for President of the United States, and keep in mind, if you want to be President of Russia, you have to be willing to travel through 11 time zones. So he's been through a lot, and he may just be tired.

Mr. Brokaw. But, frankly, he has had some health problems in the past.

The President. He has.

Mr. Brokaw. What happens to our intelligence in Russia that we can't find out what's going on with the President?

The President. Well, we normally have a pretty good idea. And as I said, we certainly have no reason to believe, as I am talking to you tonight, that there's something serious wrong. But we just don't know. We can't know everything, and we can't know everything instantaneously. But I have no reason to believe that he did anything but ask Al Gore if he could delay the meeting.

And I don't consider it being stiffed since he knows what Al's—what his itinerary is in Russia. He's not being asked to stay later or anything to see him.

Mr. Brokaw. Would you be surprised if Boris Yeltsin does not finish his 4-year term and that the reigns of power are assumed by somebody like General Lebed?

The President. I would. I think he'll be able to finish his term. And I was very encouraged that he found a way to put this new team together that kept Prime Minister Chernomyrdin there, who is a real symbol I think of stability and progress, discipline. They're a good team, and Mr. Lebed seems to be finding his way into the team. So I think it's working out reasonably well so far.

Mr. Brokaw. What makes you more nervous, Russia's fragile democracy or China's uncertain future?

The President. I don't know that I'm nervous about either one. But I think that Russia is clearly now committed to a democratic future and one in which it is a responsible partner in world affairs. I think China is committed to a future of continued economic progress. I think they're still ambivalent about democratic free-

doms, but we seem to be developing a more constructive relationship with them.

I have told a lot of people—I'd like to say it again on your show because you have got a lot of future-oriented people listening to this show—I think how Russia and China define their own greatness in the next 20 years will have a lot to do with how the 21st century comes out. And I want them both to define their greatness in terms of the positive achievements of their people, their winning in peaceful cooperation on economic and cultural and athletic fields, and their willingness to cooperate with us to fight our common enemies: terrorism, the proliferation of dangerous weapons, and environmental destruction and diseases sweeping the globe. We need great countries working together if we're going to make the 21st century what it ought to be.

Personal Character

Mr. Brokaw. Let's switch from international politics and the future to domestic politics. We have some polls tonight—good news and bad news for you. The latest NBC News poll shows that you have expanded your lead as of the moment over Bob Dole. You're leading now by a factor of 54 to 30 percent. That's about a 7 percent—7 point gain for you in just the past 3 weeks.

Here's the bad news. We did a poll 3 weeks ago. We asked the question whether the people believed that you were telling the truth on Whitewater. By a factor of 55 to 24 percent, they said, no. Mrs. Clinton—it's even greater: 62 to 18 percent of the American people believe that she is not telling the truth. These are fundamental questions about personal character. Doesn't that bother you some, that the American people believe that they're not getting the truth from either one of you?

The President. It bothers me some, but I don't see how they could draw any conclusion other than that since if you looked at the information that they have been given, I'm sure it's four, five, six to one negative. And I think character is a legitimate issue, and I look forward to having that discussion. But I think that you can demonstrate character most effectively by what you fight for and for whom you fight. And I believe that the fact that I've stood up for the American people for the things like fighting for the family leave law or the assault weapons ban or the Brady bill or the V-chip for parents or trying to keep tobacco out of the hands of kids and a lot of other issues—those things will count for something, and they demonstrate character, too.

But on the other matter, I would like to remind everybody that this has gotten a lot of exhaustive attention, perhaps more than it deserves, and every reading of the evidence, as opposed to another round of questions, fails to demonstrate any wrongdoing by either one of us. And I believe that in the end that will come out and come clear to the American people. I just think that in the meanwhile all we can do is go about our business. We've got to keep working for the American people, and let them sort that out. I feel good about it.

Mr. Brokaw. What do you say to each other in the privacy of the living quarters about these questions, however, at the end of the day? Because none of us, after all, is immune to that kind of judgment on the part of the people that we care a lot about.

The President. Well, I try to remind Hillary not to worry too much about it because every time she goes out and people see her and she relates to people, they admire her, they like her, they respond to her just as they did around the world in this last trip where world leaders always contact me after she's been to a country and say, "Thank you for sending her. She really represents your country well. She inspires our young people, and thank you for doing it."

And I also remind her about the evidence being on her side. I mean, it didn't get a lot of publicity, but there's only been one definitive report on this whole business, and that was the Resolution Trust Corporation's report, supervised by a staunchly Republican appointee from the previous administration, which said that there was no evidence of any wrongdoing, not even any basis for a civil action against me or Hillary or her law firm and that her billing records, which received so much publicity, actually confirm her account.

Now, that's a dispassionate view of the evidence. So I think the American people are fair-minded. They've heard a lot more negative than positive, so they have questions. But I think in the end they say, "Well, what do we know, and what has this man done and what have they done, what have they fought for, who have they stood with?" So I remind her whenever this comes up—it doesn't come up so often anymore—that we only have so many hours of the

day, and every day we spend thinking about that, every minute we spend thinking about it is a minute we're not working on the job we were sent here to do. And so we just try to cooperate when questions are asked and keep working ahead when they're not.

Whitewater Trials

Mr. Brokaw. She's had to appear before a grand jury, and your very close friend Bruce Lindsey has been named an unindicted co-conspirator. He's down in Arkansas now on another trial. Does that ever lurk in the back of your mind that there may be more indictments that will arrive at the White House, maybe even for the First Family after the election? Has that possibility occurred to you?

The President. No, and it's a highly politicized operation. And I think it's obvious, there's no precedent for it that I know of, ever. But even so, it's very hard to just make things up. And I don't think anyone doubts that, for example, Mr. Lindsey, if there was any serious evidence that he'd done anything wrong that they would have moved against him.

So we'll just wait and see. But I still believe it's hard to make a lie stick and call it the truth. I think in the end the American people will figure it out. And I wake up and go to bed every night with that assurance, and I'm just going to keep working.

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, we've got a lot of ground to cover here tonight, a lot of substantive issues. We've got phone calls. We've got questions from the Internet, as well, to get to.

We'll be back with "InterNight" in a moment.

[*At this point, the network took a commercial break.*]

Tobacco

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, do you think that smoking is an American health hazard?

The President. Absolutely I do.

Mr. Brokaw. And addictive?

The President. Yes.

Mr. Brokaw. In the last 10 years the tobacco companies have given the Republicans something like $7 million in campaign contributions, but they've given your party $2 million. Why don't you make a pledge tonight to the American people you will take no more tobacco money, not just the Clinton campaign but the Democratic National Committee?

The President. Well, I think the Democratic Committee is reviewing its policy, although let me say, I have never fought even with the Republicans over their money. It's just a question of does the money have an adverse impact on your policy. It's their policy I disagree with. I have never tried to even put the tobacco companies out of business. I think they have a right to sell a legal product, and they have a right to market it to adults. The real problem is that it's illegal in every State in America for children to start smoking, but 3,000 start every day; 1,000 of them will die sooner because of it. And we have to do something to stop it.

And they'll have to answer whether the fact that they do better than we do on contributions has anything to do with their policy. But our policy is the correct one. And I don't want to treat the people who work for these tobacco companies like they're not citizens. They're not doing anything illegal, but they're wrong in fighting us on this policy. They should help us.

Mr. Brokaw. But given all that, why not just turn off the money spigot?

The President. The money spigot has been pretty well turned off. I think that in the last couple of years they're going five or six to one for the Republicans. But again, I don't want to get into that. The money is relevant only insofar it has an influence on the wrongheaded policy. These people, they're not criminals because they work for tobacco companies; they're citizens. They have a right to participate in the political process. They have a right to have their voices heard. They have a right to sell legal products.

What is wrong is they are marketing in ways that they know—I believe they know—has to be appealing to young people. You look at—young people, for example, who smoke illegally are far more likely to buy the most heavily advertised brands than adults are. And smoking would continue to deteriorate in this country and go down as a health hazard if people didn't start before they were adults.

Now, I just want to keep the attention of the American people focused on that. And that's why—my fight with the Republicans has been clearly focused on their policy. They got—may get more money because of their policy, but their policy is wrong, and they ought to change it.

Illegal Drugs

Mr. Brokaw. Recently, Bob Dole said, in response to your criticisms of his stand on tobacco, you know, the Clinton administration, the use of marijuana and other illegal drugs went up before he started to do something about it. Why were you so late off the mark in beginning to attack what was a plain increase in the use of illegal drugs during the last 4 years?

The President. Well, first of all, I don't think that's a fair criticism. I think the—if you go back and look at our '93 budget, we asked for more funds in '93 both for enforcement and for treatment. I named a drug czar promptly, a man with a lot of experience running big-city police operations dealing with drugs. And then when he left, I named General McCaffrey, who had managed our Southern Command and dealt a lot with drug exports. So I've been interested in this right along.

The drug use did start going up in the early nineties among young people, especially marijuana use. Cocaine use has continued to drop, but they're diversifying drug use. It's a terrible problem. We're working on it. We have a strategy; we're trying to implement it. And we've basically been able to do this in a bipartisan fashion in this country in the last 10 years or so. And I'd like to see us continue to do that.

But it is a serious problem. When I came here we instituted, even in the Federal Government, in the executive branch, stiffer drug testing policies than the legislative branch had. I think it's a really serious problem. I have always fought it and will continue to do so.

Welfare Reform

Mr. Brokaw. Let's talk for a moment about welfare. The Republicans have a bill that they think you will sign on the Hill. It eliminates the Federal guarantee of cash assistance for poor children in this country, a guarantee that we've had in place since the early 1930's. Are you prepared to have that happen?

The President. It depends on what else is in the bill. That is, if——

Mr. Brokaw. You can foresee the possibility it will take away the ultimate safety net of no Federal cash assistance for very poor children?

The President. Of the guarantee—if the bill has provisions in it which provide more child care to these same families, which has more flexibility to enhance the ability of the parents in these families to go to work, which help the young parents who have children at home to be better parents. The money will still be spent on the children. The reason they want to get rid of the guarantee is so the States will have more flexibility to require people to move from welfare to work more quickly. And if that's what's going on, then I can support it, if the rest of the supports are enough.

Let me just make one other point. There's a dramatic difference already in the welfare benefits from the poorest to the richest States. There's not really a national guarantee that amounts to much now.

Mr. Brokaw. We're not going to leave this alone; we're going to come back to it in a moment——

The President. Let's do it.

Mr. Brokaw. ——because we want to talk some more about that, and we want to hear from our viewers out there by telephone and the Internet. Back in a moment on "InterNight."

[*At this point, the network took a commercial break.*]

Social Security

Mr. Brokaw. We're back on "InterNight," and we're looking with the President of the United States at various chatrooms on the on-line service that MSNBC is providing to all of you. Here is a question that came from one of the many thousands of people who submitted them: How will you keep the Social Security system solvent without raising taxes? That's on the minds of a lot of people, especially because your generation is a big bulge out there.

The President. That's right.

Mr. Brokaw. And the question is, can Chelsea afford you as parents in about 10 years? I think that's the relevance of that.

The President. The answer is there will probably have to be some changes in the Social Security system, and what we need to do is to preserve its integrity in the same way we did in 1983. In 1983 we had a bipartisan commission representing all the various interests in the country. They came up with a proposal, and they implemented it. Now, then they did raise the payroll tax, but if you look at it now it's a long way—this system is solvent till 2019. And so we can make some changes now that won't require payroll tax changes that I believe

will be widely accepted by the American people if we get into it and we do it in a totally nonpartisan way, the way we did in '83.

Mr. Brokaw. There's a growing wave of people out there who believe that we ought to either privatize it or give people that option. Do you think that's a good idea?

The President. Well, there's apparently going to be a report issued from the advisory commission that will recommend that this be looked into. I think if you privatize the whole thing you would really put people who are not sophisticated investors and didn't have a lot of money on their own at serious risk. If you gave them the option individually or as a system to do it, that's something I think you could study. You could even—that's something that could be tested.

But before we do something that totally changes something that's worked rather well, there ought to be a way to test it in kind of a laboratory sense. And I would favor looking at it very closely with some evidence before we made a big, sweeping decision.

Presidential Experience

Mr. Brokaw. Here's another question. We had 60,000 hits on the system and 8,000 questions submitted. What is the most important thing that you've learned in the last 4 years?

The President. That the President can really make a positive difference, but that it requires every bit of concentration every day to do it. You simply cannot be distracted. You have to keep thinking about your job and the American people. That's the most important thing. I feel more optimistic today than the day I became President about the potential of all of us to change our lives together for the better, especially the Presidency. But it requires enormous discipline not to be distracted and not to be diverted.

And I think that—there are a lot of other things I've learned. I've learned more humility. There are a lot of things I don't know the answers to that I once thought would be easy to find out.

Mr. Brokaw. Were you ready for primetime when you arrived here, do you think?

The President. I think I knew enough to be President. And I think my ideas were right and my vision was right. I think I would have been probably a little more successful early on if I had had more Washington experience. But I think maybe the fact that I didn't have any made me more optimistic about what I could get done and more ambitious. And that was good.

But I think that I'm definitely better at my job than I was 4 years ago, in terms of just getting through the day-to-day work of it. I just learned a lot. I don't think anyone, even someone who's been around here a long time, can be fully prepared for the pressures and the work of the Presidency until you actually do the job.

Oil Imports

Mr. Brokaw. Here's another question, Mr. President, that's very relevant and very timely. With U.S. soldiers dying in defense of Saudi oil fields, shouldn't we have a renewed vigor about the pursuit of freeing the United States from the dependency on foreign oil?

There's not been much talk recently, fairly, from either party about conservation or finding alternative forms of energy.

The President. Well, we have had—that's one of our budget fights that we had with the Republicans. Let me answer that question in two parts.

We are not in Saudi Arabia simply for Saudi oil fields. We're there because it's a base from which we can prevent further aggression by Saddam Hussein in the area, first. And second, it's a base which enables us to cooperate with those who agree with us in the Middle East, including many Arab countries, in fighting terrorism. So that's not the only reason we're there.

But we should be trying to become less energy dependent. We have worked with Detroit to find a clean car that gets 3 or 4 times the average mileage now. We have worked hard on alternative technologies. We have worked hard to do things that would make us much more energy efficient. And frankly, this Congress disagrees with us on that. They don't believe we should be investing money in new technologies to achieve energy efficiency. But if you look at the explosion of technology that we're celebrating tonight, that same technology is available to make us more energy efficient, and we ought to be investing a lot more money in it because it's a way of cleaning the environment, reducing our dependence on foreign oil, and making us wealthier without really eroding the country and the globe that we share.

Terrorist Attack in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Mr. Brokaw. Why are the Saudis giving us such a bad time on the investigation? And we have had to send the FBI Director, Louis Freeh, back over there for a second time to try to get things moving again. Why can't you get on the phone to King Fahd and say, hey, listen——

The President. We've had several talks about it, and we expect that they will cooperate. And I think there will be cooperation; I do expect it. I believe that any time a crime is committed in a country that's high profile, that nation wants to believe that it can handle it and do what's right. And I understand that. But this is a case with international implications, and we have to cooperate.

Income Tax

Mr. Brokaw. Here's another question from the Internet: Why don't we have a flat tax for everyone instead of taxing our income and then taxing everything we buy? It was a very popular issue, as you know, during the primaries.

The President. It was. First of all, you should know that as far as the Federal income tax, we're getting pretty close to a flat tax. Fifty-seven percent of the taxpayers over the last couple of years have filled out that simple little form and paid the 15 percent with the standard deduction. That's pretty close to a flat tax. But I have never seen a single tax rate that did not either raise taxes on everybody that was making less than $100,000 a year or leave us with a much bigger deficit.

So I would do anything I can to further simplify the tax system. I'm trying to let more people file electronically. I'm all for making the forms simpler, the rate structure simpler. But I have never seen a plan—I've studied them carefully because I know how much people want to be free of it—that doesn't either raise taxes on most people or balloon the deficit. And we can't afford to do either one.

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, we have got a lot more ground to cover tonight. We do have some telephone calls coming as well as questions from the Internet. We'll be back on "InterNight" in a moment.

The President. That's a good question.

[*At this point, the network took a commercial break.*]

Internet Usage

Mr. Brokaw. We're back on "InterNight." Mr. President, you and I have been looking at another question from the Internet: Does Chelsea net surf and, if so, how do you protect her from inappropriate material? Does she use the computer pretty handily?

The President. She does. I don't think she net surfs a lot, simply because, at least during the school year, she has too much homework at night, for several hours every night. But she does some. And honestly, I can't protect her in that sense because she knows so much more about it than I do.

But one of the things that we're trying to do, I think with the support of everyone, is, first of all, get a case up to the Supreme Court so that they can define what the first amendment requires us to do and not to do in terms of legislation here. And then we need to find some sort of technological fix. During the break you said that Mr. Gates, Bill Gates, said that there's at least a possibility of developing a log——

Mr. Brokaw. Yes, they've got a log built in now that you can go in and check on.

The President. Yes, so the parents can see what's been called up. And of course we're working on this V-chip with television and with the entertainment industry supporting us with the rating system. So there probably will be some sort of technological responses here. But then parents like me are going to have to assume the responsibility of becoming literate enough with the technology to work with our children and make sure that we and they make responsible choices.

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, we promised a lot of viewers out there that they could ask questions via telephone. I think we can do that right now. We have a call from Leesburg, Virginia. A question for the President, please.

College Tuition Deduction

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to know if the deductible that you have proposed for families, the $1,500 for the college students, do you expect that that will come to fruition before the end of the year? And also I would like to tell you and the First Lady I think you're doing a wonderful job.

The President. Thank you. The truth is, I don't know whether it will come to fruition be-

fore the first of the year. I think there's a chance we could pass it if I could reach agreement with the Congress on the balanced budget. Now, most of the experts here in town will tell you that's not going to happen because we're only 3½ months away from an election. But I still think there is a possibility that we can reach a balanced budget agreement. If it does, I will push very hard for my two major education proposals. One is a $10,000 deduction for the cost of tuition after high school for people without regard to their age, and in addition to that, a $1,500 credit for 2 years of college after high school which would, in effect, guarantee community college access to people throughout the country.

My goal here is to make college affordable for everyone, but to make the second 2 years—at least a community college education—as universal within a couple of years as high school is now, because we know we need that. I mean, look at what we're celebrating here tonight. We need more education. So I expect to push it, and if we don't get it this year and I'm successful in the election, then it would be a top priority just as soon as the Congress comes in next year.

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, some people believe that, for the moment, it's just mostly campaign rhetoric, however, because you have not sent anything up to the Hill yet on the college deduction.

The President. But that's because the only way we can pass it now, this year, is if it was put into an omnibus budget agreement. And so that's how I will advance it. And I'm still hoping we can do that. You know, we've got agreement here—look, we passed an antiterrorism bill this year. We passed telecommunications legislation this year. We may get welfare reform. We may get the minimum wage; it's looking very good on the minimum wage. We might get the Kassebaum-Kennedy health care reform bill. If we do all that, I don't see why we couldn't have a budget agreement too.

Welfare Reform

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, before we get back to the Internet questions, I wanted to follow up just for a moment on welfare if I can. If, in fact, you sign the Republican bill that is likely to come down from the Hill, all the projections show that that will push, at least short-term, more than a million youngsters in this country below the poverty line. That's a high risk for youngsters in this country who are already in peril.

The President. That's right. There are two problems there. The main reasons for that are the proposal on food stamps, which I think may be moderated some, and what I consider to be excessive cuts in assistance to legal immigrants. We're not talking about illegal immigrants. So before our budget negotiations broke up, I asked the Speaker and then-Senator Dole—now it would be Senator Lott, of course—to consider whether or not we ought to give assistance to the children of legal immigrants, at least who were in trouble through no fault of their own; the parents had an accident or got cancer or were mugged in a 7-Eleven or something. Those kind of folks, it seems to me, we ought to take care of the children. Now, if we did that, then I believe you'd see a continued reduction in poverty.

Keep in mind, we let the States experiment with moving people from welfare to work. I have granted 67 experiments to 40 States. So 75 percent of the people on welfare today are already under welfare-to-work programs, which have helped to reduce the welfare rolls by 1.3 million. Those kids are better off, not worse off, when their folks get off welfare. So that's what I want to do for the whole country.

Mr. Brokaw. In 1992 you said we're going to end welfare as we now know it, as we have been practicing it in this country. But most of your welfare proposals have been reacting to what the Republicans have proposed in the last year or so. There have not been——

The President. That's not accurate. I started granting these waivers—I had to write the last welfare reform law, so I knew the President could give States permission to try their own experiments. I started doing this in 1993. And then I sent legislation to Congress which was not adopted in '94, so I just kept on doing the waivers. Then I vetoed the Republican welfare bill, and I kept on doing the waivers.

So now three out of four people in America are already on welfare under welfare-to-work experiments. I think you can make a compelling case, as the New York Times said, that we have made a quiet revolution in welfare. I'd like to finish it. I'd like to go on and pass welfare reform legislation. But we're clearly moving in the right direction.

China

Mr. Brokaw. We have another question from the Internet about, in fact, foreign policy, and we're going to click on to it right now, even as you watch. We'll see how facile our people are, and they're pretty good. "Between the United States and China, what is more important, the economy or democracy?" That's especially a concern to people in Hong Kong, obviously——

The President. Yes.

Mr. Brokaw. ——because next year the Chinese take over that——

The President. Well, I believe over the long run between the United States and China, the thing that's most important is democracy, because I think the freer the people are the more likely they will be to be responsible partners. But the implication of that is, therefore, we should subordinate our economic goals, or we should withhold most-favored-nation status from them and not treat them like ordinary partners if they're not as democratic as we think they should be. That's what I disagree with. That is, imposing some sort of economic sanctions will not make China more democratic. I believe they're more likely to become democratic if they progress economically, if we have regular relationships with them, and if we don't pull any punches when we disagree with them if they violate human rights or do other things we don't agree with.

So I believe that economic development and democracy will go hand in hand. And there is some evidence of that. If you look at South Korea, it's more democratic today than it used to be. It was led by economic advances. If you look at Taiwan, they just had a very raucous election there with a huge turnout, growing out of incredible economic progress in the years before.

So my hope is that we can find a way to deal with the Chinese and be partners with them and agree to disagree but be honest about that so that we can follow economic and democratic objectives hand in hand. I think that's the way to pursue it.

Mr. Brokaw. We have a question. I want to remind everybody that we do have a telephone number. It's 1–888–676–2287. That translates, you'll not be surprised to hear, into MSNBC USA, after the 888 number. We have a call now from Miami, Florida, Mr. President.

Immigration and Cuba

Q. Hello, Mr. President. It's an honor to be speaking with you. As Mr. Brokaw said, I'm calling you from Miami and we are a community of immigrants and there's two questions regarding this community of immigrants that I'd like to ask. It's a two-pronged question, so please indulge me.

Mr. Brokaw. If you could just make it briefly, please.

Q. The first one has to do with our Cuban community, and we'd like to know whether you are going to enforce the title in the Helms-Burton bill which allows Cuban-Americans to sue companies and the investors in Cuba with confiscated properties.

And the other question that I'd like to ask you is about the Nicaraguan community. As you know, there's a lot of Nicaraguans here in Miami, Florida, which have been here for a great deal of time, many have been here for over 15 years. And there's a limbo as far as to their immigration status goes. Many of them are in great danger because of the Simpson-Smith bill which is pending in Congress. I'd like to know whether you are leaning towards signing the Simpson-Smith bill and whether any decision at all will come regarding the status of the Nicaraguans. And I'd really encourage you to do so, to make a positive decision. These are communities which have contributed enormously.

Mr. Brokaw. Let's let the President answer the first one——

The President. Let me answer the Nicaraguan question first. The bill to strengthen our hand in dealing with illegal immigration I am strongly inclined to sign if we can get the provision out of there which would require schools all over America to kick the children of undocumented immigrants out of this country, out of the schools. I think that would be a mistake. Every law enforcement group in America has come out against kicking the immigrant children out of the schools.

So we need a bill that would give us some more tools to deal with the problem of illegal immigration. It's out of hand, and it's wrong, and it's costing the taxpayers too much money, and it's unfair to the legal immigrants who wait in line and do what they're supposed to do.

Now, the Nicaraguans present some special issues, as you pointed out, and we will attempt

to resolve those in a fair and honorable way. But on balance, the country needs this illegal immigration bill.

With regard to the Helms-Burton bill, let me say, first of all, I signed it, as you know, after the Cuban Government shot down two airplanes and killed American citizens who were in international waters. We have already begun to enforce vigorously title IV of the act, which revokes the travel privileges to this country from companies that are involved in dealing with confiscated property. I have to make a decision on title III tomorrow. After this program is over I'm going to have a meeting about it, and then I'm going to have another meeting tomorrow. And I will make a decision. I have, as I understand it, three or four different options under the law. The criteria is that I must do what I think is in the national interests of the United States and what is most likely to bring democracy to Cuba. And in general, we believe that putting more pressure on does that.

As you know, we've been severely criticized by our European allies and others for doing this, and I was for signing the bill. But I believe that we have to keep pushing until we get a democratic response and some changes in Cuba. But I've not made a decision on specifically what I'm going to do on title III, and I can't until I have these meetings tonight or tomorrow. I'll make a decision tomorrow.

Former Senator Bob Dole

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, we have another question from the Internet on "InterNight." Here it is: What do you admire most about Bob Dole, the man you're likely going to be running against next fall?

The President. Well, there's more than one thing I admire about him, but I think the thing I admire most about him is I believe he really loves our country. He was hurt very badly in World War II. He could have been embittered. He could have walked away. He could have lived a very different, secluded life. He threw himself into politics and public life.

And on several occasions when I had to do unpopular things, even when he disagreed with me he didn't try to stop me. When I tried to help Mexico because I thought it was important—it was unpopular—he agreed with me. When I tried to support democracy in Haiti, he disagreed with me. When I went into Bosnia, he disagreed with me, but he didn't try to interrupt it because he believed that you could only have one President at a time.

And I believe he really loves America. And I think that's the first and most important thing for anybody who wants to get into public life. And I admire him. I think it's genuine, and I admire it.

Former Governor Richard Lamm

Mr. Brokaw. What do you think about the issues that your old friend Richard Lamm is raising, the former Governor of Colorado, and the manner in which he is raising them?

The President. Well, I haven't—I don't know about the manner in which he is raising them. I haven't had much time to keep up with the manner in which he is raising them. But I have known him a long time and very well. And many of these issues we've discussed probably for 10 years or more now. And he's a brilliant man, and he's a man with some very strong convictions, and he looks at the world in a unique way. And I'm looking forward to whatever contribution he makes to this debate.

Democratic Convention

Mr. Brokaw. Will Mrs. Clinton have a role at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago? Do you expect that she'll address the delegates?

The President. I don't know. She didn't—I don't believe she spoke in 1992. There was a campaign film in which she spoke, but I don't believe she did. And we really haven't made a lot of the final decisions yet.

It's her hometown, and she's looking forward to kind of hosting a lot of things there in Chicago because she always has considered it her home, and she still has a lot of friends there from her childhood, and a lot of them are very active in the convention. So she'll be very active there. But we haven't decided what specifically she'll do.

"Independence Day"

Mr. Brokaw. Here's a question from the Internet, one more: "Independence Day," the movie, could we really fight these guys off or what, Mr. President?

The President. I loved it. I loved it and——

Mr. Brokaw. A lot of people did, apparently.

The President. Mr. Pullman came and showed it. I thought he made a good President. And we watched the movie together, and I told him

after it was over he was a good President, and I was glad we won. And it made me wonder if I should take flying lessons.

But yes, I think we'd fight them off. We'd find a way to win. That's what America does. We'd find a way to win if it happened.

The good thing about "Independence Day" is there's an ultimate lesson for that—for the problems right here on Earth. We whipped that problem by working together with all these countries. And all of a sudden the differences we had with them seemed so small once we realized there were threats that went beyond our borders. And I wish that we could think about that when we deal with terrorism and when we deal with weapons proliferation—the difference between all these other problems. That's the lesson I wish people would take away from "Independence Day."

Mr. Brokaw. Mr. President, we thank you very much for being our first guest here on "InterNight," the new enterprise of MSNBC, which combines cable television, of course, and the Internet and telephones and over-the-air broadcasting as well. We thank you very much. We wish you well, and Bob Dole as well in the coming months.

The President. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The interview began at 8 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to President Boris Yeltsin, Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, and Security Council Secretary Aleksandr Lebed of Russia; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; King Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud of Saudi Arabia; Bill Gates, chairman, Microsoft Corp.; Richard Lamm, candidate for the Reform Party nomination for President; and actor Bill Pullman. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks to the National Governors' Association Conference

July 16, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much, Governor Thompson, for your kind words and for all your good work as chairman of the NGA over the past year. And thank you also for your work on reform, especially on reforming welfare, not only in the bold plan you have developed in Wisconsin but also as a leader on behalf of the NGA on Capitol Hill. And to Governor Miller, let me add my congratulations to you as you take on the responsibility of leading the NGA. It's one of the best jobs I ever had, and I know you'll enjoy it as well.

I regret very much that I can't be with all of you for this meeting. I had especially looked forward to being with my good friend and my fellow Democrat Governor Pedro Rossello in Puerto Rico, and I hope I can see you there before too long. But I'm glad you're there, and I'm glad you're having a good meeting.

This is the 4th year I have spoken to the NGA as President. And more than ever before, I believe that we are poised together to make real, bipartisan progress and that our Nation's Governors have a critical role to play. I want to thank all of you for the work you have done so far to grow your economies, to help your people be better educated, to reform welfare and fight crime and preserve the environment and move people forward.

We have to think a lot about that now. We all know that just 4 years from now we will enter that long awaited and very much discussed 21st century. You know as well as any group of Americans that there are tremendous forces of economic and social change remaking our country. I believe that on balance this is a positive and hopeful time, an age of enormous possibility, a chance for us to build a country and a world for our children that is stronger and safer and more full of opportunity than any that has existed before. I believe we can do that if we meet these new challenges with our most enduring values. We have to offer opportunity to all. We must demand responsibility from all. And we must work hard to come together across all our diversity as a great American community. We'll have to meet these challenges not by edicts from Washington but by working together at all levels, by cutting redtape and working with the private sector, by setting national goals

for ourselves but challenging States and localities to find the best way to meet those goals.

Four years ago when I sought the Presidency, our Nation was drifting with uncertain steps toward this new century. Unemployment was nearly 8 percent; job growth was very slow; the deficit was at an all-time high. After 12 years as a Governor, I vowed to do what chief executives in every statehouse in America must do: Put in place a comprehensive strategy for economic growth and follow a path of fiscal responsibility. We cut the deficit, expanded trade, invested in our people and technology and the future.

The results are in. Our economy has now created over 10 million new jobs; 3.7 million Americans have become new homeowners. Today we learned again that inflation continues to moderate. Real hourly wages have begun to climb for the first time in a decade. And we have surpassed our goal of cutting the deficit in half.

Just this morning we're releasing the midsession review of the budget. Four years ago the deficit was $290 billion and headed upward. Today we are projecting it will be $117 billion this year. We've cut the deficit by 60 percent in 4 years, bringing it to its lowest level in dollar terms in 15 years. As a share of our economy, it's now at its smallest level since 1981, the smallest percentage of the economy—excuse me—since 1974. We've got a lot more to do. I am determined to finish the job and balance the budget in a responsible way and at the same time do more to give all Americans the education and training they need to succeed in this new economy.

But the fact is our economy is now the soundest it's been in a generation. Unlike the expansion of the 1980's, we can also be pleased that this growth is being felt in all regions of our country. America is growing, and your States are helping it to grow.

We're also making real and bipartisan progress in other areas as well. We've put in place an anticrime strategy that was tough and smart, putting 100,000 police on the street, toughening penalties, taking guns off the street by banning 19 deadly assault weapons through the Brady law. Now, not a single hunter has lost a gun due to these bills, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have been denied guns. We're encouraging communities to pull together to give their young people the values and the discipline they need. That's why we've been working to give communities the ability to impose stronger curfews, enforce truancy laws, and require things like school uniforms.

These strategies are being tried in communities all across our country. And all across our country the crime rate is coming down for 4 years in a row. We must now bring this same focus to bear on the rising tide of youth crimes and gangs and drugs. I ask you to work with our administration to tackle this challenge as well. Although the crime rate is going down, in too many areas in our country the juvenile crime rate is going up. But we see in the areas where it's going down that there are strategies that work there, too.

If you look at the areas where we've moved forward in the economy, in dealing with the crime problem, we've done it not by clinging to old arrangements or discarded philosophies or political partisan divisions but by moving forward together, developing new approaches, taking the best ideas from all sides, putting our values of opportunity, responsibility, and community to work.

Now, as all of you know very well, none of our challenges cries out for these approaches more than welfare. All Americans, without regard to party, know that our welfare system is broken, that it teaches the wrong values, rewards the wrong choices, hurts those it was meant to help. We also know that no one wants to change the current system in a good way more than people who are trapped in it.

Since the time when I served as cochair of the NGA's welfare task force about a decade ago now, I have been committed to ending welfare as we know it. I worked with many of you for years to fashion new solutions. Today, after long years of effort, I believe we are poised for a real breakthrough in welfare reform. Real welfare reform requires work, imposes time limits, cracks down on deadbeat parents by enforcing child support, provides child care.

Now, you haven't waited for Congress to act, and we've worked with you to change the face of welfare. We've cut through redtape and worked with you to set up 67 welfare reform experiments in 40 States, with more to come. We've granted more than twice as many waivers as the previous two administrations combined. And now, 75 percent of all welfare recipients are already under new rules. The New York Times called this a quiet revolution in welfare.

Well, I am proud that there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare now than the day I took office and that child support collections are up 40 percent. But there's more to do. As you know, the State of Wisconsin has submitted a bold plan to reform welfare. We're working closely with Governor Thompson's staff, and I am committed, as I've said before, to getting this done.

I'd just like to emphasize the things about this Wisconsin plan which are compelling to me: the idea that people should be required immediately to be ready to go to work but that in return, they would have health care and child care guaranteed and that the welfare money could be used to pay income supplements or wage supplements to private employers to put these people to work and that if there is no private employment, these folks would be given community service jobs.

That's what we ought to be doing everywhere. If we can create these jobs, we ought to require people to take them. I know every Governor would agree with me that for all the good that's come from these waivers, however, we can do a lot more once we pass comprehensive national welfare reform. If we pass national welfare reform, we can do an even better job of collecting child support across State lines. And if we pass national welfare reform, we can eliminate this waiver process altogether.

For too long the welfare issue has been marred by partisanship; it's been mired by gridlock. But in recent weeks up here, all this seems to be changing. I think we've now reached a real turning point, a breakthrough for welfare reform. The new leadership of the Senate, along with the leadership of the House of Representatives, now indicated that they want to move forward with bipartisan welfare reform and are dropping their insistence that welfare be linked to the block granting of Medicaid. They've said that they want to work to pass legislation I can sign, rather than sending me legislation they know that I would reject.

As you know, Congress sent me a welfare reform bill last year that fell short of my principles as well as those expressed by the NGA in your February resolution. After my veto and your unanimous resolution, I am pleased that the congressional leadership has made several significant improvements that have made this a much better bill. They've added $4 billion in child care, included a $1 billion work performance bonus to reward States for moving people from welfare to work. They removed the spending cap on food stamps so that States don't come up short in tough times. Their original bill made cuts in structural changes that were tough on children: a school lunch block grant, a 25 percent cut in SSI for disabled children, cuts in foster care. The current bill drops all these provisions.

Congress has taken long strides in the right direction. Now as we approach the goal line, we do have a chance to make history and make this bill even better. We can give all our people a chance to move from welfare to work, to transform our broken welfare system once and for all.

So I hope that Congress will continue to improve the bill along the lines that you and I have long advocated and along the lines of the strong bipartisan bills introduced by Senators John Breaux and John Chafee and Representatives John Tanner and Mike Castle, another former colleague of ours. We must not let this opportunity slip from our grasp as it has too many times before. Let's put politics aside. Let's give the American people the best possible welfare reform bill. And let's do it before the August congressional recess.

I am determined that this will be the year that we finally transform welfare across America. If Congress doesn't act, we still have to continue to act, to make responsibility a way of life and not an option. Today I am taking the steps that I can take as President to advance the central premise of welfare reform, one that is embodied in all the proposed welfare bills: that anyone who can work must do so. We'll say to welfare recipients, "Within 2 years you will be expected to go to work and earn a paycheck, not draw a welfare check."

Here is how we will do that. I am directing the Department of Health and Human Services to require everyone who takes part in the jobs program to sign a personal responsibility contract and commit to going to work within 2 years. States can then take away the benefits if they fail to live up to that commitment.

Today, 28 States already impose work requirements and time limits, every one of them under welfare waivers granted by our administration. I believe all 50 States should follow that lead. This action will ensure that that happens even before welfare reform legislation passes. Of course, this will take effect only if Congress

fails to enact welfare reform legislation. I far prefer a bill passed by Congress, and I know you do too. So let's agree: One way or another we will make work and responsibility the law of the land, but we want a good welfare reform bill.

Ten years ago at an NGA meeting in Hilton Head, South Carolina, I heard testimony from a woman from Little Rock, a woman who had moved from welfare to work through our State's work program. She told us, "The best thing about work is not the check. The best thing is when my boy goes to school and they ask him, what does your mama do for a living, he can give an answer."

Well, today, 10 years later, that lady has a job, and she's raised three children. One has a job, and two are in school. By her undying effort and her unbreakable spirit she shows us that we can make a difference, that this cycle of welfare can be broken, that welfare can be a second chance, not a way of life.

So let me say in closing that we can meet all our challenges if we'll work in this way and if we'll follow the example of the NGA: be bipartisan, cooperative, look for results, not abstract rhetoric, not be ashamed to learn from each other and take our best ideas from each other, and putting our values to work. That's how we can reform welfare and meet our other challenges. If we do that, this country will enter the 21st century stronger and more vibrant than ever before, with the American dream alive for all our people.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke by satellite at 11:20 a.m. from Room 459 of the Old Executive Office Building to the NGA conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin and Gov. Bob Miller of Nevada.

Memorandum on the Work Requirements Initiative
July 16, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of Health and Human Services

Subject: Work Requirements Initiative

I hereby direct you, in order to move people from welfare to work, to exercise your legal authority to propose a regulation that would require all welfare participants in the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training (JOBS) program to sign a personal responsibility plan for working within 2 years. After 2 years, any such JOBS participant who refuses to work, even though a job is available, will be sanctioned by loss of her AFDC benefits.

Welfare reform is first and foremost about work. People who are able to work should be expected to go to work. This proposed regulation will dramatically change expectations for welfare recipients and welfare agencies, ensuring that finding work quickly becomes their primary goal.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Remarks to the United States Agricultural Communicators Congress
July 16, 1996

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for that warm welcome. And I was listening to Dan Glickman say all those outrageously positive things, and it reminded me that that was a living example of Clinton's third law of politics, which is, whenever possible, be introduced by someone you've appointed to high position. [*Laughter*]

Steve and I were talking up here; he said, "You know, the last time I was on a platform with you, you fell through a hole in it." And it's really true. It was—what was it—a soybean

meeting in Arkansas when I was Governor, and he and I were on the platform together and there was a crack in the platform. My chair fell through it. [*Laughter*] It really did a lot for my confidence right before I got up here to speak that he reminded me of that. [*Laughter*] As far as I know, we're all right.

I'm delighted to be here. I want to begin by thanking all of you for the work that you do every day to keep in touch with people in rural America. I want to thank Secretary Glickman who I believe has done a magnificent job as Secretary of Agriculture, and I thank him for that.

It is true that both the Vice President and I come out of small towns and have some more than passing acquaintance with agriculture. And one of the most enjoyable days of my Presidency was the National Rural Conference we had in Ames, Iowa, not very long ago, that Secretary Glickman did such a fine job on.

And it is also true that I always believed that we could not bring the American economy back unless we brought rural America back. One of the things that was most disturbing to me about the economic recovery of the 1980's was that it seemed to sweep the coast and leave the heartland behind. And we've worked very, very hard in this administration to fashion an economic policy that would not only make the overall economic numbers look hopeful but would actually benefit every region and every State in our country. And I think that is very, very important.

Even if a small percentage of our people live in rural America, and I'm happy that more and more people are going back there, a lot of what makes America special is alive and well there and is embodied in our farming communities. I'm glad to see some population movement back, and I'm glad to see family farming once again becoming a career choice for young people. If we are going to meet the challenges of the 21st century, we all have to meet them together and there has to be a role, a vital role for people living in rural America.

When I sought the Presidency, I did it because I was concerned that our country was drifting into the next century instead of charging toward it and that we were coming apart instead of growing together. It seemed to me that there were three straightforward things that we had to do, at least from my point of view, to have the vision of America in the 21st century become real. One is to guarantee opportunity to every American without regard to his or her station in life who is willing to work for it. The second is to receive more responsibility from all of our citizens, taking more initiative for their own lives and their families and their communities. And the third was to see that we come together as a community.

So that—and this is very important—this is the most diverse big country in the world, the most racially and ethnically diverse, the most religiously diverse now. And yet we are bound together by a written Constitution that's 220 years old, going back to the Declaration of Independence. The Constitution was ratified a little more than 10 years after that. And those ideas are just as vital today and just as relevant today as they were over 200 years ago. They are the framework which enables us to come together and share this land with people who are very different than we are, as long as we all play by the same rules.

I say that; it seems so simple maybe, but when you look at how the world's being torn apart because of the differences that we take for granted, that we can live with, it's very important to understand how much we have to be grateful for, with our whole history of constitutional government, a government of laws, a Bill of Rights which gives everybody some elbow room and yet requires all of us not to abuse one another.

I mean, look at Bosnia, a tiny country where you'd think the people would want to be pulling together to try to make the most of their very, very ancient heritage. And it took an international effort of herculean proportions to stop people who were biologically indistinguishable from one another but had different religions and had grown into different ethnic categories.

Look at this heartbreaking development in Northern Ireland, where people were getting along. They had the lowest unemployment rate, the highest growth rate they'd had in 15 years. When I went there last year, people lined the streets, the Catholic and the Protestant together, to say, "We don't want any more war. We love our peace." A lot of the younger people could hardly remember what they were fighting about. But just the failure of leadership, by people in a position to abuse their positions, in a moment can drive people back into that kind of division.

So when you think about the spirit of cooperation and hard work and family that pervades rural America, let me tell you that it's something we take for granted, but when you look at our largest county, Los Angeles County, and you realize we have 150 different racial and ethnic groups in one county, and yet they're still basically getting along reasonably well. Yes, we have problems from time to time there. But if you look at the schools that have people from 70 different linguistic backgrounds in some of our public schools, it's astonishing to see that we've done as well as we have. And it's a great tribute to the endurance of our fundamental values.

And if we're going to keep this whole world together and get these countries to working together to fight our common problems, like terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and diseases that cross national lines, we're going to have to remember these basic values.

And so I wanted to say that at the very outset of my remarks because I think in some ways it's more important than anything else. I'd be perfectly content as somebody from Arkansas to talk about the fact that soybeans are over $8, and I wasn't sure I'd see that again in my lifetime. But I think it's important to note that sometime in our lifetime they will probably be less than $7 again or $6 or—I hope not lower than that. It's liable—but these things endure. And we need to hang on to them.

And as we look ahead and we try to imagine what the world's going to look like 20, 30, 40 years from now for our children and our grandchildren, it's very important to know that America has something that has kept us together and strong for over 200 years, that will take us into this new world.

The other thing I'd like to say is that it's very important that we meet our challenges at home and abroad and that we see them together. I think farmers, in a funny way, because we've exported farm products for so long, may have a little more of a global perspective than a lot of other citizens do. But when people say, well, what's your vision for America in the 21st century, I say I want the American dream alive for everybody; I want us coming together, not drifting apart; and I want us still to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, which means we have to be involved in the world as well as here at home.

I think you understand that instinctively. But I think it's very important that all of our citizens understand that. It requires me from time to time to do things that I know are wildly unpopular. I realize that what I did in Haiti wasn't popular, but I think it's the right thing to do. And we've got a democracy restored there, and we don't have to worry about large numbers of illegal immigrants risking their lives to come from Haiti to the United States. I think trying to help a new and responsible government in Mexico avoid bankruptcy was the responsible thing to do. It reduced illegal immigration and kept Mexico as a responsible trade partner instead of having it collapse on us. I think we did what we had to do in Bosnia. But the most important thing is I think we also put that into a context of 200 more trade agreements, including a lot of things that specifically affected agriculture.

So, if I could ask you to do something when you go home, I hope that you will take every opportunity to talk to people that you live and work with who don't know anything about farming about how it's very hard in the world we're living in—it will be impossible in the world we're moving to—to have a clear dividing line between our domestic economic affairs and our international economic affairs, that to be an American in the 21st century will mean to be a citizen of the world. Even if you live in a completely landlocked State like Arkansas or Iowa or Missouri, if you're a farmer, you know that instinctively. And all of our people have to embrace that.

Four years ago I embarked upon an economic strategy that I thought would work. I wanted to cut the deficit, expand trade, and continue to invest in people, in technology, and in research and in infrastructure, the things that would cause our economy to grow. Now, 3½ years later, the results are beginning to come in. I said in 1993 that if Congress adopted our economic plan, I thought we would cut the deficit in half in 4 years and that 8 million jobs would be produced for the American people. Well, in 3½ years, the American people have produced over 10 million jobs, 3.7 million new homeowners, 3 years in a row of record new small business starts, the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. And we learned today that the deficit, which was

$290 billion when I took office, will fall this year to $117 billion. As a percentage of our income, it's the smallest it's been since 1974. And the only debt we have in America today comes from the interest payments we pay on—the only deficit we have comes from the interest payments we have on the 12 years before I became President. In those 12 years we quadrupled the debt. We've now cut the deficit from 290 to 117. We would be running a substantial surplus this year in the Government budget but for the interest payments on that debt.

So this whole thing is turned around. And that's kept interest rates down, and that's permitted this economy to grow. I think it is very important that we keep on until we balance the budget in a responsible way. But it's important that you know that that's a huge drop. There is no other country in the world with an advanced economy where the Government deficit is so small a percentage of its income every year.

So we're moving in the right direction. And it's some evidence, too, I might add, that if we work together, we can continue to make progress.

Let me mention just one other word on the trade issue. I was convinced when I came here that we could not afford to take a protectionist approach but that we had to be more aggressive and open markets to American products and services around the world. We have concluded now over 200 specific trade agreements as well as the big, sweeping agreements like NAFTA and GATT. We've opened foreign markets to American beef and rice and apples and agricultural products. We've got a long way to go, but it's important to point out that our exports, including our agricultural exports, are at all-time highs. Our exports this year will be about $60 billion, and our surplus in agriculture will be $30 billion this year, we believe. And that will, obviously, make it number one among American export industries.

So when you—people talk to you about the trade deficit, remind them that it's—there is no trade deficit in agriculture, there's a huge surplus. And we're going to keep working to open more markets and keep pushing in the right direction there. We've got farm income up and farm asset values up. And the value of assets are growing faster than the debt, which means that the equity positions of farmers are improving.

We've got prices on average that are 20 percent higher than a year ago. I wish I could promise you that we'd have $5 corn and $5.50 wheat and $8 soybeans forever, but I can't do that. But it is encouraging that a lot of farmers are able to finally earn some money, do some improvements that are needed on the farm, save some money for the years that may not be so good, and improve the overall economic position of family farmers throughout this country. I am very encouraged by it. And what we can do in this administration is to continue to work to open those export markets, and we will.

We've also tried to help deal with some serious problems. The most serious one recently, obviously aggravated by the drought, has been the low cattle prices with the high feed prices. We opened a conservation reserve for emergency grazing. We accelerated the purchase of beef by the School Lunch Program. We worked to remove some more export barriers. And the prices are up modestly, about 10 percent. They're still in trouble, but at least there's been some movement in the last few weeks for which I am very grateful.

I also want to thank the Secretary of Agriculture for the work that he and all of us did on the farm bill. To be perfectly candid—and I've said this in public, so there's no point in not saying it again—but I had and still have some reservations about whether this new farm bill is going to work structurally over the long-term as we go through the ups and downs. It looks great right now because we've got high prices. And I hope that the theory of it will work over a period of years. But I did work in good faith with the leadership of the new Congress to try to pass a farm bill. And I was pleased that we passed some—excuse me—we kept some provisions in this farm bill, especially relating to rural development and to the conservation programs that I thought were quite important. And I was pleased that we were able to preserve them, and I hope we can continue to preserve them in the future.

I'd just like to mention a couple of other issues, if I might. I have been very pleased on balance by the response in the country to the administration's efforts to update meat and poultry inspection. I know this was somewhat controversial. We worked through a lot of difficult issues, but we had to stop using 70- and 80-year-old methods of testing meat when we knew that we had kids out there getting sick,

when there were no bad people involved. Nobody was out there trying to be negligent. We just were simply not using the best available technology. And I know it will cause some economic difficulties for some people, but we simply had to do it.

And I never will forget as long as I live dealing with those families of those kids that ate the contaminated meat with the *E. coli* from the Pacific Northwest or the agony that the people felt who sold them the hamburgers. Their pain was also very real, and they felt desperate about it. They never meant to do any such thing. And that was just a case where we'd simply walked away from available technology. So we had to do it. And I hope that you all support the steps we're taking. We've tried to listen as well as we could to everybody. We tried to make the fairest decisions we could. But I think that decision had to be made.

There's one other thing that we're doing that I want to mention that you may know about already, but this week Secretary Glickman is announcing that we're devoting $70 million to several communities in a total of 35 States to help them get safe running water for their people by the year 2000. Interestingly enough, the number one health problem in the developing world is still the absence of clean, safe water. If we could just get clean water to everybody in these poor countries, we could save more children's lives in less time than any other single thing we could do. And yet there are still places in the United States of America in rural areas where people do not have access to safe drinking water. And we are determined to correct that problem. So we will keep working on that as well.

And now there's a lot more to do. And I guess I could keep you here all day, but I'd like to mention one or two things that I think would affect farm families especially. Number one, this Kassebaum-Kennedy health care reform bill would make several million people a year eligible to either get or keep health insurance who can't now by simply saying that people don't automatically lose their health insurance when they change jobs, and their health insurance can't be taken away from them because somebody in their family gets sick. That's why you have insurance in the first place. Now, this is very important for people who are not insured in large units. If you're insured in a large unit, the size of the unit which insures you often protects you from these sorts of problems. But it is terribly important to pass this legislation.

Secondly, in the minimum wage legislation, in the same bill, there are provisions which could be very important to farmers, including an increase in the expensing provision. It was $10,000 when I became President; in '93 we kicked it up to $17,000 or $17,500; this takes it up to $25,000, which is quite important. And secondly, the package of retirement reforms that came out of the White House Conference on Small Business which would help a lot of farmers is in it. They're making it easier for people to access 401(k) plans, making it easier for people to move the plans, making it easier for people to maintain them if they hit a rough spot and they can't continue the contributions. There are several other things which strengthen the ability of people who do not work for large employment units to get and keep retirement plans over a lifetime and through the ups and downs that could happen to them.

So these are two things that—there's been almost no—I don't know why exactly, but there's been almost no publicity about the other things that are in that minimum wage bill. But those are two things that are in there.

Now, there are two other provisions that are of interest to you that are not in there but that were part of our discussions when we were talking about how we get a final balanced budget agreement. One was a modification of the estate loss, which has not been changed in a long time, which affects farmers in particular with high asset values and low cash income and not a lot of money in the bank to pay estate taxes—which we had reached agreement on in our budget negotiations about how to change. And the other was an increase in the deduction of health care premiums for self-employed people, including farmers, which has been kicked up to about 50 percent. We were going to take it higher, and we reached agreement on that.

So, in the event—I still think there is some chance we will get an agreement in the Congress on a budget bill this year. No one else believes this, but I'm always—but I would remind you, for all of the fights we've had, we have this year passed a very tough antiterrorism bill. We've passed a telecommunications bill that I believe will create hundreds of thousands of high-wage jobs in America within the very near future by getting both the benefits of more competition and the requirement to adequately serve

schools and hospitals and places in rural America as well as urban America. All that's in that telecom bill that we passed. We passed lobby reform legislation that I've tried for 3 years to pass; we finally passed that.

So we have done some quite important things in this year in the Congress. And if we pass this minimum wage small business bill that I just mentioned—and we might pass a welfare reform bill because we're getting closer on that—then who knows, we might get lucky and pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, which we're getting close to. Then we might be able to pass this balanced budget bill. It will be a great thing for America if we do it. But if we do it, those other provisions, when we stopped our budget negotiations when the Presidential primary season started, did contain those two things that I know are of great interest in rural America. So anyway, that's kind of where we are with the issues in Washington.

Let me just mention one other thing before I close. It doesn't apply just to rural America, it applies to all Americans. If you look at what's happened in the last 4 years, I think you can make a compelling case that America has gotten its economic house in order, that we've walked away from these permanent big deficits forever. We've reduced the size of the Federal Government; it's about 240,000 people smaller than it was the day I took office. We've abolished a couple hundred Government programs outright. We have taken 16,000 pages of regulation out of the Federal rulebooks. We tried to improve the quality of Government services and keep interest rates down and let the economy grow.

But there's still a big challenge out there, which is that not everybody is benefiting from this new economy. It's not like it was in the eighties where whole States were left behind. My State didn't have an unemployment rate below the national average until 1992. A lot of rural areas were that way. This is different. In every State, what you see is a division of opportunity based more than anything else on the level of education. And it is a function of the fact that this modern economy is being driven by information and technology and rewards people who not only know a lot but can absorb a lot of new things and learn new things and are very flexible.

So we have got to take a hard look at what it's going to take to get America growing together again. We can change the job mix, as we are, but that takes some time. For example, two-thirds of the new jobs that have been created in America since January of '93 have been in higher wage occupations. And more trade has a lot to do with that because it tends to create higher wage jobs. And that's good, but that's only a small percentage of the total jobs Americans hold.

And if you look at it, what we still have in America is, we have some people who are downsized and have a hard time getting themselves repositioned. We have some people who never feel the recovery because they're in isolated rural areas or isolated inner-city areas. And the largest group of people that are still having a tough time are people that just can't ever get a raise because they have to work harder for less in a competitive economy with low skill levels.

So the best thing we can do—there are lots of things we can do, but the best thing we can do is to raise the level of education and training of every American, including making more educational opportunities available to adult Americans right now. And I have three proposals there that I just want to mention in closing that I think are very important.

First of all, I proposed a "GI bill" for American workers. There are 70 different Government programs for training people who are unemployed or underemployed, and I would give $5 to everybody in this audience that could name more than 5 of them. How about four? [*Laughter*] There are 70 of them.

So what I propose to do is to take the 70 programs and get rid of all of them, put the money in the bank and give a skill grant to every adult in America who is unemployed or underemployed to take to the local community college or some other institution of your choice. But nearly every American is within driving distance of a community college, and nearly every community college has almost 100 percent placement for people who get educated there into jobs in their community.

We do not need yesterday's splitup training system. We ought to just give people a skill grant and say, you've got enough sense to figure out where to get the training; go get it. So, that's the first proposal.

The second proposal is to make college education more affordable by letting people deduct

up to $10,000 of the cost of tuition for the cost of all post-high school education.

The third proposal, building on that, is to make at least 2 years of college after high school just as universal as high school is today. If you look at the last census, you will see how people's incomes start to split apart based on whether they stopped at high school or whether they got at least 2 years more. People that have at least a community college diploma tend to have jobs which are stable, which pay decent incomes, and where they can get a raise over time. People that don't, depending on where they live and what they do—obviously they're exceptions to this, but the odds are that you're likely to have a job where you can't get a raise, and therefore, you lose ground over time.

So my objective will be to make 2 more years of education just as universal as a high school education is today. So what I propose to do there is to give families who choose this instead of the tax deduction a credit, a credit of $1,500 for the first year of a community college and a credit of $1,500 for the second year for everybody that keeps a B average in the first year. That would literally open community college to virtually everyone in America. That $1,500 or less is the tuition cost for community colleges in almost every State. There's a few where they're a little bit higher, but still, the $1,500 credit would have a big impact.

And if we can do those things, then we can work with the private sector to try to raise the skill levels of the adults that are already out there and get the young people that are coming out of high school into college and at least to 2 more years of education so their prospects will be better. That will enable the American economy to grow but also to grow together. And that's what keeps the American dream alive, the idea that if you're working hard and you're doing your part, you've got your chance at the brass ring. And that's what I believe we need to really focus on now.

And I might say in closing that every advanced country is dealing with this challenge. The United States has done a much better job than most of our competitors in creating new jobs. But no country has solved the increasing inequality problem. And it is clearly related to the breathtaking degree to which change has overtaken the world and rewarded education, knowledge, and skills. So anything you can do to make this a nonpolitical, nonpartisan issue, the idea that we're going to lift up opportunities for all of our people, I think would very much advance the United States as well as, obviously, life in rural America.

Well, I've talked a little more than I meant to, but I had a lot of things I wanted to talk about. Besides that, I don't see you very often, and I might fall through a crack on the way off the stand. [*Laughter*]

Thank you very much. It's good to be with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Steve Drake, president, Agricultural Relations Council.

Statement on Action on Title III of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996

July 16, 1996

From the outset of my administration, I have been committed to a bipartisan policy that promotes a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba. Consistent with the Cuban Democracy Act and with the efforts of my predecessors, I have maintained a tough economic embargo on the Cuban regime while supporting the Cuban people in their struggle for freedom and prosperity. Often, the United States has stood alone in that struggle, because our allies and friends believed that pressuring Cuba to change was the wrong way to go.

Five months ago, the world was given a harsh lesson about why we need more pressure on Cuba. In broad daylight, and without justification, Cuban military jets shot down two unarmed American civilian aircraft over international waters, taking the lives of four American citizens and residents. I took immediate steps to demonstrate my determination to foster

change in Cuba, including the signing into law of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act, which strengthens the embargo, advances the cause of freedom in Cuba, and protects the interests of American citizens whose property was expropriated by the Cuban regime. And I called on the international community to condemn Cuba's actions.

Now the time has come for our allies and friends to do more—to join us in taking concrete steps to promote democracy in Cuba. That is why today, I am announcing a course of action on title III of the LIBERTAD Act to encourage our allies to work with us and accelerate change in Cuba.

Title III allows U.S. nationals to sue foreign companies that profit from American-owned property confiscated by the Cuban regime. The law also provides me with the authority to suspend the date on which title III enters into force, or the date on which U.S. nationals can bring suit, if I determine that suspension is necessary to the national interest and will expedite a transition to democracy in Cuba. I have decided to use the authority provided by Congress to maximize title III's effectiveness in encouraging our allies to work with us to promote democracy in Cuba.

I will allow title III to come into force. As a result, all companies doing business in Cuba are hereby on notice that by trafficking in expropriated American property, they face the prospect of lawsuits and significant liability in the United States. This will serve as a deterrent to such trafficking, one of the central goals of the LIBERTAD Act.

At the same time, I am suspending the right to file suit for 6 months. During that period, my administration will work to build support from the international community on a series of steps to promote democracy in Cuba. These steps include: increasing pressure on the regime to open up politically and economically, supporting forces for change on the island, withholding foreign assistance to Cuba, and promoting business practices that will help bring democracy to the Cuban workplace.

At the end of that period, I will determine whether to end the suspension, in whole or in part, based upon whether others have joined us in promoting democracy in Cuba. Our allies and friends will have a strong incentive to make real progress because, with title III in effect, liability will be established irreversibly during the suspension period and suits could be brought immediately when the suspension is lifted. And for that very same reason, foreign companies will have a strong incentive to immediately cease trafficking in expropriated property, the only sure way to avoid future lawsuits.

Our allies and foreign business partners know from our actions over the past 4 months that my administration is determined to vigorously implement the LIBERTAD Act. For example, title IV of the act bars from the United States individuals who profit from property confiscated from American citizens. My administration has already begun to notify several foreign nationals that they could no longer enter the United States. Rather than face this prospect, a significant number of foreign companies already has chosen to leave Cuba, thereby reducing the flow of resources the regime uses to maintain its grip on power.

Today's action is the best way to achieve the bipartisan objectives we all share: to isolate the Cuban Government and to bring strong international pressure to bear on Cuba's leaders, while holding out the very real prospect of fully implementing title III in the event it becomes necessary. By working with our allies, not against them, we will avoid a split that the Cuban regime will be sure to exploit. Forging an international consensus will avert commercial disputes that would harm American workers and business and cost us jobs here at home. And it will help maintain our leadership authority in international organizations.

We will work with our allies when we can. But they must understand that for countries and foreign companies that take advantage of expropriated property the choice is clear: They can cease profiting from such property, they can join our efforts to promote a transition to democracy in Cuba, or they can face the risk of full implementation of title III. As our allies know from our implementation of other provisions of the bill over the last 4 months, my administration takes this responsibility seriously.

For the past four decades Republican and Democratic administrations alike have worked for the transition to democracy of the last nondemocratic regime in our hemisphere. This is a cause the international community should be prepared to embrace. As implemented under today's decision, title III of the LIBERTAD Act provides us with powerful leverage to build a stronger international coalition for democracy in

Cuba if possible and with a powerful tool to lead that struggle alone if necessary. This is in the best interests of our country and in the best interests of the Cuban people.

Remarks Announcing the Donation of Cellular Telephones to Neighborhood Watch Groups

July 17, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you, Matt, for your introduction and for your years of community leadership, for doing this before it was popular and making sure it becomes more popular. We are grateful to you.

I thank all of those who have come today. I'm especially glad to see Senator Heflin and Congressman Kennedy, Congresswoman Lofgren, Secretary Kantor, and Joe Brann who runs our COPS program at the Justice Department. His told me that we have now funded 44,000 of those 100,000 police officers, so we're ahead of schedule and we intend to stay that way. I thank Tom Wheeler for being here and the Community Policing Consortium executive director, Bill Matthews, and all the rest of you.

Before I begin my remarks today I just have to take a moment to express my outrage and I know the outrage of all Americans at the Nazi swastikas which were painted on the doors of African-Americans living in the Army Special Forces barracks at Fort Bragg. No one in America should be subject to such vile acts. But these men and women of our Armed Forces have committed themselves to the highest level of dedication to our security. They dedicate their lives to protecting our freedom. They embody our commitment to tolerance and liberty. And they do not deserve this kind of abuse.

We are taking immediate action to get to the bottom of this incident. We intend to punish those who are responsible. We have a zero tolerance for racism in our military, and make no mistake, we intend to apply it. I know that I will have your support and the support of all Americans in maintaining this position.

We are joined today by another group of courageous Americans who are taking responsibility in their own communities to protect the American way of life. There are about 100 neighborhood watch leaders with us here today. They represent all the neighborhood watch participants all across America. In the last 15 years, as you've just heard, neighborhood watches have sprung up on block after block. Every time another American puts on an orange hat our streets become a little safer.

Today there are more than 20,000 neighborhood watch groups in America. They're in every State, and they all make a difference. Just before coming in I saw some very impressive statistics from Salt Lake City and Chicago and Dade County. I recently had the opportunity to visit with neighborhood watch activists in San Diego, and they have been extremely instrumental in giving that community one of the lowest crime rates of any major city in the United States.

When I lived in Little Rock we had a very active neighborhood watch group in my neighborhood. And it was fascinating because if the crime rate got too low and the neighborhood watch folks got a little relaxed, the crime rate went up. But as soon as they went back on the street it went back down again, which was, I guess, the ultimate test of the success of the neighborhood watch.

As the Vice President said, as a nation we have finally begun to push crime back. When I ran for President I was struck by two things that seemed to me directly in conflict. I was struck by how many Americans just had taken for granted that we'd have to put up with an unacceptable crime rate forever; how many people just sort of assumed that we could never make our streets safe again; that our kids could never feel secure walking to and from school again; that we would always be worried about being the victims of violent crime. They just sort of took it for granted.

But underneath that it was clear to me, as I traveled around the country, that in community after community after community, with community policing strategies, with prevention efforts, with neighborhood watches, the crime rate was actually beginning to go down, in some places, dramatically. And it was the experience

that I saw manifested in all these communities that led us to the crime bill, with its commitment to 100,000 police, with its commitment to tougher punishment for repeat offenders, with its commitment to prevention programs, with its commitment to the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill, and all the other things which have come out of our initiatives.

All of those ideas were not born in the brain of some Washington thinker. They were manifested on the streets of America by people who proved to me that we could take our streets back, that we could make America safe again. One day, as I have said many times, I'll know we've got the crime problem in the right position when you flip on the evening news and if the lead story is a crime story, you're shocked instead of numb to it. That will be the test. And I believe we can find that day in America again. I believe we can only do it, however, when crime prevention and crime detection is a community enterprise in every community, when every citizen believes that he or she has a responsibility to support the police, to be involved in it, to identify suspicious circumstances, to try to help kids who are coming up in troubled homes on troubled streets stay out of trouble themselves and build better lives, when every single citizen believes that he or she is responsible for that.

Those of you who work with the police in these community watch programs, you are leading the way. And I think we need to do more to help you. I appreciated Matt mentioning that at Penn State I challenged another million Americans to join these community crime watch programs. I had just seen the difference that you are making, and people in your communities feel the difference.

You know, if you think about it, if you don't feel safe in your homes and on your streets, in your schools, and in your places of work, most of the rest of the things that happen in life don't amount to much. But if you do feel safe, if you feel secure, then very often you feel that you can conquer the world even if things aren't going so well. This is the first condition of a civilized society, and you are helping to guarantee it in a difficult and challenging time.

The announcement that we have to make today is designed to help you do your work. Today a coalition of telecommunications leaders is determined to join forces with you and with our police. The Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association has actually pledged to provide every neighborhood watch patrol in America with a cellular phone to use on the beat and free air time to go with it. That is a remarkable commitment.

They have set aside an initial 50,000 phones and have promised to make sure that every patrol that needs a phone gets what it needs. Their board of directors is here today. They met with the Vice President not very long ago who issued this challenge and discussed it with them. But they made the decision to do it entirely on their own. It is an astonishing act of good citizenship and generosity. So I'd like to ask the board to stand, and I think we should all give them the hand they deserve. Please stand up. [*Applause*] Thank you. And I want to thank you, too, Tom Wheeler, for doing a great job in so many, many ways.

Communities on phone patrol will connect citizens on the beat to the police, the fire, the medical support they need in an emergency. These phones will be preprogrammed to local emergency numbers determined by local law enforcement officials. To get a phone, established volunteer groups will contact the local police chief or the local sheriff. A one-page application and 72 hours later, the cell phone should be on its way.

Now, when drug dealers wear pagers and gang members have cell phones, I think it's time we put high technology on the side of law and order. This will help our citizens to have stronger links with law enforcement as they work to take back our streets. In the right hands, these cell phones will save lives and stop crimes. When citizens are on patrol, the cell phone will help to keep them safer. When they see something suspicious, the cell phone can bring the police. When they see a medical emergency, a cell phone can connect them to the ambulance service immediately. From now on help will be just a phone call away.

From San Francisco to San Antonio, citizens with cell phones are already making a difference in the fight against crime. In Dade County, Florida, the citizens with cell phones are helping to bring down burglaries, robberies, and thefts. In Albany, Oregon, parents are using cell phones on patrolling school grounds. San Francisco Police Chief Fred Lau says cellular phones help citizens on patrol, quote, "feel safe" and help

police officers arrive at the scene quickly, make arrests when appropriate.

Today is a good day for our country. With the support from our businesses, commitments from our citizens, and the constant courage of our police officers, we're taking another step toward a safer future for our children, our families, and our communities. We all know we will never be able to eliminate crime completely, but we can—we can—make it the exception, not the rule again. We can create conditions in which Americans are literally shocked when they hear of serious crimes, not simply numb to it. And we must keep working together until we create that kind of America for our children.

Now let me say, right now, I have the privilege of asking a neighborhood watch volunteer to come up here and receive the very first phone which has the COPP logo on it—Communities on Phone Patrol—COPP with two P's. And they also put the Presidential logo on it—[*laughter*]—proving that the Vice President is not the only person that can handle a piece of high-tech equipment in this administration. [*Laughter*]

So I'd like to ask Sandy Sparks from Baltimore to come up here. I want to thank her for her dedication and make her the first recipient of this incredible gift that these folks in the telecommunications industry have provided to the citizens of America.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Matt Peskin, executive director, National Association of Town Watch; Tom Wheeler, president, Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association; William Matthews, executive director, Community Policing Consortium; and Sandy Sparks, neighborhood watch volunteer.

Remarks to the Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies
July 17, 1996

Thank you. Since this has now happened a number of times, I have prepared no fewer than a dozen introductions of Hillary, and some day I'll get to do a few of them. [*Laughter*]

I am delighted to see you all here. I want to thank Lee Annenberg and all the rest of you who have supported this program so strongly. I also want to say it's a thrill for me personally to see Robert Rauschenberg here again. I had the honor of presenting him the National Medal of Arts in 1993. And when I said—I saw him a minute or two ago, and he said, "You have summoned me here again." [*Laughter*] And I thought, if only the Congress were as responsive as Mr. Rauschenberg. [*Laughter*] Thank you, sir, for your generosity to the arts and embassies program. And I'm happy to be here to witness another example of it today.

I'd like to thank Senator Pell and Chairman Gilman for being here. Mrs. Pell, thank you for coming. I'd like to thank all the Ambassadors who are here, especially Ambassadors to the United States from so many other countries. It's a great honor for us and for this program that so many have come here to be with us today.

For 10 years the Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies have graced the walls of nearly 200 of our embassies with over 3,000 great works of American art. To date you've raised over $8 million to fund projects at embassy residences all across the world. On behalf of our administration, and especially those who work in the diplomatic corps who have been daily enriched by your generosity, I want to thank you. This is a remarkable citizen achievement of which all can be justly proud.

We've seen a lot of these projects, as Hillary said. She just returned from, I guess, seeing seven of our embassies on her recent trip. I never cease to be amazed, sometimes outright startled, at what I find when I walk into one of our embassies overseas and I see some new miracle of American creativity that I had never before seen. I've marveled at the precise restorations of priceless murals at our embassy in Madrid, the conservation of treasured paintings at our embassy in London. I know that I've only seen a fraction of them, and I hope I'll

have a chance to see a few more in the next couple of years. [*Laughter*] I look forward to seeing more examples of these works. And I know that they've been highlighted in the book that commemorates your 10th anniversary.

This has not been an easy time on the budgets of those in the Foreign Service, partly for reasons that apply to our whole budget. We have been working hard to get rid of a burdensome Government deficit. We've brought it down 4 years in a row for the first time in a long time, partly because there are those who believe that our diplomatic missions should be funded at lower levels, something with which I hardly disagree, especially at the end of the cold war.

But regardless of the causes, we face significant funding challenges, and the kinds of things that you have made possible would never have been possible without your endeavors. But I'm sure you understand that in the environment today, they are more important than ever before, by far.

And I guess if I could just do anything else here, I just want you to know that it really makes a difference. I want you to believe that the power of private responsibility and public service working together that you've embodied for 10 years really makes a difference. I feel it every time I walk into an American embassy in any part of the world. And I hear so many people comment on it who travel the world and go to our embassies. And, of course, those who work there and those who live in the residences are the most grateful of all.

So let me again say, thank you. We're delighted to have you here. And I'd like to now call Lee Annenberg to the podium.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. on the State Floor at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Lee Annenberg, chair, Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies; artist Robert Rauschenberg; and Senator Claiborne Pell's wife, Nuala.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Emigration Policies of Bulgaria

July 17, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

On June 3, 1993, I determined and reported to the Congress that Bulgaria is in full compliance with the freedom of emigration criteria of sections 402 and 409 of the Trade Act of 1974. This action allowed for the continuation of most-favored-nation (MFN) status for Bulgaria and certain other activities without the requirement of a waiver.

As required by law, I am submitting an updated report to the Congress concerning emigration laws and policies of the Republic of Bulgaria. The report indicates continued Bulgarian compliance with U.S. and international standards in the area of emigration policy.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 17, 1996.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the President's Advisory Board on Arms Proliferation Policy

July 17, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

As required by section 1601(d) of Public Law 103–160 (the "Act"), I transmit herewith the report of the President's Advisory Board on Arms Proliferation Policy. The Board was estab-

lished by Executive Order 12946 (January 20, 1995), pursuant to section 1601(c) of the Act.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

July 17, 1996.

Remarks to the Women's Leadership Forum
July 17, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience member. Love you, Mr. President!

The President. Thank you. [*Laughter*] I hope you've had half as good a time tonight as I have. I want to thank Senator Dodd and Chairman Fowler for being here. I want to thank all of the leaders of the WLF, and especially I thank my friend Carol Pensky. And I thank you, Cynthia Friedman, for the enormous work you have done, especially at this time. We thank you for being such a brave and good friend. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I enjoyed being up here with my team. Sometimes I hate to be last, you know. The very first speech I ever gave as a public official, 20 years ago, January of 1977, I was attorney general. I went to a Rotary Club installation banquet. It's one of these deals that starts at 6:30; there were 500 people there. Everybody in the crowd but four people got introduced; they went home mad. [*Laughter*] I got up to talk at a quarter to 10. And the guy that introduced me was the only person there more nervous than me, and the first words out of his mouth was, "You know, we could stop here and have had a very nice evening." [*Laughter*] Now, he didn't mean it that way. [*Laughter*] At least I don't think he did. But we could stop here and have had a very nice evening. [*Laughter*]

I want to say about Tipper Gore, you know, we share the same birthday; therefore, we are under the same—but she's younger than I am. Therefore, we are under the same sign. We have the same sort of enthusiasm about life. And she is always irreverently puncturing my balloon. [*Laughter*] But I appreciate her for many things, but the story that the Vice President told you about what she said when she heard Senator Dole was resigning from the Senate is true. If this country had a hundred people as committed to mental health reform and adequate mental health care as she is, we could solve that problem in a matter of months.

I want to say—let me just give you an example—when I tell people all the time that Al Gore is the most important Vice President in history and he has done more than anybody else ever has, really I'm bragging on myself, you know, because I think I showed such good sense in selecting him. [*Laughter*] And besides that, the more he does, the more likely it is I can play golf a couple times a month. [*Laughter*]

But to give you an example of the sort of range of what he has done and the difference that he made for our country, it would be impossible for me to describe to you the extent to which our partnership with Russia to make the 21st century a better world for all of our children has been facilitated by this remarkable commission that he and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin of Russia have. All of the things they have worked on, all of the problems they have worked out, all the problems they have avoided developing between our two countries as we move into this period of transition, it's just been staggering.

And then he came back with no sleep, and the first thing we did today was to have an announcement that he helped to work out in which the cellular telephone folks agreed to give 50,000—just as a starter, not all—50,000 free telephones to all the community citizen patrols that are working with police departments around the country so they can call in and help prevent crimes and help deal with medical emergencies. It's an amazing thing. So this is a lot better country than it was 4 years ago in part because of the incredible range and impact of his labors.

I thank you for the way you received the First Lady tonight. My friends and family at home used to tell me that if they're shooting at you it must be because they're afraid you're doing something. [*Laughter*] What I would like to say about her is that that book that she wrote was written sort of out of the experience of

her entire life. And the ideas that were embodied in that book were the ideas she was living by when I first met her a long time ago now. And I am more grateful than I can say for the fact that she has been willing to continue to stand for those things and to fight for those things at home and around the world in the face of political fire that came only because she happened to be my wife and I thought she ought to be able to speak her mind and make this country a better place along with the rest of us. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Al pretty much introduced everybody I wanted to introduce. I wish we could introduce all of our appointees. But I do want to make note of the fact that we started the three organizations within the Government that I think are important, and I ought to acknowledge the women who head those groups: Bonnie Campbell, who heads the Violence Against Women Office at the Department of Justice; Susan Blumenthal, who heads the Women's Health Office at the Department of Health and Human Services; and Betsy Myers, who heads the White House Office of Women's Initiatives. [*Applause*] Thank you very much.

And there's one other very senior person in my White House I have to introduce today because this is her birthday, the Special Assistant to the President for Public Policy and Public Liaison, Alexis Herman, who is here tonight. Where is she? [*Applause*] Thank you.

Now, I saved Ann Richards and Shirley Caesar until last because it occurred to me that they made me feel right at home; I heard a gospel singer and then I heard a gospel preacher. [*Laughter*] And usually when you hear that where I come from, the last person is supposed to just pass the plate and go home. [*Laughter*] But you've already passed the plate. [*Laughter*] And your reaction to Shirley, who was wonderful both in her words as well as her song, thank you very much, and all of you who came with her, and to Ann Richards, who can say things and get away with them that the rest of us can't say—[*laughter*]—and tells the truth in a way that even those who don't like it can understand it, makes me think that basically what I am now doing, as we used to say at home, is preaching to the saved.

So I want to just make a couple of arguments to you very quickly, and I hope you will think about it. First of all, what Ann said is right. I don't care what these polls say, it's better to be good than bad, because they reflect the choices before the American people. But the election is a long time from now. And you should look at these polls as a picture of a horserace that's not over. So forget about the politics and think about the substance. Just put it out of your mind except for the substance, what's at stake here.

So I'd like to begin with this: Everybody always talks about this gender gap as if it's something the Republicans ought to be trying to close. We've got a few fellows here tonight. I want you to close the gender gap in our favor. Bring them over here. Don't just preach to the saved. Talk to people here.

It is simply not true that the issues that are part of the record of the last 4 years, the differences between us and the things at stake in the future, are divided in their impact by men and women. That is not true. That is not true. Everybody has got the same stake in the future of this country. They may be perceived in different ways, and I'll say more about that in a minute.

But I want you to go out of here with a commitment to spend some time every day between now and November trying to talk to people about what's at stake here and the choices for our country. We are going to walk into the 21st century on the bridge we build in this election. And there is no status quo option; we're going to take one way of change or another, and we'll have to live with the consequences for a very long time. So we need to think through that and make the right decision.

I just want you to think about three things. Number one, I want you to think about the record. And I'll say no more about it because others have spoken about it. But it matters because it's an indication of what will happen, number one, and number two, because the results have been good. We passed our economic program. They said it would be the end of the world, the sky would fall, there would be at least a bad recession. And we said, no, we'll cut the deficit in half, and 8 million jobs will be created. Well, we were both wrong. We cut the deficit by 60 percent, and we have 10 million new jobs.

They said they were the party of fiscal responsibility, but they opposed our deficit reduction plan. And now, this is the first administration which has lowered the deficit in all 4 of its

years in office since—listen to this—the 1840's. So there is no deficit left in our budget except that caused by the interest we pay on the debt run up in the 12 years before I moved to Washington. We have an operating surplus in our budget today. And you should know that.

The crime rate is coming down for 4 years in a row. And one of the reasons is because we stood for things: 100,000 police, prevention programs, the right kind of punishment, and the ban on assault weapons and the Brady bill and the Violence Against Women Act and Megan's Law. Those things matter.

And you know, one of the things they used to say caused the gender gap was all this gun business. Well, not a single hunter or sportsman has lost his rifle since we passed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. But 60,000 fugitives, felons, and stalkers don't get to have a handgun because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong about that. And I want you to think about it.

There are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there was the day I became President, not because we've tried to be tough on kids but because we tried to make it possible for people to go to work and take care of their children. We've increased child support collections by 40 percent. And I'm proud of that; that matters. And every American has a stake in it.

So the first thing I want you to say to people is, look, there's a record here and the results are good. We're better off than we were 4 years ago.

The second thing I want you to say to people is, this is a happy election for the voters because there's no guesswork in it. [*Laughter*] You know, usually there's a little guesswork. I mean, you took a chance on me in '92. You heard what they said, that I was out there, Governor of some place 40 miles west of Podunk, couldn't find my way to the White House. You heard all that. They said you took a chance on me. None of that this time. No guesswork. You know what I'm going to do because of what I have done and because what I'm advocating to do flows naturally out of it. And you know what they will do because they already did it. I just vetoed it and stopped it the first time. You know what they'll do.

So tell people, if you want this, if you want fewer people in Head Start and you think there ought to be fewer college loans, if you think we ought to eviscerate the Environmental Protection Agency and stop cleaning up toxic waste, if that's what you think we ought to do, you can get that job done. If you believe we ought to eliminate AmeriCorps, our national service program, which has already given 45,000 young people a chance to earn some money for college by serving their communities, it's the symbol of what we're trying to do in this country; if you believe that we ought to walk away from a 30-year guarantee that Medicaid has made to the seniors in this country that need help, being in nursing homes, to poor pregnant women and their little infant babies, and to families with people with disabilities in them so that they wouldn't be driven into poverty to get decent care for their families, you can get that job done. Just vote for them. They did it once. I just stopped it. If that's what you want, if you think Medicare premiums ought to be raised twice as much as needs to be just to bail out the system, but they want to do it more and create a two-tier class of Medicare, you can have that.

I think that this is a very serious argument. You must make this argument. There is no guesswork here. You know what I'm going to do; you know what they're going to do. This is not close. You just decide. And you have to let people know what decision is out there.

You know, there shouldn't be a lot of smoke and mirrors, and I don't want to get into—you know, I was asked the other night on an interview program that I did for the new television network to name a quality—a caller called in on E-mail and said, "Tell me what you admire most about Senator Dole." And I said, "Well, I don't just admire one thing about Senator Dole; I admire a lot of things. But the thing I think I like the most about him is I really believe he loves America." And I believe that. I don't think we need to run a hateful campaign and demean the people who are our opponents and try to do that. I don't believe in that.

But we have a very different view here. And we've got to make sure every single, solitary citizen understands that there are consequences. That's the second thing I want to say.

The third point and the most important of all is that this election is about how you want our country to look as we stand on the dawn of the new century. What do you want it to be like 20 or 30 years from now for your chil-

dren and your grandchildren? That's really what it's about.

I want to just mention two things Ann Richards said that got us all up out of our seats. We thought it was so funny—you clapped. But there are two germs here of ideas that I want to mention because they have a lot to do with what I believe we ought to be doing.

The first thing she said that was great is that the other guys think that the country's in deep trouble because people on welfare stay home with their children instead of going to work, but the country's in trouble because middle class women go to work instead of staying home with their children. And you liked that because it was true. You liked that; that was sort of funny. And then she said that you ought to be for me because I wasn't afraid to be around women that were smarter than I was, or something like that. [*Laughter*] Whatever she said, strong women or whatever. And you liked that. [*Laughter*] And I have to like that. I have no choice. So I like that. [*Laughter*]

So I want you to think about this: We're living through a time of enormous change in the way we work, in the way we live, in the way we raise our children, in the way we relate to each other, in the way we relate to the rest of the world. We know there are economic factors that have caused this. We know there are social factors that have caused this. And every one of us is worried about meeting the challenges of our lives and preserving our values that we hold dear. And the reason you liked both those things is that—in the first thing, the sort of either-or deal Ann said about welfare, it struck you if not hypocritical at least internally contradictory. But the truth is that what we want for poor women, for middle class women, for rich women, and for their spouses and for their children is the same thing. We want people to be able to live out their own dreams. And if they want to work or if they have to work, we want people to be able to succeed at home and at work, right? We want people to be able to succeed at home and at work.

Now, that is a huge, important idea. Why? Because that's why the family leave law is important. And I was strong for it, and the nominee of their party was opposed to it. And I want to expand it in the next term to cover regular visits to the doctor and regular visits to the school so parents can have some time to see their children. Why? Because—that's why pension reform is important. That's why health care reform is important. That's why all these things are important. Why? Because you can't divide your life up anymore. You can't pretend that you're some sort of segmented little person. If you want to have a whole life, if you want people to be able to live out their dreams, then you have to make it possible for people to succeed at home and at work. And if they have to choose one or the other, we're in deep trouble.

What are the other things? Well, the President doesn't mind being around strong women, strong Vice President, strong anybody else. [*Laughter*] Is that a sign of weakness? I don't think so. You know, my mother, bless her soul, had a lot of interesting qualities—[*laughter*]—but one of the things I learned from her at an early age is that she never begrudged another soul their success. She never did. If somebody else was doing well, it made her happy. Even if they didn't like her, it made her happy. It didn't bother her, ever. All she ever wanted to do was to get a fair deal and have a chance to be happy too.

And the way we practice our politics will determine whether America can manage this diversity we have in a way that makes us stronger, richer, and more together, or a way that divides us more and makes us weaker and causes us to stagger into the 21st century instead of charge into it. And this is the biggest problem in the world today.

I mean, Hillary and I went to Northern Ireland in December, and they were the happiest people you ever saw. People—the Catholics and the Protestants—cheering, six, seven deep in the street, happy. They couldn't even remember what they were fighting about. A few irresponsible people slip the tracks, doesn't take any time, the people are fighting again, defining their lives in terms of what religion they're not, which side of the street they don't live on, who they aren't, who they can look down on, who they can march against or throw a rock against. It's wrong and it's foolish and it's self-defeating, but it's so easy.

Bosnia is not a very big country. Biologically the Croats, the Serbs, and the Muslims are virtually indistinguishable. But they spent a lot of time in the last few years slaughtering each other by the tens of thousands because of what they weren't.

It is the curse of the Middle East that I pray we can find an answer to. It is driving the terrorism. It's driving terrorism. It's driving the proliferation of dangerous weapons. It drives children into gangs and makes them callous about the violence they do to each other. This is not a little thing. This is a big thing. How do you look at other people? This is a huge deal.

So I have said before, I'll say again, I think my major job as President is to get us all to think about how we want to go into the 21st century and what kind of jobs we all have to do to get there. See, I really believe that the best days of this country are still ahead. I believe that technology will do more good than harm. I believe when we get every classroom and every library in this country hooked up to the information superhighway, you're going to see an explosion of democracy in learning and you're going to see people able to access things that would formerly have been beyond their wildest dreams. I believe we're going to create a lot more jobs than we lose.

I believe that the best days of this country are ahead of us. But we have to make some simple decisions. And I don't think we can get into these divisions, like the one Ann said about the welfare and the middle class mothers. The argument people have about the Government—what was the argument people were having about the Government when we showed up here? Well, that the Government should be able to create a program in a bureaucracy to help solve any problem, on the one hand, or that the Government was always the problem and should just get out of the way, on the other. Both are wrong.

What I think we have to do is to create opportunity for everybody—everybody—which means invest more in education and technology and research and giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives. I think we have to expect responsibility from everybody, which is why I have fought so hard on crime and for the right kind of welfare reform and for tough child support enforcement and for the Office of Violence Against Women and for all these things, because we can't tolerate people who believe they have a right to destroy or limit other people's lives and walk away from their own responsibility. I think that's important.

And Al Gore has proved with his reinventing Government project you can do those things with a Government that's smaller and less bureaucratic. So, yes, it's smaller and less bureaucratic, but we're approving AIDS drugs quicker at the FDA than any other major country in the world. We're selling broadcast licenses at the FCC and making billions of dollars to put against the deficit. Our emergency management agency is now the envy of the world, not the goat of the United States. Our Small Business Administration, you heard, increased loans to women by 86 percent, to minorities by 65 percent, and cut the budget and doubled the overall loan volume.

So we can do these things, opportunity and responsibility. But the most important thing of all is that we've got to make up our minds whether we're going to go into the 21st century thinking about the gender gap or the religion conflict or whether it's poor people or middle class people or whether we're going to say, look, we think we'll try to do something different; we believe we'll go into the 21st century together. Everybody who is willing to work for opportunity, everybody who's willing to be responsible, we don't care what your race is, we don't care what your gender is, we don't care where you come from, we don't care what you started with. We want to see you have a chance to live out your dreams if you will define your existence not in terms of who you're against but in terms of what it means to be an American working together in one community going forward. That is the most important thing.

But I'm telling you, this is the curse of the world today. You take away the cold war and we're not worried about the evil Communists blowing us up, somebody goes and starts torching a church and pretty soon it becomes a thing to do in a country founded by people who were looking for religious liberty.

So I want you to think about this. I want you to go out and talk to people—it would suit me if you never read an article about the polls until the day after the election—and say, look, this administration has a record. It's been good for America. This administration and its opponent, both the party and the candidate, have clear differences, and we don't have to guess what they'll do because both of them have already played their hand.

And most important of all, we've got to go into the next century with the right kind of change. We can meet our challenges. We can protect our values but only if we really believe

that everybody should have the chance to live out their dreams and we're determined to give them that chance, only if we challenge everybody to be responsible and define their lives not in terms of their ability to abuse people or walk away from their responsibilities, and only if we respect the differences among us.

No nation is as well-positioned as the United States to seize the dreams of the next century. All we have to do is make up our mind that we're going to do it together.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:33 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, and Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee; Carol Pensky and Cynthia Friedman, national co-chairs, Women's Leadership Forum; Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin of Russia; Ann Richards, former Texas Governor; and singer Shirley Caesar.

Remarks on the Aircraft Tragedy in East Moriches, New York, and an Exchange With Reporters

July 18, 1996

The President. I'd like to say a few words about the crash last night. First, on behalf of the American people, I want to say to the families of the passengers of Flight 800,[1] we are well aware that only the passage of time, the love of your family, and faith in God can ease your pain, but America stands with you. Our thoughts, our prayers have been with you through the night, and they will be with you in the days to come.

Our Government is doing everything we can to continue the search for survivors and to find out the causes of this accident. The Chief of Staff, Leon Panetta, has just met in the White House Situation Room with all the agencies involved and has finished briefing me on our response. I've asked him to ensure that our response will continue to be prompt, effective, and comprehensive.

Right now the Coast Guard, the National Transportation Safety Board, the FAA, and the FBI are on the scene of the crash. As of now, no survivors have been found. Hundreds of rescue personnel rushed to help in pitch dark, lit only by the flames of burning wreckage. And I want to thank them for their brave work in these treacherous waters on behalf of the people who were on that flight.

We do not know what caused this tragedy. I want to say that again; we do not know as of this moment what caused this tragedy. We are beginning the painstaking process of piecing together what happened. Additional briefings to provide the latest details of what is being done will be coordinated by the Department of Transportation and will be given to you on a regular basis. We will determine what happened. But for now, I want to caution again the American people against jumping to any conclusions and ask that today, overwhelmingly, our people remember the families of the people who are on that flight in their prayers.

Thank you very much.

Q. Are you worried that it is terrorism?

Q. Mr. President, are you doing anything further on the issue of airline safety? Are you ordering any steps today, any action that you think might be warranted?

The President. Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press], I want to wait, first of all, until we at least get further along in this investigation. I think we need to focus on this investigation now.

Q. Are you worried, sir, that there is some kind of increase in terrorism in this country now? And what are you doing to try to get at least in position to combat that, if it is the reason for this crash?

The President. Well, we are doing a number of things continuously to try to continue to upgrade the safety of our infrastructure and the ability of the United States to protect itself from terrorism. That's one of the reasons I pushed so hard for the antiterrorism legislation.

[1] White House correction.

But I want to caution the American people; we have no evidence—we have no evidence on this flight yet that would indicate the cause of the accident. And I want to remind you that when we had the terrible tragedy in Oklahoma City, a lot of people immediately concluded that this must have been done by some force outside our country, and it appears that that was not the case now. So let's wait until we see the evidence. We are working hard on this.

I just spoke with Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki, who are most concerned right now with the victims and seeing that the families get notified quickly, and we're working on that with them. But they said that they were quite confident that the Federal people who were on the ground were doing everything they could. They are very, very good at piecing these things together, and we need to let them do their work and not jump to any conclusions.

Q. [*Inaudible*]—Giuliani was quite critical of the management of TWA, Mr. President——

Q. How would you characterize——

The President. One at a time.

Q. Mr. President, how would you characterize the various phone calls of individuals claiming so-called responsibility that have come into various news organizations and law enforcement authorities?

The President. Well, I wouldn't characterize them yet. Again, it's hard to know. You know, sometimes such calls are accurate; sometimes such calls are attempting to ride along on a tragedy. And therefore I believe we should wait for the evidence. We will find out what happened. Let's wait for the evidence.

Q. Mr. President, Mayor Giuliani was quite critical of the senior management of TWA, which he said was inadequately staffing the situation there last night. He praised the Federal effort. Have you guys any indication that the airline is not doing all it could, or have you spoken with the airline, have the Federal authorities spoken with the airline about——

The President. Well, let me say, last night—I stayed up until a little past midnight last night, but I was depending more on you all than anything else once I got my preliminary reports. And then this morning I've been more concerned with making sure we were doing our job. So this issue with TWA and the notification of families has just been presented to me. We will do what we can. I can't believe the airline doesn't want to do the right thing. They may be—you know, everybody, when something like this happens, may be a little bit in shock at the moment. We'll look into that and see whether there's anything we can do.

But I have no—again, the main thing I want to say to the American people today is, we are working overtime on this. Do not jump to conclusions. Let's wait until we get the facts, and let's remember the families.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:17 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York City and Gov. George Pataki of New York.

Remarks to the American Legion Boys Nation and Girls Nation
July 18, 1996

Thank you very, very much. I want to welcome all of you here. And before I begin the program let me say I'm sorry I'm a little late today, but we have been working, as I'm sure you understand, all day long on the plane crash last night. I want to talk to you about your future, but before I do I'd like to say just a word about the people that were on that plane.

I'm determined that we will find out what happened, but I want to urge all the American people not to jump to any unwarranted conclusions about the tragedy. We should focus today, our thoughts and our prayers, on the families of the victims of that terrible, terrible tragedy last night. And you should know that everybody in our country that we believe can make a contribution to finding out what happened is on the job, working overtime.

I want you to know if you haven't heard that there were 16 high school students from Pennsylvania on that flight. Any tragedy like this is made deeper if young people's lives are lost,

people who haven't yet had their chance to live up to their God-given promise. These young people were from the Montoursville High School French club in Pennsylvania. They were young, committed, filled with excitement about the prospect of visiting France. Our country will be poorer for their absence. And the rest of you will have to work a little harder to live up to your promise and to theirs as well.

The mayor of that small community was just on television, and I had a visit with him a few moments ago. And he said, you know, this is a big hurt that's going to last a while. I'm sure that's true. So I'd like to ask you before we begin the formal program today to join me in a moment of silent prayer for those students, for the other victims, and for their families.

Amen.

I would like to welcome our leaders here from the American Legion, Joe Caouette, Lawrence Sperry, Judge Pete Johnson, a member of my Boys Nation class back in the Dark Ages. [*Laughter*] I welcome Peggy Sappenfield; Katherine Morris, the director of Girls Nation; Ron Engel, the director of Boys Nation; Jack Mercier, the director of activities who was also there and was a counselor to my class; George Blume, the legislative director.

I'm sure all of you know this is always a special day for me. It's the 50th anniversary of Boys Nation, almost my 50th anniversary on Earth here in a few weeks. [*Laughter*] This is only the second time ever, the first being the Bicentennial, when Boys Nation and Girls Nation have come to the White House together.

I remember a lot of things about my visit here in 1963, not only my much-heralded shake of hands with President Kennedy and the meetings we had with other leaders, but I remember very vividly the young men I was with from other States, the conversations that we had about the kind of world we would inherit and about what we had to do about it. Our obligations were focused, I think, especially on the issues that dominated our Nation more than 30 years ago now. We talked a lot about the struggle for civil rights and equal opportunities for all Americans. We talked a lot about the struggle against communism and the cold war.

To be sure, we weren't the first generation of Americans to have those conversations. They have been constant in our history. And we know that many of those who founded our Nation more than 200 years ago were themselves very young.

I'd like to ask you to think, because we are now on the verge of a new century, about what it was like the last time we stood on the edge of a new century. There's a magnificent portrait right over there in the corner of Theodore Roosevelt by the great American artist John Singer Sargent. Teddy Roosevelt became Vice President in the election of 1900 and was soon elevated to the Presidency when President McKinley was assassinated. He was our President for 7 years, in the beginning of what became known as the progressive era. He was the youngest person ever to become President of the United States. And as we stood at the dawn of a new century, he was infectious with his optimism and absolutely contagious in his determination to take on the problems of America and to make the new era we were then entering work for all Americans.

That was a time, like this, of enormous change. We were around the turn of the century moving from being primarily an agricultural country to being primarily an industrial country. We were moving from being primarily a people who lived on farms, in small, isolated rural areas, or in small communities to being a people who lived primarily in towns and in cities. And it changed dramatically the way we work, the way we live, the way we related to each other. There were enormously good things happening, but a lot of things that weren't so good that required a vigorous response by our Nation. And so Teddy Roosevelt led our Nation in that response and started, as I said, what became known as the progressive era. He and Woodrow Wilson—one a Republican, one a Democrat, both former Governors—were instrumental in kind of breaking out of the pattern of past thinking that had dominated our political life and taking America in a new direction.

It falls to your generation to do something like that now, because we are changing in ways that are, to some extent, more profound than we changed a hundred years ago. Instead of moving from the agricultural to the industrial age, we're now moving into an information age where every form of human endeavor will be dominated by the profound computer chip.

Bill Gates said in his book "The Road From Here" that the digital chip was the most profound revolution in the way human beings communicate with each other since Gutenberg print-

ed the first Bible in Europe 500 years ago. It won't be very long, especially if we succeed in hooking up every classroom and library to the information superhighway, before people in remote mountain communities or the poorest urban neighborhoods of America can go to school, hook into a computer, and do research on volcanoes in Australian libraries, for example. This is going to have enormous implications for the whole nature of work, how we learn, how we relate to each other. And it is a fascinating thing.

We're also moving—as people then moved from rural areas into the cities, we now are primarily an urban and suburban people. But people will be able to live in rural areas more easily than they used to because of the computer, and to do different things. And no matter whether we live in rural or urban areas, we will have to identify ourselves more and more as citizens of the world as well as Americans.

We're not dominated by a cold war world anymore where every country is either in the camp of democracy or the camp of communism, where we worry about the imminence of a nuclear war that could take the lives of the whole country away. But we do have a whole set of new problems in the world that directly relate to the fact that the cold war is over and things are more open now, and it's easier for people and ideas and money and technology to move around and cross national boundaries.

And when people become more open to new ideas and new information it means that there are also more opportunities for the organized forces of destruction to take advantage of that openness. That's why terrorists can put poison gas on a subway in Tokyo or blow the World Trade Center up or the Federal building in Oklahoma City or set bombs in London or the Holy Land or do all the other things that you've read about in the last few years. The more open we are to moving around and working with each other, the more we'll have to be vigilant in dealing with these problems. It's why we're all more vulnerable to organized crime and drug running that crosses national lines. It's why we have to be more vigilant in dealing with the problems of the proliferation of small-scale nuclear weapons or biological or chemical weapons.

All of these things are the new security threats. And interestingly enough, there's also a very old problem that's rearing its head all over the world as the big threat of communism recedes. And that is the tendency of people everywhere to look down on each other, ultimately hate each other, and maybe even kill each other because of their racial, ethnic, or religious differences. That is at the heart of what is going on in the Middle East. That is at the heart of what is going on in Northern Ireland. That is the heart of what is going on in Bosnia. We have the most vigorous, vibrant, multiethnic democracy in human history, but that is at the heart of what is going on in these church burnings and that is at the heart of what led some mean-spirited people to paint swastikas on the doors of African-American Special Forces personnel at Fort Bragg in the last couple of days. The most patriotic members of a minority you could imagine still being subject to that.

Why is that? Because all throughout human history you see people being told that they should evaluate themselves not based on who they are, what they stand for, and what their values are, what's in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, but on who they're not, what color they're not, what religion they aren't.

So you have to fight all that. Your generation will have more opportunities than any generation in human history. You will have more chances to live out your dreams in more different ways than any group of people who have ever lived. We have a chance to extend opportunities to people who would have automatically been left in the backwater of history without a second thought just a few decades ago because of their gender or their race or because of their disabilities. Things that now we wouldn't think of doing used to be the ordinary run-of-the-mill thing just a few decades ago.

So, on balance, as I look to the 21st century, I think this is going to be a great time for you. It is going to be a great time for America if we meet our challenges and protect our basic values. No country in history has ever lasted so long as a free country, a free people, with so many different kinds of people in it. And the world is coming our way. But there are still these dark forces of destruction that we have to stand against. And you have to speak against it when you see it in a big horrible way, in a manifestation of terrorism. But you also have to stand and speak against it when you see it in subtle ways, in your neighborhoods, on your street, in your schools. We've got to be able to treat each other with respect based

on our shared values, not our essentially superficial differences.

Very interesting, don't you think, that this movie "Independence Day" is becoming the most successful movie ever? Some say it's because they blew up the White House and the Congress—[*laughter*]—and that may be. But, you know, you see story after story after story about how the movie audiences leap up and cheer at the end of the movie when we vanquish the alien invaders, right? I mean, what happened? The country was flat on its back, the rest of the world was threatened, and you see all over the world all these people have all of a sudden put aside the differences that seem so trivial once their existence was threatened, and they're working together all over the world to defeat a common adversary.

Why can't we work together to achieve common dreams? What is it about people that they need to adopt creeds that will enable them to demean other people and look on them as subhuman and take their lives away? We have to fight that. You're living in a time where, literally, you're going to be able to do things that have not been invented yet. A lot of you will be in jobs within a decade that have not been invented yet. The patterns of work and life, of travel and learning will be unbelievable. And no nation is as well-positioned as the United States if we seize our opportunities, meet our challenges, and protect our values.

You have to ask yourself—and I hope you'll take the time before you leave here, before you leave the White House, before you leave the Capital City—the whole history of our country is here—and say, "What kind of country do I want to live in? What do I want America to look like when my children are my age? And what should I do to help America look like that?" A simple question. Those are the questions I asked myself before I ran for President, because I knew that it's a rather rigorous enterprise and you have to have a high pain threshold today to do this sort of thing. [*Laughter*]

And to me, there are three simple answers. When my daughter is my age and I have grandchildren, I want America to be a place where the American dream is alive for every person who's willing to work for it, no matter where they start out in life. I want America to be a place that is coming together, not being split apart; that really appreciates all the differences that are in this country and binds us together by the things that have held us together all this time. Just go back and read the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. And I want this country to continue to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, because we are doing something in this country that needs to be done in the rest of the world. People have to be able to bridge their differences and find a way to work together.

Now, that's what I want—fairly simple things; three things. And I work for it up here every day with a simple strategy: I think we have to create more opportunity for everybody, demand more responsibility from everybody, and do everything we can to build a community and make America stronger and our families, our towns, and our national community as well.

There are some very specific things that we've tried to do. Four years ago our economic house was out of order. We quadrupled our debt in 4 years. We had a $290 billion deficit. We had the slowest job growth rate since the Great Depression so we had to do some basic things just to put the house back in order. And we had a very simple strategy: Drive down the deficit to reduce the burden of debt on future generations; lower interest rates and get investment back to put people to work; expand the trade in American products and services around the world because that creates more high-wage jobs here at home; and invest in education, technology, research, and the preservation of the environment.

Four years later it's obvious to me that that strategy is working. Our deficit is less than half of what it was. It was $290 billion; it's going to be $117 billion this year. This is the first time in every year of a President's term that the deficit has been reduced since the 1840's. But we had to do it because we have never had a time in history when we built up so much debt so quickly. And the American people have responded. Our economy's created over 10 million jobs. So we're moving in the right direction. But that had to be done. It is not enough, but it's an important first step.

In terms of our leadership for peace and freedom, in many parts of the world we're better off today than we were 4 years ago, and there are no nuclear weapons pointed at any one of the United States for the first time since nuclear weapons were developed. So we're moving in the right direction. We're finally beginning to

build compacts and partnerships all around the world to combat terrorism and the other problems that I mentioned.

We've worked hard to give you cleaner air and cleaner water and to preserve the natural resources of the land. I think one of the essential ideas that has to dominate the thinking of both parties and all Americans as we move into the 21st century is that you can develop the economy without destroying the environment. In fact, you can enhance the development of the economy with the right sort of environmental strategy. And if we continue to believe that the only way we can grow our economy is by destroying our environment, some day there won't be any economy to develop. And we have got to do that now. We have to make that commitment now.

You know, it's amazing how many science fiction books and movies are all predicated on the fact that one day we won't have any environment left in America, we won't have any trees left, the air won't be fit to breathe. I'm amazed—we've now got with this new sci-fi channel on one of our cables here—it's amazing the percentage of movies that come on that thing that are predicated on the fact that we are determined to destroy our environment. We must not do it.

I also believe that we must not continue to tolerate the levels of crime and violence we have in our country. We have a crime rate coming down 4 years in a row now. We've got 100,000 police we're putting on the street in community policing. We've finally done something about putting guns into the hands of young people; we have a zero tolerance strategy for guns in schools. We've abolished a few assault weapons, 19 kinds, and passed the Brady bill. And I want to point out that a lot of people said some bad things when we did it. There's not a single hunter that's lost a rifle since we abolished the assault weapons and passed the Brady bill. But there are 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers who could not get handguns because they were checked and their criminal record was found out and they did not get the guns. And America is safer as a result of that.

So we have to continue to work on the crime problem. And I want to make a personal plea to you. Citizens have a role to play in this. Yesterday the Vice President and I had representatives from citizens patrol groups all over America here at the White House, and we announced that the cellular telephone association is going to give 50,000 phones to these citizens patrol groups, so that when people are out here walking the streets and they find something wrong, they can immediately call the police department or the hospital, to the emergency room, or the fire department.

But in spite of all of our progress, the crime rate among people under 18 and the violence rate among people under 18 is still going up in most communities in America. That's because there are too many young people out there on the street that are raising themselves, that are joining gangs doing bad things because they're not in good gangs doing good things. We all want to be part of something. I mean, look, you've got the same shirt on; you're in a good gang today. [*Laughter*] It's an important thing to know. And you can do that. You can have more influence on a lot of young people than I can. So I urge you to deal with that issue.

And finally, and most importantly, if we want to see everybody do well in the 21st century, we've got to give everybody the tools to do well. And more important, more than ever before, that means education. We've worked hard to improve educational opportunities here, but we have more to do. And I want to encourage all of you to do what you can to support increasing access to high-quality education, from our initiatives to hook up all the classrooms to the Internet, to help the school districts that are hardest pressed in the country get some money to do rebuilding and repairs, to opening the doors of college education to everyone.

I hope that Congress will agree with me to give a tax deduction for the cost of tuition for college. I hope the Congress will agree with me to give a tax credit that will enable everybody to at least get a community college diploma, because we need to make at least 2 years after high school as universal for education as high school is today.

If you look at the economy, if you look at the census figures, if you look at the people that are doing well and the people that aren't, it is absolutely clear that in the information age the gains to education are far more profound than at any time in our history. And we have simply got to do more to make it universal if we want America to grow together instead of drift apart. We can do it. You can do it if you demand that it be done.

Finally, let me say that I believe we've got to do something more than we have done—many things more—to help strengthen the American family. And we have to recognize that families are in a different position than they used to be. I heard—someone made a funny joke last night, making fun of, to some extent, the Congress, to some extent, me—saying, you listen to people talk in Washington and they say the problem with people on welfare is that they want to stay home with their kids instead of going to work. And then they give a speech and say the problem with middle-class families is the mothers want to go to work instead of staying home with their kids. You know, and it's funny—you think about it. [*Laughter*]

What's the real issue? What's the real issue? The real issue is most people who are parents work; most people who are parents who work have to work. So what should our goal be? Our goal should be to help Americans succeed at home and at work.

I look at all of you—and if you want to make a contribution to our future, I want you to be able to make it. But I also think the most important contribution you can ever make is to have children and raise them right and make them good and strong and good citizens and good people, like you are. So what we should be doing is to think about instead of making it an either-or we ought to ask ourselves over and over and over again, what can we do to help people succeed at home and at work?

That's what the family leave law was all about. That's what my efforts, which have been very controversial, to try to help schools with experiments that they want to adopt, including curfews, or even in some school districts, school uniform policy, that's what that was all about. You may think it sounds bad, but you're all here in one. [*Laughter*] And we haven't sought to impose them, we just sought to give schools the opportunity to adopt them if they wanted. That's what our controversial efforts to prevent the advertising and distribution and sales illegally of tobacco to teenagers is all about, trying to help parents deal with the implications of being away from their kids a lot, working, but also trying to do a good job raising their children.

It's also a large part of what the Vice President and I have worked on in the area of television. You know, we passed a law, the telecommunications law, which will create hundreds of thousands of jobs, but it also required in new television sets that a V-chip be placed that would give parents more control over the programming their young children watch. And all the entertainment industry agreed to set up a ratings system for television, which we thought was a very, very good thing. And we're working on that, they're working on it.

The television today is very different than it was when I was 10 or 11 years old, or 6 or 7. We have hundreds of studies, literally hundreds of studies showing the staggering number of hours that young people have spent watching people get killed by the time they're 16 or 17, and showing clearly that it makes people more numb to violence, less sensitive to the impact of their behavior on others.

So we've worked hard on that. But I don't think that is enough. And I just want to mention this issue, because I think it's very important. We have been working very hard not only to have a ratings system and a V-chip, which is sort of a negative thing, but also to try to bring more positive educational programming for children to television. This month we're challenging members of the entertainment industry who have done a great job on this rating to come to the White House to talk about improving the quality and quantity of children's programming. So the industry is doing its part.

The truth is that what we need now is for the Government to do its part. The Federal Communications Commission has had before it for a long time now a measure that would require broadcasters to put a minimum of 3 hours a week of quality educational children's programming on. If you think about all the hours the television is on a week, 3 hours a week doesn't seem like too much, at least doesn't seem to me. It's less than 2 percent of the Nation's air time. The initiative is stalled, and some people have opposed it. But the airwaves clearly, under our law, are designed to promote the public interest. I can't imagine anything we could do that would better promote it than to put more quality educational programming for children on television. So I'd like to ask all of you to support that. And I hope very much that the Federal Communications Commission will finally act on it.

Well, these are some of the things that I think we're facing as we move into the 21st century. We've got a responsibility, those of us in my generation, particularly those of us like

me that had extraordinary opportunities to be in places like where you are over 30 years ago, to try to create opportunity, to try to create a framework within which everybody will be expected to be responsible and to try to bring this country together as a community.

But most of your lives are still ahead of you. And every one of you, if for no other reason than you're a part of this program, will have a disproportionate opportunity—a disproportionate opportunity to exercise leadership. And therefore you have a disproportionate responsibility to do a good job with it, every one of you.

When you go back home, your friends will look at you a little differently. They'll listen to you a little more closely. They'll want to know what you saw up here. They'll want to know what your opinion is. And I am telling you, you have got to be thinking now in this rapidly changing world, what do you want the country to look like when your kids are your age? What do you want your work years to be like? How do you want to feel about your country? And what do you have to do to get there?

And I leave you with this. It's very fashionable for people today to say, "Well, it doesn't really matter what's going on in Washington. Nobody can make a difference. Why should I vote; it's all a bunch of bull." I'm telling you, in the 4 years I have been President, I now am more optimistic than I was the day I got here. I believe more strongly than I did the day I got here about the potential of all of us working together to make good things happen.

And this country is a very great country. There are 10 million more people working than there were 4 years ago; 8 million people have refinanced their homes; 3.7 million people have homes who didn't have them; hundreds of thousands of people have better college loans than they did; 45,000 young people are working to rescue their communities in our national service programs and earning money to go to college. Don't let anybody ever tell you that you can't make a difference in a democracy, that you can't change the course of the country, that you can't lift people up or pull people together. That is not true.

And the most important thing maybe you can do in the short run when you go home is tell people this country works. That's why we have been around for 220 years. This country works. This is a great country. And you have to pull your weight and challenge your friends and family members to do the same. But I will say that if you do it, the best days of this country are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:33 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor John Dorin of Montoursville, PA; Joseph Caouette, chairman, Americanism Commission, and Lawrence Sperry, national commander's representative, American Legion; Peter Johnson, 1963 Boys Nation alumnus; and Peggy Sappenfield, national secretary, American Legion Auxiliary.

Statement on Signing Legislation on Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status for Bulgaria

July 18, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 2853, authorizing the termination of the application of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 to Bulgaria. It permits the President to accord permanent most-favored-nation (MFN) status to Bulgaria.

This is an important milestone in U.S.-Bulgarian relations. Bulgaria joins Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia as democratic countries from which the United States has fully removed trade restrictions that originated in concerns about human rights practices during the Cold War period. The legislation signals America's confidence in the political development of Bulgaria and reaffirms America's commitment to Bulgaria as it continues its difficult and historic economic transformation.

Bulgaria's favorable record on immigration, its progress in the protection of human rights and development of a democratic, free-market soci-

ety, and the establishment of cooperative relations with the United States helped facilitate passage of H.R. 2853.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 18, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 2853, approved July 18, was assigned Public Law No. 104–162.

Remarks at the Retirement Dinner for Senator Mark Hatfield
July 18, 1996

Thank you very much. Senator, Antoinette, members of the Hatfield family, the remarkable array of Congressmen here and your fellow Oregonians. I know the Chaplain of the Senate, Reverend Ogilvie, was here, and I think that's good, Mark. I was afraid the last time we had a vacancy, people would think with you in the Senate they didn't need a Chaplain. [*Laughter*]

I do have some news for all of you, and for our Republican friends it's good news and bad news. And it is that the founding of Willamette was one of two significant things that happened during President Tyler's administration. The bad news for the Republicans is that I am the first President since John Tyler where the deficit went down in all 4 years. [*Laughter*] The good news is that John Tyler was not reelected. [*Laughter*]

I'm honored to be here tonight. This is the biggest crowd of Republicans and Democrats sitting together in a generation. I was looking at them thinking I was also glad Mark Hatfield didn't run for President this year. [*Laughter*]

I came here to pay tribute to a remarkable man, his wonderful wife, and his career in public life, a man who was, like me, as he said, a Governor at a young age; unlike me, he didn't mess it up the first time and get defeated, a man who has served with distinction in the United States Senate and who has lived his convictions as well as any person I have ever known in public life. He has consistently opposed violence, he has consistently worked for every chance to eradicate the remotest chance of nuclear war, and he has consistently stood for the interests of his native State as he saw them. He has done so many remarkable things in Oregon that bear his stamp, and he will be able to see them for the rest of his life and always, I hope, have a deep and profound sense of pride.

But the most important thing to me about Mark Hatfield is the way he's done all this and the kind of person he's been and that he always seems to be becoming, for it seems to me he's always growing. His idol Abraham Lincoln said, "You can't fool all the people all the time." I think we should all say of Mark Hatfield he never tried to fool anybody any of the time.

I think every one of us here will say there has been at least one occasion, if not more, on which we have disagreed with him, sometimes deeply. But we always knew he was doing what he thought was right.

He embodies the humanitarian spirit that we all need a little more of in America and that gives public service its meaning and makes it worth the vicissitudes of public life. He is I think also, in the best sense, a committed Christian. He has followed the commandment to love the Lord and also to love his neighbor as himself.

Because he has tried to love his enemies, he has no enemies. And I think this town is the poorer for his leaving but the richer for his legacy. And I can only say, Senator, in the darkest hours of my life in the years ahead, I hope I can always remember the twinkle in your eye and the calmness of your demeanor and the generosity of your spirit and the honesty and openness and genuine charity with which you attempted to treat everyone and every issue. If all of us would be more like you, America would be an even greater nation.

Good luck, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:57 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel.

Remarks to the United States Olympic Team in Atlanta, Georgia
July 19, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you so much for that wonderful welcome. Thank you, President Clough, for making all of our athletes feel so welcome at Georgia Tech. Thank you, Dr. Walker, for all the work you do. Thank you, Teresa, for sharing your birthday with us. [*Laughter*] And thank you, Bruce, for that introduction, for your leadership, and your example.

I was looking at Bruce standing up here—[*laughter*]—obliterating the microphone and the podium. [*Laughter*] You know what I thought? I thought, if I'd had a body like that I'd have done a better job in politics. [*Laughter*] I should have gone in for wrestling earlier before I had to do it for a living. [*Laughter*]

You know, the first United States Olympics team in 1896 also did our Nation proud, even though they literally missed the boat for the first games. They got on the wrong ship in Hackensack, New Jersey. But the Lord was looking over them. Thank goodness they set off 2 weeks early, so they got there on time anyway. [*Laughter*]

Well, thanks to the wonderful people of Atlanta, we got around that problem this time because the Olympics came to us. And so I'd like to begin just by asking all of us to express our heartfelt appreciation to the people of Atlanta, the people of Georgia, people who have worked so hard to bring these games here and are doing such a magnificent job to make the world feel welcome in the United States. [*Applause*]

There have been a lot of nice touches to this day for Hillary and Chelsea and me already. For one thing, they arranged for me to meet all the members of our team who are from my home State or who went to school there. And I appreciate that. And I have to say, since I've got all these senior Olympians here, I brought another person from my home State who won the silver medal in the high hurdles in 1948, Clyde Scott. I'd like to ask him to stand up and be recognized, my great friend. [*Applause*] And also tell you, for you sports buffs, he's the only person who ever made first team All-American football for two different universities. And it's not because he didn't make enough grades to stay in the first one. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank all of you for making it possible for the former Olympians who are standing behind me to be here. I owe one of them an apology. Mark Spitz came by to see me earlier, and when I saw him, I could only imagine—I kept remembering that picture of him with all those medals hanging around his shoulders—around his neck. And he informed me that he was supposed to carry the torch in, and he carried it as far as he could, but the Presidential motorcade prevented his final entry. So I think we should acknowledge Mark Spitz as bringing the Olympic torch in here. [*Applause*]

There's so many of the people standing behind me that I watched in the Olympics, that I admired. An awful lot of them, believe it or not, have come to the White House since I've been President because of something good and worthwhile they're doing today—always to help other people. I think maybe the most considerate act I've ever seen one of them perform was my friend Edwin Moses actually allowed me to run with him at one time, which I thought was uncalculated charity under the circumstances. [*Laughter*]

But I say that to make this point: When these Olympians come to the White House, many years after their days of Olympic glory, to advance the cause of young athletes or some other cause they're interested in, it's important that you know that we still celebrate what they stood for and what they did and what they stand for and what they do. I say that because by making this team, you become part of America's team. And for the rest of your lives, other people will look to you in a different way, in a good way. And you will have a chance not just in your field of competition, but you'll have a chance from now on to have an impact on people, especially young people, that can be profound and lasting and wonderful.

For some of these—you here, I'm sure you can hardly bear to think of it, these are your first Olympics. Some of you are veterans. Some of you will still be competing in the Olympics in the next century. But whatever your future holds athletically, I just want to thank you for

your hard work and your dedication, for your courage and your heart, and for your example, because you say loudly to every young person in this country, "If you have hard work and discipline, if you have a tough will and enough courage and heart, you can live out your dreams." And if every kid in this country really believed that he or she could live out their dreams, we'd be a lot better off, and we will be because of you. And I thank you for that.

Most of you probably know this, but when the Olympics came back to life in modern times, it was William Milligan Sloane who took it upon himself to organize the first American team. And then when two of his athletes couldn't afford the tickets to Athens, he gave up the tickets that he had. So he never even saw his dream come to life.

Dr. Sloane's first recruit was a man named Robert Garrett, who had never competed in sports before. So he literally started with only a dream, and he had to figure out what he was going to do. He saw a picture of an ancient discus thrower, and he asked a blacksmith to make one for him. Unfortunately, it weighed 13 pounds. [*Laughter*] But he didn't know any better. He only knew he could not throw it further than 49 feet. He heard the Europeans were throwing it 87 feet, but he showed up for the competition anyway. And when he showed up, the folks took away his 13-pound discus and gave him one that weighed 2½ pounds. [*Laughter*] He tossed it out of the stadium and won the medal. [*Laughter*] So sometimes our handicaps in life can become great advantages.

William Milligan Sloane and Robert Garrett started America's road to Atlanta 100 years ago. The grandson of Dr. Sloane, William Milligan Sloane, is here today. I'd like to ask him to stand and be recognized. Where are you, Mr. Sloane? [*Applause*] Thank you so much.

I'd like to close with a few words to you about your country and what it means for America to be hosting these games in 1996. As I think perhaps you know, before I came here, I went over to your amazing dining quarters and shook hands with as many of the athletes from other countries as I could. And I sat and visited with some of them. And I'd like to just sort of tell you what I think it means for us and, therefore, what you can mean for us here.

Think about how the world has changed in the last hundred years. A hundred years ago, there were far fewer democracies and much less freedom. Now we see the American idea of democracy taking root all around the world, more and more and more new nations. Even 4 years ago we could not have imagined that a country like Bosnia would be able to redeem the promise of its own Olympics in Sarajevo, but they have a team here.

When I was walking through the crowd, a very tall, fine-looking man from Croatia came up to me and thanked me for what our country has done for Croatia. It was in Dubrovnik, Croatia, that Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown's plane crashed, full of Americans who were going there only because they wanted to help bring the blessings of peace to people in another country.

When I was walking down the sidewalk, a man who is a part of the Palestinian team came up to me, and he said, "We are an ancient people, but we have never had a team in the Olympics. This is our first team because you in the United States helped us to make peace."

I was in the dining hall and a man from Ireland came up to me, almost with tears in his eyes, saying that he remembered when Hillary and I went to Ireland last year, and there had been a year and a half of peace that the United States had helped to support, and thousands and tens of thousands of people were lining the streets, happy and gay. And now they have lost their peace again. He said to me, he said, "I'm glad to be here, but I don't want to lose my country. Make it come back."

That's what people think about your country, that somehow we can help to make things better in the world by bringing people together. It was not easy for us to come to this point. A hundred years ago there was a lot more racism in the United States than there is today, and segregation kept a lot of the most gifted people away from athletic competition. Women had few rights, and no nation, including ours, allowed them to compete. Think how many medals that would cost us this time. [*Laughter*]

Now we live a lot closer to our own beliefs. Now we have learned that we have to draw strength from our diversity, that all of our people count and they can all be partners in our great enterprise. And I'm telling you, that shines across the globe. And when you go out to compete and people see that here's this American team and you—half of them you can't tell where they're from, because they're from all different

kinds of racial and ethnic groups, all kinds of religious and cultural traditions, bound together by their common heritage in this great land. You don't have to say anything about it.

One of the folks that walked in with me said that he was so pleased to see the spirit of the Olympics taking over when he saw some North Korean and South Korean athletes sitting and talking together at dinner. I've been trying to get the North and South Koreans to talk for 4 years, and I haven't done it. I've been trying to get it done for 4 years, and I haven't done it.

So tonight when you walk into that opening ceremony and billions of eyes all over the world are on you, you carry the symbol of all that we have become not only in fact, but in the eyes and the spirit and the hopes of the rest of the world. And just as surely as those of us who work in the diplomatic area or the fine people who wear the uniform of the United States military, you will become a symbol.

I want you to win all the medals you can. I want you to mop up and do great. But I want you to realize that just by being what you already are, you are a source of enormous pride to our country and an inspiration to the world. And I hope tonight and these next couple of weeks are the greatest times of your life.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. in the Olympic Village. In his remarks, he referred to G. Wayne Clough, president, Georgia Institute of Technology; LeRoy T. Walker, president, U.S. Olympic Committee; Teresa Edwards and Bruce Baumgartner, members of the 1996 U.S. Olympic team; and former U.S. Olympians Clyde Scott, Mark Spitz, and Edwin Moses.

Statement on Signing the National Children's Island Act of 1995

July 19, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 1508, the National Children's Island Act. This bill authorizes the transfer of Federal land to the District of Columbia for the development of a cultural, educational, family-oriented recreation park and a children's playground on two man-made islands in the District of Columbia's Anacostia River. The two islands in question, Kingman and Heritage, were created in 1916 by the Army Corps of Engineers from dredge material in the Anacostia. This project has the potential of bringing much needed development to the area, providing recreational space for children and families, and reclaiming vacant land that, at the present, is in very poor condition.

At the same time, I am strongly committed to making sure that any development on these islands proceeds in an environmentally sound and sensitive manner. Under this legislation, all development plans for Children's Island—whether for the recreation park, playground, related structures, bridges or roads—must be reviewed and approved by both the District of Columbia and the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC). I will be looking to the NCPC as the Federal watchdog to make sure that all development plans are consistent with the preservation of the natural and cultural resources on the site and in the vicinity. To this end, I have today issued a memorandum to the Chair of the NCPC setting forth the principles that should guide the NCPC in its review of plans for the development of Children's Island.

In particular, I have asked the NCPC to take a careful look at the project to make sure that both environmental safeguards—including those contained in the original plan approved by the NCPC and the National Park Service—and recreational needs are met. In this regard, the NCPC must ensure that the level of development chosen be appropriate to the area with due regard to the surrounding neighborhoods, the ecosystem management initiatives for the Anacostia River, and preservation of the integrity of the nearby parkland. Moreover, the NCPC must ensure that development plans are consistent with the principles of environmental justice contained in Executive Order No. 12898 of February 11, 1994. Further, the National Park Service, as an adjacent landowner, should fully participate in the NCPC process.

In addition, I stated to the NCPC that, in conducting its review, the NCPC should be certain that the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act be met. The NCPC should carefully consider all alternatives, including the no action alternative of not moving forward if adverse impacts are identified that are severe and unavoidable.

I also asked the NCPC to afford the public maximum opportunity for comment. This will allow the proposed planning process to reflect the full range of views about development of the islands.

Further, I am directing the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Defense, and Administrator of General Services—all of whom are represented on the NCPC—to ensure that the NCPC's review of this project emphasize children's recreation and education, the protection and restoration of the Anacostia watershed, and the public interest of the adjacent neighborhoods.

Should the development plans for Children's Island ultimately not pass muster with the NCPC or the District of Columbia, so that the park is not built, the Act provides that the islands will revert back to the National Park Service.

It is my expectation that this legislation will promote the development of these islands in a manner that will serve the economic and recreational needs of the District of Columbia while at the same time preserving our important natural and cultural resources.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 19, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 1508, approved July 19, was assigned Public Law No. 104–163.

Memorandum on National Children's Island
July 19, 1996

Memorandum for the Chair of the National Capital Planning Commission

Subject: National Children's Island

Today I signed into law H.R. 1508, the National Children's Island Act, which authorizes the development of a family-oriented recreation park and a children's playground on islands in the Anacostia River in the District of Columbia. The creation of this project has had the strong support of the District of Columbia government. In addition, the National Park Service has worked for many years to improve this area. The project will bring much needed development into the area.

While it is my intent that this opportunity be made available to the children of the District of Columbia, I am also strongly committed to making sure that any development of these islands is consistent with the preservation of the natural and cultural resources on the site and in the vicinity. I will be looking to the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) as the Federal watchdog to achieve these dual goals.

The Act specifies that any development plan be reviewed and approved by the NCPC. I expect the NCPC to be guided by the following principles:

- The project should fully conform to the design, height, density, and other environmental and developmental safeguards contained in the plat filed in the Office of the Surveyor of the District of Columbia under S.O. 92–252.
- The NCPC should fully comply with the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act in reviewing the proposed project and associated structures, including transportation components. In doing so, the NCPC should ensure that all members of the affected community and other interested parties have ample opportunity to participate in the development of alternatives and to review and comment on the analysis of impacts. The NCPC should carefully consider all alternatives, including the no action alternative, in its review. Its ultimate goal should be to ensure appropriate development on the site

consistent with protection of the historical and natural resources found in the area, protection of the neighborhood, and preservation of the integrity of nearby parkland.

- The NCPC should ensure that the design is consistent with the principles of environmental justice contained in Executive Order No. 12898 of February 11, 1994.

I have also directed the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Defense, and the Administrator of General Services to assure that the NCPC fully complies with the recommendations detailed above. They shall seek to assure that all reviews done emphasize children's recreation and education, the protection and restoration of the Anacostia watershed, and the public interest of the adjacent neighborhoods.

These endeavors should result in a plan that will serve the economic and recreational needs of the District of Columbia in a fashion compatible with the preservation of important natural and cultural resources.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: H.R. 1508, approved July 19, was assigned Public Law No. 104–163.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Cyprus
July 19, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95–384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I submit to you this report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. The previous submission covered progress through March 31, 1996. The current submission covers the period April 1, 1996, through May 31, 1996.

As noted in my last submission, I have been engaged in a series of meetings with leaders from the region to underscore my interest in advancing a Cyprus solution. On April 9, I informed Greek Prime Minister Simitis that Acting Assistant Secretary Kornblum would be coming to the region in late April, in part to examine possibilities for progress on Cyprus. Mr. Kornblum's message would be that the United States could help to facilitate a solution only if all the parties were sincerely interested in taking the pragmatic steps necessary for an intercommunal agreement. I am encouraged that Mr. Kornblum found broad appreciation of the need to move ahead on Cyprus. We continue to urge all the parties to seize the unique opportunity that currently exists to make the long-elusive Cyprus solution a reality.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jesse Helms, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The President's Radio Address
July 20, 1996

Good morning. This week the tragedy involving TWA Flight 800 took the lives of 230 people. Hillary and I join all our Nation in sending their families and friends our deepest condolences and prayers. We are doing all we can to find the cause of this disaster, and we will find what caused it.

Sixteen of the victims were young high school students from a small town in Pennsylvania, flying to Paris to see some of the world and work on their French. By setting off to expand their horizons and seeking newer knowledge, these students were trying to live up to their God-given potential. Now, that's all we can ask of any of our children.

So let us remember the dream these children shared, the dream of making the most of their own lives. As a nation, we should dedicate our-

selves to encouraging all our young people to think that way and to making sure that they all have the opportunity to live up to their dreams. Our children have many different strengths and talents and abilities, but every child can achieve something, and together, in so doing, they can all secure a brighter future for America.

That's the lesson we saw come to life so vividly yesterday in Atlanta at the opening of the centennial Olympic games. In the next 2 weeks we'll see and celebrate the heroic efforts and achievements of young Americans who have worked a lifetime to reach their highest potential and make their dreams come true. Our athletes will push the limits of the human body and the human spirit. In doing that, they will inspire people of all ages, but I hope young people especially will learn from their example.

For whether in sports or in everyday life, there's a lesson in what our Olympians have accomplished and in how they've done it. For these are people who were given an opportunity to succeed, but they also made the most of it. They took personal responsibility and did the hard work. For some, it's meant waking up before dawn to run or swim laps or to practice routines on the balance beam. For others, the going was even tougher.

I'll never forget the day that Carla McGhee came to the White House to carry away the Olympic torch to continue its path to Atlanta. Carla was terribly injured in a car accident. It seemed to end her brilliant basketball career. But she came back against all the odds. And now she's playing for our Olympic women's basketball team. She did something no one else could do for her; she didn't give up.

But we also know that every one of our Olympians, in addition to their personal achievements, are a part of a larger community. They are of many different races and creeds and cultures, but they're bound together in mutual respect and shared values. For even in individual sports, no one wins alone. Back there somewhere there's always a lifetime of support from family and friends, from coaches and fans, from teachers and role models. So whenever the "Star-Spangled Banner" is played and a gold medal is being hung around an athlete's neck, you can be sure that the triumph is shared by a larger community.

We're all better off when we work together to help each other realize our dreams, to meet our challenges, and to protect our values. These games really remind us that for all of our differences and all of our American rugged individualism, we are still one American community. We cheer our athletes not because they're men or women, not because of the color of their skin, sometimes not even because we particularly understand every last aspect of the sport they're involved in. We keep cheering them because they're Americans.

These Olympics are about what's right with America. And Atlanta's magnificent effort at hosting the Olympics is about what's right with America. There are some other things that I believe reflect what's right with America at the Olympics. For example, this year 197 nations have teams, and these teams include places that the United States has helped to move toward peace and freedom. And even in places where the work of peace and freedom is not yet finished, at least there's been enough progress for an Olympic team to emerge.

Yesterday I met a young man from Croatia who thanked me for the work that we were doing to try to rebuild that war-torn region. And I couldn't help thinking about Secretary Ron Brown and the business leaders who literally gave their lives as Americans to bring peace to the Croatians. Bosnia now has a team coming back here, something that was unthinkable 4 years ago. Haiti has a team here—South Africa. I met one of the Irish athletes who thanked me for America's efforts on behalf of peace and asked me to do everything I could to bring the peace back. And I met a Palestinian who said to me, "Mr. President, Palestinians are a very old people, but we never had an Olympic team before. Thank you and the United States for helping to bring peace in our area, and please keep working on it."

All these people in their own way reflect something that's good about America. In many other countries there are athletes who studied and competed and got a good education in the United States. We gave them an opportunity to make the most of their own lives, and now they're giving something back to their native lands. They, too, reflect what's right with America.

And most important of all, there are the members of our Olympic team. We will cheer for them when they win, and we'll cry with them when they don't. But we'll always be proud of them. For they are living examples

of what dreamers can do with peace and freedom, with opportunity and responsibility, with a commitment to a community coming together, not drifting apart. They will show America at its best on the world stage. And we are very, very proud of them. We wish them all the best.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 4:14 p.m. on July 19 at the Governor's Mansion in Atlanta, GA, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on July 20.

Remarks to the Saxophone Club in Denver, Colorado
July 21, 1996

Thank you for the wonderful welcome. Thank you, Holly Barnes, for your introduction. I want to thank Chairman Don Fowler and Mayor Webb and Governor Romer and Secretary Pena. I told Wellington, by the time Roy got through talking, I said, I kind of hate to come up here to talk, I'm ahead right now. If I just quit right now I'll be ahead.

I got in from the Olympics the night before last at 3:30 in the morning. Weren't they great? [*Applause*] And I said, and I wonder when I get to Denver, after being up until—I got in at 3:30, we didn't go to sleep then—I said, I wonder if by the time I get to Denver and it's 2 hours earlier or later—whatever it is—[*laughter*]—I wonder if I'll still be able to talk or if I'll just be scrambled eggs. [*Laughter*] I'll do my best.

I want to thank all of you who worked on this committee tonight. John Hickenlooper and my good friends Mike Driver and Jim Lyons and Deana Perlmutter and all the other committee members, thank you. I thank Barry Fey for helping us tonight to put this together. I thank Los Lobos; they're wonderful. I was so happy that they were going to be here.

You know, I loved the whole idea of the Saxophone Club, which got started back in 1992 by some young people who thought we ought to find a way for people to contribute, to be active, to be a part of our political life, who may not have all the money in the world to give to a political event, but could give something and wanted to be a part of something and wanted to be a part of our campaign, to make it look like America and work like America in the best sense. And I love the Saxophone Club, and I was thrilled to come out here and see this great example of defense conversion and base re-use and the future of America with all of you here. It was great.

Now, I just want to leave you with a couple of thoughts. This election is 3 months and 2 weeks and about 3 days away—[*laughter*]—more or less. More or less. And I want you to leave here committed to bringing some measure of this enthusiasm to communicating with your friends and your family members and the people with whom you work and study and come in contact about what it means to them.

You know, tonight, before I went to the dinner that I previously attended, I met with about 16 or 17 women from the greater Denver area, all different kinds of women, just talking about their hopes for their children and their grandchildren and the struggles they were having mixing work and school and raising their kids and just all the things they were thinking about. And I felt so good when it was over because they were such impressive people and they represented what I am hoping we can bring to all the American people.

I want to just give you two or three arguments that I want you to make to everybody between now and November. Four years ago, I got into this remarkable adventure because I was convinced that our country was drifting into the 21st century instead of charging into it and because I thought we were being more divided when we needed to come together and because I thought our leadership in the world was being undermined because of our problems at home. And I had this vision of what we are going to look like when we go ripping into the next century with the American dream alive for every single citizen willing to work for it, with America coming together and celebrating our diversity as an enormous strength instead of being divided by, and with our country still the world's

strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity around the world.

That is the way to guarantee you the future to which you're entitled and to make the future for your children and your grandchildren be what it ought to be. And I had a fairly simple strategy. I said I'm going to emphasize things that create opportunity, that call forth greater responsibility and that bring us together. I'm going to try to stop all the politics of division and start putting people together. I'm going to try, for example, to answer the real question for most working families, which is how do you succeed at home and at work? How do you avoid sacrificing one for the other and instead come together and move forward together?

Now, I want you to make three arguments to everybody you see between now and then. Argument number one: We had a vision; we had a strategy; we had a plan. We implemented it, and the results were good. And we had to fight them on every step of the way on most of what we did.

We put our economic plan into effect. They said it would bring on a recession. It brought on 10 million new jobs. And 8 million people refinanced their homes, and 3.7 million Americans became first-time homebuyers. We had record numbers of new businesses in each of the last 3 years. We expanded trade at a record level, 200 separate agreements. It's working economically.

We had a plan to fight crime. They fought us every step of the way. We said we need more police on the street, we need tougher punishments, but we need to give our kids something to say yes to. We need to do something about the assault weapons, and we need to do something to require waiting periods so we can check to see if people have violated the law. And we implemented it.

And for 4 years in a row now, the crime rate has been coming down in America. And all those people that jumped me about the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill, let me tell you something, there's not a single hunter in Colorado that has lost a rifle because of the assault weapons ban or the Brady bill. But I'll tell you who has lost out: There are 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers that don't have handguns today because of the Brady bill. It was the right thing to do.

When it came to welfare reform I said I thought we ought to be good to the kids and tough on work, not tough on the kids and easy on work. We had a big argument in Washington about it. But I believe we were right: 75 percent of the American people on welfare today are already under welfare-to-work experiments, and there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took the oath of office, and I'm proud of that.

They said the Government was the problem and we ought to get rid of it. I said the Government had a lot of problems and we ought to fix them so that we could have a Government that would be on our side and help us to make the most of our own lives. So today we have a Government that's 240,000 people smaller than it was the day I took the oath of the office. We're getting rid of 16,000 pages of regulation, but we didn't give up on things like protecting the environment and the public health. We fought them every step of the way, and we prevailed on something that was very important.

And the world is a safer place and we are further along the road toward peace because of the things that have been done. A lot of them were unpopular, but they were the right things to do. So the first thing you can say is, the President and his team, they had a plan. They implemented it, and it's gotten good results. And they did it by bringing the American people together across the lines of race and religion and region and income and all the other ways we're divided, by getting people together.

The second point I want you to make is that there's a big choice in this election, and the voters should be very happy because there is no guesswork. [*Laughter*] Now, you know—you're laughing, but it's true. I mean, when you voted for me, when I carried Colorado in 1992, you took a chance on me. You took Governor Romer's word for me—[*laughter*]—I mean, you know, you sort of took a chance. You said, I think I'll vote for him. Well, now you know who I am, and you know what I've done, and you know what I will do. But you know who they are, and you know what they've done, and you know what they will do. And you know you know what they will do, because they already did it, and I just vetoed it the first time.

So if your idea—this is very serious. We're having a good time, and I want you to have a good time, but this is dead serious. I'm telling you, if you want the budget that they passed in 1995—that created a two-tiered system of

Medicare putting the oldest, the poorest, and the sickest seniors at the most vulnerability, that walked away from a 30-year commitment we had to health care and families with children and other members with disabilities, to poor pregnant women and their infant children, to elderly people in nursing homes—if you believe the way to balance the budget is to gut the Nation's support for a clean environment and for education, you can have it. They did it once, but I vetoed it. If they have the Congress and the White House, within 6 months it'll be the law of the land. You tell people that.

There's no guesswork in this election. Choose—if you want that instead of continuing to walk into the future, you can get it. I think I know what choice people will make if they understand it clearly.

And the third thing, and maybe the most important thing of all, is that this country's business is not finished. Are we better off than we were 4 years ago? You bet we are. Are we ready to go into the 21st century in the shape America deserves to be in? No, we are not. No, we are not. We still have a lot of challenges. Economically, our challenge is to take our ability to create jobs and give it to all the American people so that everybody has a chance to live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities. And the only way to do that is to improve the quality and the reach of education in America. We should not be cutting back on education, we should be investing in it and expanding opportunity.

Let me tell you something. We're on the verge of having a system, because of the technological changes in the information age, which could give a student in the smallest, poorest, rural community in Colorado or my home State of Arkansas every bit of educational opportunity that students in the wealthiest suburban districts in America have because of the computer and the information age. And I am determined to hook up every classroom in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000.

There's a lot of talk about tax cuts in the air in Washington. We have to be careful because we've got to balance that budget. But there is one tax cut that would pay for itself many times over. We ought to give people a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition and a tax credit for 2 years of community college, no matter what their rate, anywhere in America. That would be the best money we ever spent. It would allow us to grow together and go forward together.

We have a lot of unfinished agenda in the environment. We still have to prove, really prove, that we can grow the economy and not just maintain the environment but improve it. We just got a new cable setup in Washington, and they've got one of these sci-fi—the Sci-Fi Channel on it. And my daughter's got me interested in science fiction again. So when I come in late at night, sometimes I take the channel and I channel surf the way you do, and I settle on the Sci-Fi Channel. It is astonishing how many science fiction movies about the future project an America on an Earth with a destroyed environment, isn't it? Still, they just assume we're going to be so dumb we're going to use it up. We're going to burn up the air and cut down all the trees and pollute all the water. And we'll all be living in some kind of bubble. It's amazing, still, those movies are just pouring out. That does not have to be the case.

But it is an outmoded idea that you can grow the economy and stick it to the environment. You have to grow the economy by preserving and enhancing the environment. That is our challenge as we move through the 21st century.

So those three arguments—I want you to go out and make those three arguments. Number one, the President had an idea. He had a plan. We implemented it. The results are good. We're better off than we were 4 years ago. Number two, we don't have to guess in this election. There's a huge difference. And there's no status quo option. There are these two different bridges you can walk across to the 21st century, and we like the one we're on, not the one they tried to put us on. And number three, there's a lot of unfinished business here. And the ideas that Bill Clinton and Al Gore and the new Democratic Party have brought to America are the right ideas. That's the argument I want you to make.

And I want you to just think about what you saw the other night at the Olympics. And let me just tell you a little something that you didn't see. You know, Hillary and I went to the Olympics; we got to spend all day kind of just gawking around at those great looking athletes. And we went and had lunch with a lot of the international athletes. But I want to tell you something. I met a young man from Ireland who almost had tears in his eyes who said, "You know, I loved it when we had peace in Ireland,

and it broke my heart when they broke the peace. You and America helped to bring us peace. I hope you can get it back for us."

I met a young man from Croatia who was a whole head taller than me, which is a pretty good size even today. [*Laughter*] And he thanked me for Ron Brown's trade mission to Croatia where Ron and the other people from our Government, those business leaders, died, and for his successor, Mickey Kantor, to come over and finish it. I mean, this guy's talking to me about a trade mission at the Olympics because of what America meant to his country.

I met a young man with the Palestinian team who said, "Mr. President, the Palestinians, my people, we're a very old people, but we never had an Olympic team, not ever, until we made peace with Israel. And I thank you for that. And you need to know that a lot of us want to keep that peace. We want to keep that peace."

And then Hillary and I went—then we went to meet with the American team. And I looked at them, and I thought, you know, if they were just all divided up walking around, you wouldn't know where they were from. Some of them look like they were from Latin America, others look like they were from Asia, others look like they're from the Middle East. Some of them looked like they were from Scandinavia. You know what? They all were. [*Laughter*] That's the unique thing about this country. And that's what makes this special.

Look around this room tonight. We're bound together by a set of ideas, a set of values, a set of beliefs. Oh yes, we have to fight it, too. That's what this church burning business is all about. When people put swastikas on mosques or on the doors of African-American soldiers at Fort Bragg in the Special Forces, or they torch the Islamic centers that have been burned in this country, we still have to fight that. But it's tearing the heart out of Rwanda and Burundi and Bosnia and the Middle East and Northern Ireland.

And that's the last thing I want to tell you. We've got to do this together. The thing that makes us magic is when we are helping each other do better, when we're lifting each other up, when we don't define ourselves by our resentments, and we don't define ourselves by whether we can look down on somebody that looks different from us. That's what makes us special. That's our genius. That's what's good about America.

And I want to say this, especially to the young people in this audience—you know, I've learned as I get older that the definition of young is whoever's younger than you are. [*Laughter*] My friend who died last year at the age of 89, Senator Bill Fulbright, was having dinner a couple of years ago with Mike Mansfield, who was our Ambassador to Japan for many years. At the time, Fulbright was 87 and Mansfield was 90. And Mansfield still—he's 92; he walks 5 miles every day. He looked at Fulbright, who was 87, and he said, "Now how old are you?" And he said, "87." And Mansfield said, "Oh, to be 87 again." [*Laughter*] I say that because young is whoever's younger than you. Most of you are younger to me. I get my AARP card this year. [*Laughter*]

So what I want you to think about is this, particularly if you're thirty-something, twenty-something: Imagine what you would like your country to look like when your children are your age. Imagine what you would like your country to look like when you have grandchildren that are your age. And I'll bet you anything you want the American dream alive and well for everybody who have worked for it. You want America to be coming together, not drifting apart. And you want your country to still be the world's leader for peace and freedom and prosperity.

That is what this is all about. It's not about me or the Vice President or Senator Dole or the Republicans. It's about what this country's going to look like in the 21st century. We're not drifting now; we're roaring there. And I want us to keep doing it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 p.m. at the Wings Over the Rockies Air & Space Museum. In his remarks, he referred to Holly Barnes, event organizing committee member; Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee; Mayor Wellington E. Webb of Denver; Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado; Barry Fey, owner, Fey Concerts; and musical group Los Lobos.

Memorandum on Criminal Child Support Enforcement
July 21, 1996

Memorandum for the Attorney General

Subject: Criminal Child Support Enforcement

I am proud of the progress we have made over the last 3 years in addressing the problem of child support enforcement.

While State and local agencies have and must have primary responsibility for child support enforcement, the Federal Government has a crucially important role to play. One aspect of that role involves bringing prosecutions under the Child Support Recovery Act of 1992, which for the first time created a Federal criminal offense for interstate cases, where persons willfully fail to pay child support for their child who lives in another State.

The Department of Justice, working through the local United States Attorneys' offices, has brought child support cases across the Nation to get the message out that a person who willfully avoids child support payments for a child in another State runs a grave risk of Federal prosecution. Each U.S. Attorney's office has a child support coordinator; the Federal Bureau of Investigation has committed its resources; the Department of Justice has authorized the Department of Health and Human Services' Inspector General to investigate these cases.

But these important measures are not enough.

The Department of Justice, working with the Department of Health and Human Services and the States, must pursue all available measures to punish those who have tried to evade their child support obligations.

Therefore, I direct you to take the following important steps to strengthen our child support enforcement efforts.

First, I direct you to convene a task force consisting of Federal, State, and local prosecutors, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the State agencies responsible for child support enforcement to enhance criminal prosecution of child support debtors. You should consider:

- measures to improve the process of referring appropriate cases for Federal, State, or local criminal enforcement;
- the adequacy of all applicable Federal and State laws;
- the availability and appropriate allocation of resources; and
- ways to coordinate Federal, State, and local efforts to make enforcement most effective.

Second, I direct you to review the sentences that have been imposed upon those convicted under the Child Support Recovery Act, including restitution orders, incarceration, and community service, with the goal of identifying novel and effective sentencing options, and send guidance to Federal prosecutors setting forth factors to consider when seeking sentencing orders from courts.

Third, I direct you to draft legislation to amend the Child Support Recovery Act to establish a felony offense for a person who willfully fails to pay child support for a child in another State where there has been an egregious failure to meet child support obligations.

Fourth, I direct you, as part of your effort to enforce criminal laws, to cooperate with the Department of Health and Human Services to place on their Internet child support page the names of persons who have been indicted under Federal law for willfully failing to pay child support and have fled in an attempt to escape criminal prosecution.

Finally, I direct you to report back to me within 90 days on the actions you have taken to fulfill this directive.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 22.

Remarks to the Community in Denver
July 22, 1996

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for that wonderful welcome. Thank you, Mayor Webb, for your leadership and for your extraordinarily powerful personal statement. Thank you, Governor Romer, for being my friend for such a long time now and for being a shining example of the best in public service. Thank you all for keeping him on the job.

Ladies and gentlemen, before I begin my remarks today, I'd like to say just a word about an issue that I believe is on the minds and hearts of all Americans, the ongoing recovery operations involving TWA Flight 800. This is a very long and difficult period for the families and loved ones of the people who were on that plane. It is literally an agonizing process, made worse by the fact that the weather has been so poor and that many of the things that would have been done by now have not been able to be done.

I want the families to know that I am working as hard as I can to speed this process and to make it as easy as possible. I've asked the relevant Federal agencies to provide pathologists to the recovery teams in New York if they're requested by the State. And we are working very, very hard to get to the bottom of this. We will do that, and we will give them the answers they seek as soon as we possibly can.

Meanwhile, I ask the rest of you to keep them in your prayers. It is this awful hanging fire that is the difficult and agonizing thing for them. We can all imagine how we would feel if we were in their place. And so I ask you to keep them in your prayers, and I assure you that we will do everything we can to get to the bottom of this as quickly as possible.

Let me say I have come here to Denver today, as the Governor and the mayor said, to discuss the issue of welfare reform and specifically to talk a little bit about the child support issue. But I want to put it into a larger context of where we are as a people, why this is important, and what we're trying to do together to get ready to march into that new century just 4 years away.

Denver's a good place to do this. This is a city that believes in itself and in the future, and America needs to believe in itself and in its future. Denver is clearly getting ready for a new century only 4 years away. I arrived last night at your new airport, the first one of its size in 20 years. I now am speaking in this incredible arts complex, the second biggest in America, looking at this wonderful auditorium that is lined with sandstone that I'm told was hewn right out of the beautiful mountains that are just beyond these walls. This is a large-minded place. And America needs to be large-minded as we stand on the threshold of this new century.

Because the information age is so dramatically changing the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to each other and the rest of the world, the next generation of Americans is literally going to have more opportunities to live out their dreams than any generation of Americans in history. The young people that are in this audience today, within a matter of 10 years, will be doing jobs that have not even been invented yet. Some of them have not been conceived yet.

So this is going to be a very exciting time, full of enormous possibility. But as is inevitable in the human condition, it will also have some very stiff challenges. We know that the very things that make the world more exciting, more open—the rapid movement of information and ideas and capital and technology and people from community to community, from State to State, from nation to nation—all that openness and speed that brings so many new opportunities also impose new challenges on us that are economic, that are social, that deal with our very essence of security.

We know, for example, that there are more economic opportunities, but the people without the education to take advantage of them may be left behind. And so, the very prosperity that is coming to our country, if we don't work very hard at it, can increase inequality among working families, not just poor families on welfare.

We know, for example, that this great mobility that we have and all the choices we have as consumers and our ability to stay before a computer or a cable television for hours on end may isolate us one from another and further strain the fragile bonds of community. We know

that if people have too many individual choices, they may neglect their responsibilities to others and to the community at large.

We know that the more open our society is to good things moving around, the more vulnerable we become to the organized forces of destruction. We know that you can get on the Internet, for example, and if you know how to plug in you can learn how to make a bomb like the one that destroyed the Federal building in Oklahoma City.

So the trick for us is to meet the challenges of this new age and protect the values that have sustained America through more than 200 years of life. That is the way to make the future the best time for America.

When I sought this job, I had a simple vision for what I wanted America to do as we stand on the threshold of this new century. I wanted us to make sure that the American dream was alive for everybody who was willing to work for it without regard to their race, their gender, their background, their station in life. I wanted this to be a country that was coming together, not being divided by racial and ethnic and religious forces that are tearing the world apart in other places on the globe. And I wanted our country to continue to be the world's leader for peace and prosperity, for security and for freedom.

Yes, the cold war is over and we are trying to complete its unfinished business of reducing the nuclear threat and reconciling ourselves to former Communist countries. But we must recognize that there are new security threats, and we must recognize that there are continuing responsibilities on the United States if we want our children to have a safe world to live in.

Now, to me there is a simple formula that I try to keep in mind every day about how we ought to approach this. We need to create opportunity for all Americans; we need to insist on responsibility from all Americans; and we need to do everything we can to create a greater sense of community in this country, a sense that we're all in this together.

Today I want to talk mostly about responsibility, but let me just mention a few things about the other issues. This issue of community could hardly be more important. I worked so hard to get the Congress to create the national service program, AmeriCorps, to give now 45,000 people, by the end of this year as many as 60,000 young people, the chance to serve in their communities, meeting challenges in their communities and earning some money to go to college, and opening that program to people right across the income spectrum because I wanted a symbol of the way we ought to work together. I wanted it to stand as sort of a cross between a domestic Peace Corps and a domestic GI bill, so that we could pull people together and move forward together into the future.

We worked very hard to help people in our country deal with racial differences. I tried to take the affirmative action issue, for example, out of politics and into real life, and say we ought to mend it but not end it as long as we have continuing discrimination in our country.

We've tried to find a way to help people with profound religious convictions express those convictions even in public forums without violating the first amendment. We've worked especially hard with our schools on that issue, trying to reconcile the differences between us so that we can respect our diversity and grow stronger because of it.

If you look around in this room today and you see all the different backgrounds from which we come, if you watch the Olympics and you look at the American team, depending on what sport and what athlete, you could think you were watching someone from Europe, from Scandinavia, from the Middle East, from Africa, from Latin America, from Asia. They could all be on America's team because we are not a one-race nation. We're a nation bound together by shared ideals and shared values and shared convictions.

So whether it's abroad in trying to help deal with the ethnic problems in Bosnia or the religious problems in Northern Ireland or the difficult problems in the Middle East, to the tribal butchery in Rwanda where our people went and saved so many lives, we tried to live our sense of community and our conviction about it.

We've also tried to help parents and working people deal with what I think is one of the most significant challenges to preserving the American community in America today—and that gets me into the other two issues—and that is the inherent tension that so many people feel between work and family, especially in this economy.

The truth is that the average working family is now spending more hours at work and less hours at home, fewer hours at home, than 25

years ago, a stunning statistic. So much for the proposition that there are a lot of lazy Americans.

But what we want is to be able to succeed at home and at work. And what we want is to understand that our most important job is raising our children, but we also have to do a good job at the other work of America so that we can create opportunity for people, to give them the opportunity to raise their children and have their lives and live out their destinies.

And reconciling those two things has been very difficult indeed. That's why I fought so hard for the Family and Medical Leave Act. That's why I fought to give families some tools they might need to help their childrearing efforts in the V-chip and challenging the entertainment industry to rate television programs and trying to stop television advertising or—excuse me—trying to stop advertising across the board from being aimed at children to get them to buy tobacco products, which is illegal and the biggest public health problem in the country.

If you look at the problem of community in a microcosm as the problems of families in neighborhoods trying to succeed at home and succeed at work, it leads you to the other two issues, opportunity and responsibility. The first responsibility of Government, after providing for the security of the country, is to try to create an environment in which people have the ability to succeed and then give people the tools they need to succeed, so that when I became President we had to, first of all, get our economic house in order. We had, 4 years ago, the slowest job growth since the Great Depression. We had a very stagnant economy; unemployment was nearly 8 percent. We had quadrupled the debt in 4 years. The deficit was at $290 billion a year and going higher.

And so we, first of all, said, look, we have to turn this around. And we had a simple strategy: Get the deficit down to get interest rates down, so people would invest in America; expand trade to sell more American products; and invest in the basic things that Americans need to succeed.

Now, 3½ years later, the deficit has been cut from $290 billion—this year it's projected to be $117 billion—more than a 60 percent cut in 4 years. This is the first administration in which the deficit's been cut in all 4 years since the 1840's. And I'm proud of that.

The interest rates dropped. The economy produced 10 million jobs, over 300,000 here in Colorado. The unemployment rate has dropped, and the combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages is at the lowest they've been in almost 30 years. So we have turned the big economy around. It is the soundest it's been in a generation.

Nothing reflects that more than what happens to homeownership. In the 12 years before I took office, believe it or not, the rate of homeownership in America had actually gone down significantly, partly because of the enormous pressure on interest rates and home mortgage rates aggravated by our massive debt. We have been determined to give the American people more chances to live out their dreams. The deficit cut helped drive interest rates down and the homeownership strategy that Secretary Cisneros devised in partnership with the homebuilding interests around our country was designed to broaden and deepen the ranks of homeowners.

Among other things, one of the things that we did that I'm proudest of is that we have cut $1,000 off the average closing costs for the average first-time homebuyers, young couples trying to get into their homes for the first time. It's made a real difference.

Today we know we've got almost 4 million new homeowners in the last 3½ years. We've got 8 million homeowners who have refinanced their mortgages because of lower interest rates. And the Department of Commerce reported that homeownership is at its highest rate in 15 years. And over the past 2 years it grew at its fastest rate in 30 years. This strategy is working for the benefit of ordinary Americans, and we need to keep on the path we're on. We need to keep working for this.

Now, we certainly have more to do. We need to balance the budget, but do it in the right way. We don't have to destroy our commitment to the environment or to education, or wreck the Medicaid program or create a two-tiered system of Medicare that's unfair to the oldest, the poorest, and the sickest elderly Americans. We don't have to do that. But we do have to balance the budget.

We ought to pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill to basically guarantee what you've tried to do here: You don't lose your health insurance if you have to change jobs or if someone in your family gets sick.

The minimum wage bill that Mayor Webb mentioned has been passed by both Houses of Congress, but they haven't both passed the same bill and sent it to me. So it's not a done deal yet. But you should know that that bill is important to me for two reasons, not just one. In addition to the minimum wage, the bill also increases incentives to small businesses to invest in their business, because that's where most new jobs are being created, and passes most of the retirement reforms I asked for to make it easier for people in small businesses or self-employed people to take out and maintain retirement even when the business is down or when they have to change jobs.

We have to make available a secure retirement not just for those of us who are fortunate to work for bigger businesses or for government, but for people who work in small business as well. So that bill needs to pass for the minimum wage and the retirement reforms and the investment incentives for small businesses. These things need to be done and done now.

But I have to tell you, of all the opportunity initiatives we could take—and I'm betraying my long partnership with your Governor now—the most important thing we could do is to increase the quality and the availability of education to all Americans. For as long as we've been around, educational opportunity has been an advantage to most people. After World War II, the GI bill literally helped us to build the biggest middle class in the history of the world. But today—today—education is critical to the ability of families to keep up, much less to move ahead.

Now, we've made a lot of proposals, but I just want to emphasize two today. First of all, it is imperative that we give the same standard of educational opportunity to people in isolated rural areas and inner city poor schools that others have. And one of the ways to do that is to connect every classroom in the country to the information superhighway by the year 2000 and train the teachers to use it, so that all that information will be available to all of our children.

The other thing I believe we have to do is to continue to break down the barriers to people going to college and staying there until they get an education. I believe strongly that one of the most important things our administration has done is to change the college loan system so that people can borrow money at lower costs with less hassle and then pay it back as a percentage of their income. So there is never an incentive not to borrow money to go to college because you can limit your annual repayment rates.

But I think we should do more. I have recommended that we give a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition for people without regard to their age. And I believe we should make universal—universal—the availability of at least 2 years of community college to every American, which means a tax credit of $1,500 a year for 2 years.

Now, if we were to put in place that structure of opportunity, it would be easier for people to succeed at home and at work and for us to realize our vision of an America with the American dream alive, coming together instead of being divided, strong and self-confident enough to lead the world toward peace and freedom.

The other thing we have to do, however, is to put in place a system in which we get more responsibility from all Americans. We have to continue to work to take our streets back from guns and gangs and drugs and violence. We can never eliminate crime and violence altogether. And sometimes people ask me—they say, well, the crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. And I say, that's very good, but it's still too high. I'm glad it's down 4 years in a row, but it's still too high. And I'm worried about the fact that violence, random violence among young people between the ages of 12 and 17, continues to go up. Cocaine use is down by about a third, but random drug use among people between the ages of 12 and 17 has been going up since 1991, so that concerns me.

And my test will be—you ought to figure out what your test would be. I guess your test would be when you feel safe walking on your streets in your neighborhood. But my test will be, is when we can all go home at night and turn on the evening news, and if the lead story is a crime story, we are shocked instead of numbed by it; we're actually surprised because we've reached a point in our country where it is the exception, not the rule. And I'm here to tell you we can make violent crime the exception, not the rule, in America again if we do the right things. And I am determined to do it.

Our anticrime strategy: Put 100,000 police on the streets in community policing. Increase neighborhood watch patrols; involve neighbors

in their own efforts. Do more things to help people deal with the problems that juveniles have. Support community curfews. Support stronger truancy laws. Support summer jobs and activities and drug education and prevention programs as well as punishment programs. Support positive things for young people to keep them out of trouble in the first place. Ban the assault weapons that we banned, and enforce the Brady bill. And follow a comprehensive strategy against crime that is tough on crime but tries to prevent young people from becoming criminals.

That is our strategy. And it is working. The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. We had the awfullest hullabaloo you ever heard when we passed the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill. And to hear the folks on the other side tell it, we had brought an end to an American way of life—never be another hunting season in Colorado or Arkansas. [*Laughter*] They had people so lathered up in the election 2 years ago you couldn't talk to them. But you know what? All those same folks got it figured out now because they've had two more hunting seasons and nobody lost their rifle. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not buy a handgun because of the Brady bill. It was the right thing to do.

The other day we had an announcement in Washington with the Vice President and members of the cellular telephone association in which they committed 50,000 telephones—just the first installment—programmed to call the local police department, fire department, and hospital, to give to neighborhood watches. We now have 20,000 neighborhood watch associations in America. We have millions of people in it. I challenged another million Americans to join.

We have to do our part, too, as citizens. But I'm telling you, we do not have to live with intolerable crime levels. We do not have to live with juvenile crime rates going up. We have to find ways to be very tough with people who do terrible things, but we also got to give these kids something to say yes to. We can't let them raise themselves and then wonder why they turn out to be in trouble.

Now, it is in that context I want you to see the welfare reform debate, because welfare reform is about responsibility, all right, but it's also about opportunity. What do you want from all these poor folks that are on welfare? What do you want from them? They all have kids. Ask yourselves, what do you want? You want them to have kids that turn out to be the mayor of Denver, right? Isn't that what you want? This is what I ask Congress to think about when they think about welfare reform. We want those families to be able to do what we want middle class families to do and they're struggling to do as well: succeed at home and at work. That's what we want.

Now, it's true that I have vetoed two previous bills that had the label "welfare reform" on it because I didn't think they were welfare reform. And it wasn't because they were too tough on work; it was because they were too tough on kids. And if you don't succeed at home, whether you're poor or rich or somewhere in the middle, then your worklife won't compensate for it in terms of the impact on your own family and on society at large. But if you don't succeed at work, then it's very difficult to build a network of successful homes.

That's why this is so hard. So we decided we would take a different tack while trying to work with Congress, and that I would use the power given to the President under the 1988 welfare reform law to just waive Federal rules and regulations for States that wanted to find new ways to move people from welfare to work in a way that helped them raise their children. Colorado was one of 40 of the 50 States to get welfare reform experiment waivers. There have been a total of 67 of these issued now, with more to come.

Now, the results have been pretty impressive. Already—this is something hardly anybody in America knows—but three-quarters of the welfare families in America today are under new rules requiring them to make extra efforts to move from welfare to work. And the results have been significant. The New York Times said that we had effected a quiet revolution in welfare. Sometimes I wish it weren't so quiet. I wish more people knew about it. But the fact is there are 1.3 million fewer people on the welfare rolls today than there were the day I took the oath of office and about a million fewer on the food stamp rolls. In Colorado, the rate has dropped by 18 percent in 3 years. That's astonishing, 18 percent in 3 years.

Now, some of that is due to the improving economy, but that's a good argument for good economic policy. But some of it is due to our learning what it takes to move people trapped

in dependency to independence and interdependence with the rest of us so they can raise their children and succeed in the workplace.

I do believe we need to finish the job. We can do some things with waivers. I'll give you some other examples. Oregon, Missouri, and most recently Wisconsin have asked for permission to take the welfare check—this is quite interesting—because they know that there's not enough money to just have the Government pay for jobs for people who can't get jobs in the private sector, so they've asked for permission to take the welfare check and actually give it to private employers as a wage supplement for 8 or 9 months to encourage people to hire folks at a decent wage and train them. And they figure, and I think they're right, that even if when the supplement ends, somehow the employers can't afford to keep folks on the payroll, at least they will have had 9 months of work experience, something on their resume, learning how to succeed in the workplace. And a lot of people will be kept full time. I think that's the kind of idea we want.

And Wisconsin has proposed to go further and to give these folks continuing health care and child care support and actually to extend child care and health care coverage to low-wage workers who have not been on welfare, to keep them from falling into welfare. Now, these are good ideas.

In return for that, the sort of hammer they want, the tough thing they want, is to require people to enroll and to be available for jobs from the day they sign up for welfare, not a year or two later. I think that's fine, if you're going to give somebody a job and health care and child care. What more can you ask?

But these are the kinds of things we can do with the waiver system. But it's not enough. We would be better off if we could pass a welfare reform bill in Congress. And I want to explain why. Number one, it would be good to end this waiver process and simply set up a framework to the States and say, here's your money; do these things, and you figure out how to do them. Don't come to us for permission. You know more about it than we do. Figure out how to do them. But you ought to require strict time limits; you ought to require work; you ought to provide child support; and you ought to enforce the child support laws of your State better. Now, that's what I think the framework would do.

We are very close to this agreement on these basic elements. And we shouldn't let the opportunity slip from our grasp. But neither should we pass a bill that says welfare reform at the top but really winds up still being very tough on children, including children from already working families.

So what I'm doing now is working very hard with the Congress. I hope and expect to sign legislation that does move people from welfare to work and does support instead of undermine the raising of our children.

This should not be a party issue. All Americans ought to want this system changed. And I hope very much that Congress will pass a bipartisan bill that meets those standards. If it does, I think it would have almost unanimous support from the American people. And I believe it can be done before Congress leaves for town for its vacation in August.

So I want you to join me in saying to the Members of Congress, whether you're a Democrat or Republican, get together, don't be hard on kids, be tough for work, be good for the kids. Let's try to help all families succeed at home and at work. We've got enough experiments. We've moved enough people off welfare. We know what works. Let's pass this bill and get on with it and do it now. That's what we need to do.

I want to mention one thing that's very important that's often not talked about in welfare, although the mayor and the Governor talked about it, and that's child support enforcement. There's no area where we need more personal responsibility than child support. The best provisions of the welfare bill moving through Congress are those that relate to child support because they would give us greater capacity to collect child support across State lines. About—well, slightly more than a third of all the child support cases where child support is delinquent in America today are cases that cross State lines. That's one of the main reasons we need this national legislation.

This is a big hidden social crisis in America today. If every person in this country paid the child support they're legally obligated to pay and that they can pay, we could move 800,000 women and children off the welfare rolls today. That's what a problem it is.

So let me just echo what the mayor and the Governor said. Governments can do a lot of things, but they don't raise children; people raise children. And if parents don't do it, very often the kids are left out there on the streets raising themselves with absolutely horrible consequences.

And there are a lot of single-parent families in this country today where the single parent's doing a fine job. And since I lived in one for a time in my life, I'm proud to say that I know that can happen. I also know that no child gets here with one parent alone. And no one should be able to escape responsibility for bringing a child into the world. That is the first and most important responsibility. We cannot talk about how we need more responsibility from all of our citizens when we've got a child support collection system that is a national scandal and people believe they can bring kids in the world and turn around and walk off from them and never lift a finger to help them make their way through life. That is wrong, and we have to change that.

And we can change it in the beginning by simply collecting the child support that is owed, that is payable, that people can pay that they don't pay. There's a lot more work we need to do with young parents, principally young fathers, by helping them understand what their responsibilities are and then structuring opportunities for them to fulfill it. But we can just begin by collecting the child support.

You cannot imagine how many women and children are thrown into poverty simply because the responsible parent, usually the father, walks away and leaves them without any money and won't help. This puts mothers who are trying to raise their kids under terrible pressure. A lot of women out there working two jobs, working at night, worried sick about their kids, can't afford the child support—I mean, excuse me, can't afford the child care. All of the other problems working families face are aggravated many times over by families that have a single parent raising the kids with no help from child support, every other one.

And if you're in a position where you've had these problems, trying to raise your child and work and do all these things, you know how much worse it is if child support is owed and not paid. This is a moral outrage and a social disaster. It is simply—and it's wrong when people say, well, the taxpayers will pick up the bill. Well, the taxpayers may pick up the bill to some extent, but it's rarely enough. And secondly, it is a cold, inadequate substitute for having a parent do the right thing.

So let me tell you, this legislation would help us to make it easier to collect child support across national lines. It would require every State in the country to follow Colorado's lead in the revocation of a driver's license. It would get us employers' help when people change jobs and move across State lines because there would be an employer registry that we could refer to for the collection of child support that's due across State lines. That's why this legislation is needed.

There are a lot of things that can be done now. We're now tracking down deadbeat parents so that they can't skip out by crossing the State line. We're requiring States to establish programs at hospitals to find out the identity of fathers at the time a baby is born. Two hundred thousand fathers have been identified through this program. Earlier this year I took action to require mothers to identify the fathers or risk losing their welfare benefits.

I signed an Executive order to make sure every employee of the Federal Government pays his or her child support. We ought to be setting a good example in the Federal Government before we preach to others to do the same. We are now a model employer in that regard.

We've been working with States to do more. And one of the reasons I wanted to make this statement here today is that Colorado has one of the finest programs in the country to find deadbeat parents and make them pay. I want every State to do as well. Together, we can all do better.

Now, all these efforts are making a difference. Compared to 4 years ago, child support collections are up 40 percent, from $8 billion a year to $11 billion a year. That's the good news. Paternity identification is up 40 percent. That's the good news. The bad news is we could double that increase again and still be under what is strictly legally owed. We've got to keep going on this issue.

I'm pleased to announce today that the Postal Service is going to work with States to post wanted lists of parents who owe support. I challenge every State to develop such a list if they don't have one already. That may seem cruel to you, but think of it this way: Keep in mind, if there's an order outstanding, a judge has made

a determination that the payment can be made, that is, that the parent can actually physically afford to make the payment. Now, that may seem cruel to you, but people take it as routine to walk in a post office and see somebody who robs a bank or a 7-Eleven. As bad as that is, if nobody's hurt it's not as bad as robbing our children of their future. That's the biggest robbery of all.

I've also directed the Justice Department to work with States to strengthen their own penalties and prosecutions for those who don't pay child support. I want the prosecutors to be able to track down these parents and tell the courts to make them pay and if necessary, even to be able to send them to jail if they refuse.

The third thing we're doing is to harness the potential of the Internet. This is amazing; 19 States—19 States—have websites whereby just literally clicking with your mouse, families can find out how to collect and look for the most wanted deadbeat parents. Today, the State of Colorado is announcing that it will start a web page. This page will be connected like the others are to the computer site that's run by the National Government.

There's a lot of things the Internet can be used for, and they're not all good. This is a good thing we can use technology for, to instantaneously get this information out all across America and make it available to anybody who can access a computer.

And finally, let me say I want to renew my challenge to every State to follow the lead of Colorado with the driver's license revocation. The statute we're working for, if we get welfare reform, will require it anyway, but the States ought to do it because it's right.

Now, we are saying by these strong actions and our efforts to pass welfare reform, you have to behave responsibly. And if you owe child support, you better pay it. If you deliberately refuse to pay it, you can find your face posted in the post office. We'll track you down with computers. We'll track you down with law enforcement. We'll find you through the Internet, not because anybody has a particular interest in humiliating someone but because we have got to find a way if we want to go into the 21st century as a great nation to succeed at work and at home. And it has to begin with parents doing their part. The Government can never substitute for that.

The last thing I'd like to say about this whole thing is that, as you know, there are limits to how much all these enforcement mechanisms can do. We need to find a way to move into the modern world taking maximum advantage of all the changes that our age offers and still getting back to the basic sense of right and wrong that we know about our obligations to our children and to our future.

In the 1830's when Alexis de Tocqueville came here, he said, "America is great because America is good. If America ever stops being good, she will no longer be great." That is still true.

When I visited our Olympians with Hillary a couple of days ago and we met young people from other countries, all they wanted to talk to me about was what they thought about America—an Irish athlete thanking me for our efforts to end the violence in Northern Ireland; a Croatian athlete thanking me for Secretary Brown's trade mission that ended so tragically just because he and these business people were trying to help those folks put their lives back together and thanking me that Secretary Kantor had finished the mission; a Palestinian athlete saying that his people were an old people, but they never had an Olympic team until they made peace with Israel, and saying that a lot of them wanted to keep that peace and keep it going.

These are things that we represent to other people, things that are good, things that make people whole, things that enable people to live out their dreams. And somehow with all this excitement of the modern world and all these personal choices and all these personal challenges, we have to find a way to remember that in the end what makes us great is living out our dreams in a way that builds strong families, strong neighborhoods, strong communities, and a strong country.

And if we could just keep in mind every day that the choices we make as citizens and as workers and as parents will affect what this country looks like when our children are our age, I think we'd make the right decisions. And America's best days, therefore, are still before us.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:35 a.m. in Buell Theater at the Denver Center for the Performing Arts. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Wellington E. Webb of Denver and Gov. Roy Romer

of Colorado. He also referred to his memorandums of June 18 and July 21 on child support enforcement. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Monrovia, California
July 22, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you so much. I have had a wonderful time, and I wish I could just quit now—[*laughter*]—because all the people who have spoken have said what I came to highlight for America. I thank Nora Graham for leading the Pledge of Allegiance; your principal, Lois Wurmbrand; and your superintendent, Louise Taylor; Chief Santoro, thank you. Yolanda Gallardo, you're a good speaker; you ought to run for office some time. [*Applause*] Thank you. I thank Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis and the L.A. district attorney, Gil Garcetti, for being here with me, and the other law enforcement officials, Chief Williams and other chiefs from around the area and law enforcement officers and the State Assembly members and the others who have come here. And Mr. Mayor, I want to say a special word of thanks to you and the City Council of Monrovia for making us feel so welcome, and thank you for bringing your mother today; that was a good thing to do. Thank you very much.

I want you to know why I wanted to come to this community today. I spend an enormous amount of time as President trying to make our country ready to move into the 21st century. That's why I ran for the job. I had this simple but rather dramatic vision that we were drifting divided into the next century when we ought to be charging united into the next century and that we really ought to be, in 4 years as we begin this new century and this millennium, a country, first, where the American dream is alive for everybody who is willing to work for it; second, where we have a sense of national community rooted in mutual respect for each other across all the incredible diversity that makes up America; and finally, that we continue to be the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom and security and prosperity.

And if that happens I believe that our children will live in the greatest age of possibility in human history. The children that are in this school system now, 10 years from now they'll be doing jobs that haven't even been invented yet. And if we do our jobs they'll be doing that in a peaceful world that has people who are more united, stronger families and neighborhoods and communities, States in our Nation. And we'll be working with other countries around the world to fight our common enemies of this new age, including terrorism and drug running and the proliferation of dangerous weapons and the wars based on racial and ethnic and religious hatred.

I believe that the stakes could hardly be higher. But meeting them begins at home. And that's why I wanted to come here. There are things that we have to do in Washington. We have to provide for the national defense and to meet the security challenges of the new era. We have to try to create a framework within which the American people can grow their own economy. Otherwise, a lot of what we do is trying to set rules that enable people to make the most of their own lives, whether it's the Family and Medical Leave Act that tries to help people succeed at home and at work by saying you don't lose your job if you have to take a little time off when there's a baby born or a sick parent, or the new meat standards for testing that we propose to stop children from getting the *E. coli* virus in meat. We try to set rules within which people can work together, in which our free market can work, in which people's creativity can work, in which local communities can solve their own problems.

I worked very hard on the economy and on the security issues. But I've also, perhaps because I was Governor of a small State for 12 years, worked very hard to put the Federal Government on the side of people and communities who are struggling to make the most of their own lives and meet their challenges and protect their values and protect their children. We have proposed to help and support communities that wanted to do a number of things that we

thought would improve children's lives. And Monrovia is a sterling example of three of our major initiatives: the community policing, along with citizen participation; a tough truancy policy; and of course, the school uniform policy. And I wanted to thank you for that.

Now, why is that important? Well, I'll just give you a classic example. I can come here to you and say—and be telling the truth—[*laughter*]—3½ years ago we instituted a new economic policy designed to drive the deficit down, get interest rates down, expand trade in American products and services, and continue to invest in our people and their education, in technology, in research, in helping communities make the transition who had been hurt by defense cutbacks so that we could all grow together. And the results have been good.

We've cut the deficit from $290 billion a year to $117 billion a year, over 60 percent. That's a good thing. The National Government is as small as it was in 1965 now; we've reduced about 240,000. We've reduced 16,000 pages of Federal regulations, abolished hundreds of programs, but continued to invest in the fundamental things that matter in education, research and technology, and infrastructure. And the results have been good.

The American people have created 10 million more jobs in the last 3½ years. We have over 8 million people who have refinanced their homes at lower interest rates. We have 3.7 million new homeowners. We have the lowest rates of inflation and unemployment combined in 30 years. We learned today that in the last 2 years homeownership in America had grown its fastest rate in 30 years in the last couple of years. That's all a very good thing. And we're better off than we were 4 years ago. [*Applause*]

But—I don't mind you clapping for it, but let me make the point here. [*Laughter*] If you were—if you could hear me say that and you could know with your mind it is true, but if you lived in a community where your number one worry was whether your children were safe, whether they were in school, whether your community was functioning, then it would still leave a hole in your heart. You would say, "I hear that, but why am I not happy?" Because we know that big statistics don't matter in individual lives unless good things are happening in individual lives, in families, on blocks, in communities.

And that's where you come in. I hope by coming here today that we will put a face on the idea that the American people do not have to tolerate unacceptable rates of crime. The American people do not have to tolerate worrying whether their children are safe. The American people do not have to tolerate schools that are dysfunctional. If they will get ahold of their communities and work with their schools and work with their police departments we can turn this country around and we can take this country into the 21st century with the American dream alive for everybody, with a country that's coming together, not drifting apart. And you are the example of what every community can do if they will.

I was delighted to hear your superintendent make the announcements about the building program. I just announced an effort in Washington to put a few billion dollars over the next 4 years into school construction, for the first time the National Government has ever done it, by lowering the interest rates for net new construction—things that were not going to be done anyway—to try to help all of our schools rebuild, including the poorest schools, to encourage them to go out and get their taxpayers to help, too, and say we'll try to ease the burden.

We're working hard on trying to do what you just announced for next year, making sure that by within 4 years every classroom and every library in America is hooked up to the Internet. But here's another challenge for you: We're also working hard this summer to get 100,000 teachers to train 500,000 other teachers to use the Internet with their students properly.

Now, think about this. Now, let me give you some idea of what this can mean. I was in New Jersey the other day with the Vice President. And I think New Jersey has the second highest per capita income in America, but it also has some of the poorest school districts in America. I was in one of the poorer school districts where a huge generation of the students are in first—excuse me—a huge percentage of the students are in first generation immigrant families. This school district, compared to those enormously wealthy and wonderfully well-staffed and well-equipped suburban schools in New Jersey, had a high dropout rate, a low college-going rate, a low performance rate, a lot of problems.

And Bell Atlantic went in there in partnership with the community and with the schools. They put computers in the schools. They put computers in the homes of some of the family members. And they taught the teachers to use the equipment and the software so that those children would literally have access to the same quality of knowledge that any children in any school district anywhere in this country had. Within 2 years, the dropout rate was below the State average, and the test scores were above the State average, in a poor immigrant school district. We can do this if we'll do it together. And that's what you are doing.

I was delighted to hear your chief talk about the statistics you've achieved with community policing. When I became President after the 1992 election, I had already actually been to Los Angeles County—in 1990, I believe it was, or '91—to look at a community policing experiment. I'd seen them working all over the country. And the most important thing to me was that they proved that people didn't have to put up with unacceptable crime rates, but that the police could not do it alone. The police had to go back to the streets, but the people who lived on the streets had to come back to the police, and they had to work together hand in hand.

So when I asked the Congress to adopt the new crime bill, the most highly publicized parts of it—and they were important—were, first, passing the Brady bill and, second, passing the ban on assault weapons. By the way, since the Brady bill became law, no hunter has lost a rifle, contrary to the rhetoric. [*Laughter*] But 60,000—60,000—felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not been able to buy handguns, and it's a good thing. It's a good law, and it's the right thing to do.

Anyway, the most important thing over the long run and about the crime bill was that it contained a mechanism to put 100,000 more police officers on the street. These police departments we were asking to go out and adopt community policing, many of them were in areas where, as with the Nation, the violent crime rate had tripled in 30 years, gone up by 300 percent, but the police forces had only increased by 10 percent. Literally we had police departments that were overwhelmed by trying to catch up to crimes that had already been committed without the resources to reorganize themselves to prevent crime from being committed in the first place and use friends and neighbors to catch the criminals once they do commit crimes.

And so we began this work. We've now funded 43,000 of these police, over 6,000 of them to the State of California, over 2,000 to Los Angeles County. And it's beginning to make a difference, but not because of anything we did in the National Government. All we did was to try to give more communities the tools to do what you're doing here, because you can achieve these results, and you deserve an enormous amount of credit for doing it.

What I'm hoping is that by being here today, we'll get enough publicity out of this so that 200 or 300 other communities will call here in a week or two, they'll call the principal, the superintendent, the chief of police, the mayor, and they'll say, "Help me do this. Help me do this."

On the crime issue, let me also encourage you not to let up. Don't let up. Keep helping the police. Keep working with them. These crime statistic drops are very impressive, but the crime rate is still too high in America. It is still too high. And it will be too high until you are surprised when the evening news leads off with a crime story. That's when you'll know that we're in good shape, when you're surprised.

Let me also say that these things you are doing in the schools with the truancy and the uniform initiatives may wind up being the most important anticrime initiatives you'll ever adopt. Because we have had one deeply troubling development in the last 3½ years, that if you had told me this in 1992 I would not have believed it, for the crime rate is about to go down 4 years in a row, but the rate of violent crime among young people between the age of 12 and 17 is still going up. The rate of cocaine use in America has dropped a third, but the rate of casual drug use among young people between the ages of 12 and 17 is still going up. And as any educator can tell you, when school starts this fall, there will be almost 52 million young people in school, the largest class in public schools since the baby boom. And the people that are coming in now to kindergarten and first grade for the next several years are going to be very, very large classes in our country. We have about 6 years to get ahead of this juvenile crime and violence and drug problem before we have a problem on our hands that will be almost unmanageable, unbearable, and painful.

So that's another reason I'm here. I know it. I told the principal and the superintendent and the chief I hoped I'd caused a lot of work for them in the next few weeks, because other communities have got to do this. We simply cannot let the largest number of schoolchildren in history come into our schools and grow up into adolescence in a country that is coming apart when it ought to be coming together, when there is no excuse for it, since we know what to do, and you're doing it. That's the point that I want to drive home to America.

Let me say that on this antitruancy program, this may seem simple to you, and I was—where is the officer, Chief, you gave credit to? He didn't stand up. Where is he? Stand up. Where did he go? Over there. Thank you. Give him another hand. [*Applause*] Now, you might ask yourself why other people don't do this. The answer is it probably hasn't occurred to them, and they may not think they can do it. You have proven that it can be done and you can get results.

In the school uniform policy, I understand that that's—you said it was unpopular with your kids the first time you mentioned it. I could go to any place in America and speak to young people and have them cheering and stomping until I mention school uniforms and then they go, "No-o-o!" [*Laughter*] You may know this, but I went to Long Beach a few weeks ago, and I had two students stand up and talk about it. And one of the young people said, "We got to pick our uniforms, and we picked green and white because the gangs were heavy in our area and they wore red and blue. And it's the first time in 3 years I've been able to walk to and from school without looking over my shoulder." That's worth something.

And then one of the things that was said here about it, a young woman said, "It's wonderful now, but it's as good for the wealthy kids as it is for the poor kids because now we judge ourselves by what we are on the inside and not what we have on the outside." These are good values to get across to our young people. So I just want to encourage you in this.

Not very long ago, I was in New Orleans talking about their curfew policy. New Orleans used to have one of the highest crime rates in the country, and they had all these kids on the street at night. So they started a curfew policy, as a number of other cities had, that was very rigorous. But they also set up a curfew center manned by ministers and by psychologists and by health care professionals. And I was so moved when I heard the story of one 7-year-old boy that was picked up wandering the streets at midnight. And they took him to the curfew center, and the lady who was working that night said, "What do you want?" And he said, "I want somebody to hold me." Now, if that boy had been found 8 years later, he might have been booked in jail for a felony. Maybe he won't be now, because he found somebody to hold him.

We have got to take responsibility for the fabric of our children's lives in this community. One of you kindly mentioned the concept village that my wife put in her book. We are responsible for all these kids. One of the reasons this juvenile crime rate is still going up is there's too many of these children out here virtually raising themselves on the street. And they don't know how to do it. It's hard for parents if you do know how to do it. They don't know how to do it.

People get into gangs partly because everybody wants to be part of something that's bigger than they are. We all do. When you let kids wear school uniforms, you're putting them in a good gang. The police wear uniforms; they're in a good gang. That's what it is; you identify yourself with something that's bigger than you are. That's what it is.

I hope you will all become apostles. I bet every one of you has friends or family members that live in other communities, perhaps in other States. They need to know about this. Because as President, we can put out guidelines to show schools how they can adopt these uniform policies and have no legal problems, how they can have truancy policies and have no legal problems, how they can have curfews and have no legal problems; that's what we're doing. The Department of Education is putting out guidelines on character education and other kinds of reforms that are based on teaching values and helping to recover our kids. We can pass the safe and drug-free schools bill and give more funds to more communities so everybody can have a D.A.R.E. program like you do, because they work and they really make a difference in children's lives.

We can, in other words, give you the tools that you need to do more with your own community, your own family, and your own education, your own future. But we can't do any

of it for you. And if you look at the real challenges facing America, the fundamentally critical ones are those that will have to be dealt with one on one, child by child, family by family, school by school, neighborhood by neighborhood. And my job is to try to highlight these things and to see that we in Washington do what we can to support you and give you the tools you need to succeed. But if every community in America tomorrow would decide to organize themselves the way you have and to do what you have done, the differences would be breathtaking within a matter of 2 years.

That is what I am hoping and praying for, because I'm telling you, there is no country in the world as well-positioned as the United States for the 21st century. We understand what it means to be in a global village. We understand what it means to be in an era dominated by information and technology, where education is at a premium. And unlike most other countries, everybody from every place else in the world is already here anyway—[*laughter*]—which is an enormous asset for us.

I wish you could have been with Hillary and me the other day when we went to visit the Olympic team in Atlanta. We had them all in an auditorium like this. We had a lot of the senior Olympians that came back, who were the heroes of these present-day Olympians when they were little kids. And we had a great time. But I looked out at them and it just occurred to me, you know, if they were all separated, just walking around in the village, you might think the Americans were part of one of the Asian teams, one of the Middle Eastern teams, one of the Latin American teams, one of the Nordic teams, one of the European teams, one of the African teams, because we're from everywhere. We're bound together by the ideals and the values enshrined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence and by a sense of mutual respect and the ability to work together.

And that's the last point I want to make. Every single thing we have celebrated here today is rooted in the willingness of people here to work in partnership. I'll bet you in all these projects you've talked about, when you're enforcing the truancy laws or implementing the school uniform policy or walking the neighborhood blocks, it doesn't matter if you're a Republican or a Democrat or an independent. It doesn't matter what your race is, doesn't matter what your religion is, doesn't much matter what your income is. Nobody can hide from these things today. We're all in this together.

And I see you out here, sitting together, applauding your local leaders, applauding what you have done together. And all I can say to you is, please, please, please, number one, keep it up, find ways to increase it. And number two, find ways to talk to your friends and neighbors around the State and around the country about this, because what you are doing will determine whether we can go raring into the 21st century united and strong.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:26 p.m. in the auditorium at Monrovia High School. In his remarks, he referred to Joseph Santoro, chief of police, and Mayor Robert T. Bartlet of Monrovia; Yolanda Gallardo, board of education member, Monrovia Unified School District; and Willie Williams, chief of police, Los Angeles.

Message to the Congress on Economic Sanctions Against Libya
July 22, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since my last report of January 22, 1996, concerning the national emergency with respect to Libya that was declared in Executive Order No. 12543 of January 7, 1986. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c); section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA"), 50 U.S.C. 1703(c); and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa–9(c).

1. On January 3, 1996, I renewed for another year the national emergency with respect to Libya pursuant to IEEPA. This renewal ex-

tended the current comprehensive financial and trade embargo against Libya in effect since 1986. Under these sanctions, all trade with Libya is prohibited, and all assets owned or controlled by the Libyan government in the United States or in the possession or control of U.S. persons are blocked.

2. There have been no amendments to the Libyan Sanctions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 550 (the "Regulations"), administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) of the Department of the Treasury, since my last report on January 22, 1996.

3. During the current 6-month period, OFAC reviewed numerous applications for licenses to authorize transactions under the Regulations. Consistent with OFAC's ongoing scrutiny of banking transactions, the largest category of license approvals (91) concerned requests by non-Libyan persons or entities to unblock transfers interdicted because of what appeared to be Government of Libya interests. Three licenses were issued for the expenditure of funds and acquisition of goods and services in the United States by or on behalf of accredited persons and athletes of Libya in connection with participation in the 1996 Paralympic Games. One license was issued to authorize a U.S. company to initiate litigation against an entity of the Government of Libya.

4. During the current 6-month period, OFAC continued to emphasize to the international banking community in the United States the importance of identifying and blocking payments made by or on behalf of Libya. The Office worked closely with the banks to assure the effectiveness of interdiction software systems used to identify such payments. During the reporting period, more than 129 transactions potentially involving Libya were interdicted, with an additional $7 million held blocked as of May 15.

5. Since my last report, OFAC collected eight civil monetary penalties totaling more than $51,000 for violations of the U.S. sanctions against Libya. Two of the violations involved the failure of banks to block funds transfers to Libyan-owned or Libyan-controlled banks. Two other penalties were received from corporations for export violations, including one received as part of a plea agreement before a U.S. district judge. Four additional penalties were paid by U.S. citizens engaging in Libyan oilfield-related transactions while another 30 cases involving similar violations are in active penalty processing.

On February 6, 1996, a jury sitting in the District of Connecticut found two Connecticut businessmen guilty on charges of false statements, conspiracy, and illegally diverting U.S.-origin technology to Libya between 1987 and 1993 in violation of U.S. sanctions. On May 22, 1996, a major manufacturer of farm and construction equipment entered a guilty plea in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin for Libyan sanctions violations. A three-count information charged the company with aiding and abetting the sale of construction equipment and parts from a foreign affiliate to Libya. The company paid $1,810,000 in criminal fines and $190,000 in civil penalties. Numerous investigations carried over from prior reporting periods are continuing and new reports of violations are being pursued.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from January 6 through July 6, 1996, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Libyan national emergency are estimated at approximately $730,000. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Office of the General Counsel, and the U.S. Customs Service), the Department of State, and the Department of Commerce.

7. The policies and actions of the Government of Libya continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. In adopting United Nations Security Council Resolution 883 in November 1993, the Security Council determined that the continued failure of the Government of Libya to demonstrate by concrete actions its renunciation of terrorism, and in particular its continued failure to respond fully and effectively to the requests and decisions of the Security Council in Resolutions 731 and 748, concerning the bombing of the Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 flights, constituted a threat to international peace and security. The United States will continue to coordinate its comprehensive sanctions enforcement efforts with those of other U.N. member states. We remain determined to ensure that the perpetrators of the terrorist acts against Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 are brought to justice. The families of the victims in the murderous Lockerbie bombing

and other acts of Libyan terrorism deserve nothing less. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Libya fully and effectively, so long as those measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments as required by law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 22, 1996.

Remarks at the Asian-American Democratic Dinner in Los Angeles, California

July 22, 1996

Thank you very much. Please be seated. Thank you. Thank you for the wonderful warm welcome. Thank you for being here in such impressive numbers.

I'd like to begin by saying a special word of thanks to our emcees Steve Park and Amy Hill. I think they did a wonderful job, and I think we ought to give them a round of applause. [*Applause*] I also thought the East-West Players were terrific, and I thank them and the other entertainers who were here earlier tonight for taking their time to come here and make this evening more enjoyable for all of us. Thank you. A great job.

If I could learn how to beat those sticks like that I think I could intimidate the Congress by doing it, you know. Maybe I should take some instruction.

I'm honored to be here with the chairman of the Democratic Committee, Don Fowler; the chairman of the California Democratic Party, Art Torres, thank you for being here, sir. And thank you, March Fong Eu, for being a wonderful public servant and a great friend and a wonderful supporter. Thank you, Bob Matsui, for your leadership in the Congress and in the Democratic Party. I should say also that one of those 197 Asian-Pacific Americans in my administration is Bob's terrific wife, Doris, who's also here tonight. And thank you, Doris, for your work. Thank you.

And I'd like to thank my longtime friend John Huang for being so effective. Frankly, he's been so effective, I was amazed that you were all cheering for him tonight after he's been around—[*laughter*]—in his aggressive efforts to help our cause.

Ladies and gentlemen, in 1992 when I ran for President, I had a very clear reason for doing so and a very definite idea about what it was I wanted to do. I ran because I thought our country was in danger of drifting divided into the 21st century in a way that would undermine the American dream at home, split up our sense of community, and weaken our ability to continue to lead the world in a positive way. And I wanted to see the United States go into the next century in an aggressive, united way with the American dream alive for all people who come here from wherever, who are willing to work for it; with this country coming together celebrating our diversity instead of being divided by it; and with America still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and security and prosperity.

That is why I ran. Many of you in this room helped me in that election. And I have worked as hard as I could to achieve that vision by working to create opportunity, by working to build an inclusive American society, and by working to maintain our positive role in the world in this period of enormous change as we move from the cold war to the global village, as we move from great industrial societies to a period when the entire world economy will be dominated more and more by information-based technology.

I am proud of the work we have done, first of all, to build the American community. Bob mentioned that we had 197 members of the Asian-Pacific-American community in our administration. I'm proud of that. It's more than any other previous administration by far. But if I get 4 more years, I intend to do better, because they have all served very well. When I took office, it had been 14 years—14 years—since the last Asian-Pacific-American was nomi-

nated to the Federal bench. I have already nominated four, and I intend to do better.

I have also tried to position the economy of the United States in a way that will enable us to take maximum advantage of what is happening all over the world. When I took office, we had quadrupled our debt in only 12 short years. And I asked the American people to let me serve so that we could reduce our deficit, invest more in our people and our technology, and expand trade. Many of you have been personally involved in the efforts we have made together to expand trade by Americans all over the world.

Now, for 3½ years we have had a chance to see the results of that. Mr. Matsui will remember when we adopted our economic plan in 1993, it passed by only one vote. And our friends in the other party said that it would bring on a recession. One of them even said he'd have to join the Democratic Party if my plan worked. That was Mr. Kasich, the budget chairman from Ohio. We're saving a seat for him at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. I wish he would come and take it; he'd be welcome there.

Well, anyway, 3½ years later, the United States has 10 million new jobs; the deficit's gone from $290 billion a year all the way to $117 billion. We would have a surplus today and would have had a surplus last year if it weren't for the interest we have to pay on the debt that was run up in the 12 years before I took office. We have turned that situation around. We have concluded 200 separate trade agreements with countries in all parts of the world. Our exports are up 35 percent to an all-time high. We concluded 21 trade agreements with Japan alone, and in those areas our exports have increased 85 percent.

We did, as Bob said, embrace NAFTA and the GATT world trade agreement. But perhaps equally important, we tried to build more constructive relationships with our trading partners around the world, with the Summit of the Americas, with all the Latin American and Central American and Caribbean countries, and with regular meetings of the Asian-Pacific Economic Council nations leaders, something that I'm proud we started in our administration in Seattle. Then we went to Indonesia, then in Japan, and now we will be meeting this year in the Philippines. And I'm very much looking forward to that. It's helped us to make commitments to work together toward freer and more open trade, in a way that I believe also helps to reduce hostilities between countries.

I worked very hard to help to remove the threat of North Korea's nuclear program from the Asian-Pacific area, and I'm very encouraged by the response that we received from the Chinese just this week supporting the initiatives to get the Chinese, the Americans, the North and South Koreans together to try to resolve this problem once and for all so we can go forward together into a more peaceful and prosperous world.

We have worked hard to develop the sort of relationships with China that would enable us to have a fair, strategically calculated, positive, long-term, constructive relationship and would enable us to continue the relationships we have enjoyed with Taiwan in anticipation of an ultimate peaceful resolution of the difficulties between those two countries. Our commitments, which precede me by a long ways, I will reiterate—we support a one China policy, but we support a peaceful, and only a peaceful, resolution of the differences between Taiwan and the Republic of China. And we believe it can be done.

Now, if you look at where we are and where we need to go on the economy and on our relations with the rest of the world, I would just make a couple of observations. First of all, the Asian-Pacific community knows as well or better than any group of Americans that education is the key to advancement in this country. The good news about America's relationship to the global economy is that we can create more jobs than any other wealthy country in the world more quickly because we have so many entrepreneurs. In the last 3 years we've had more new small businesses started than at any time in American history. I'm very proud of the fact that the Small Business Administration in our term has doubled the number of small business loans while cutting the budget and has spread the activities to all different groups of Americans.

But if you look ahead, what we want is for everybody in America who works hard to have a chance to do well. And therefore, we are going to have to do more to expand educational opportunity and to get more people the chance to go on and get a college education. Therefore, I have proposed two things I want to especially emphasize tonight. First, we should hook up every classroom in the United States of America,

every single one, to the Internet by the year 2000 and make sure all classrooms have teachers trained to teach the young people to learn whatever can be learned in that vast storehouse of knowledge. That will equalize educational opportunities among rich, poor, and middle class school districts all across America, and we must do that.

The second thing we should do is to open the doors of college education to all Americans. In my first term we reorganized the college loan program to cut the cost and to change the terms of repayment so that more people could afford to go to college. If I am reelected I want to give American families a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition and a tax credit for 2 years of community college so we can make at least 2 years after high school in this country just as universal as a high school education is now. Every American ought to be able to go back and go to a community college.

Let me mention one other issue. There are many things I could speak about tonight, but I want to talk about one other issue. The Asian-Pacific community has done so well in America and has enriched our country so much because you have found a way to preserve strong families and still work incredibly hard. I think the biggest challenge facing most American families today is how they can succeed at work and still succeed at home. They worry about their children being alone too many hours a day. They worry about whether they'll have destructive influences and see too much violence on television, for example. And I applaud the entertainment industry for developing this rating systems for TV programs that will go with the V-chip in the new televisions of the future. They worry about the fact that they may not be able to take a little time off from work if they really need to without losing their jobs.

I have worked very hard to make it possible for people to have strong families and strong work records, to succeed at home and at work. That's what the family and medical leave law was about. Twelve million people since 1993 have been able to take some time off when a baby was born or when a parent was desperately sick without losing their jobs. And it has helped the American economy; it has not hurt the American economy. And I want to do more things like that to help.

The last point I want to make is this: If you think about what is truly special about America as we move into the 21st century, it is that this is the only country that has people from everywhere else in it. It's the longest lasting democracy of any major country in the history of the world. We're 220 years old, but we have people from everywhere here. We are defined not by the race of our citizens but by our willingness to adhere to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and tolerance and mutual respect and equal opportunity for all people. And it is a priceless resource.

I have struggled and worked as hard as I know how to keep us coming together and not let us drift apart. Think of what the new security problems in the world are. As the cold war fades away, if we can secure a comprehensive test ban treaty, if we can continue to reduce the nuclear arsenals of the major powers, if we can secure nuclear materials from smuggling, we can let the nuclear threat edge more and more and more into history. What then are the new security threats? They are threats that cross national lines: terrorism, organized crime, drug smuggling, the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, and sophisticated conventional weapons that can be misused. And a lot of the problems caused from these things stem from prejudice based on race, ethnicity, religion, and tribe.

Look at the hot spots of the world. Why do the Hutus and the Tutsis butcher each other in Rwanda and Burundi? Why did the people in Bosnia, a little country where the Muslims, the Croats, and the Serbs are biologically indistinguishable—why did they live in peace for decades and all of a sudden fall into a slaughter? Look at the heartbreaking agony in the Middle East and the fact that every time we make progress, there are those that try to kill the peace. Look at what happened in Northern Ireland where they had peace after decades for a year and a half, and the people desperately wanted it, and irresponsible leaders let it slide back into violence.

And we still deal with it here in a different way. If you look at what was alleged to have occurred in Arizona recently where our Federal authorities, working with State officials, uncovered a massive weapons cache with a militia group that was alleged—and I say alleged, because they haven't been convicted yet—but alleged to have had plans to blow up a whole lot of Federal buildings. If you look at the

charges in the trial involving the destruction of the Oklahoma City Federal building, if you look at the burning of all these black churches in America and the defacing of some mosques and synagogues, what do all these things have in common? People are defining themselves by their ability to look down on someone else because they are of a different race or of a different religion or a different creed.

What is America's great strength is that we don't look down on people because of that; we embrace people. We say if you follow the law, if you work hard, if you play by the rules, if you're a responsible citizen you can have a home in the United States, you can do well. We want you to succeed and our country will succeed. That is America at its best.

That is why I have said when it comes to affirmative action I think we ought to fix it, not end it. That's why I've said we have got to get to the bottom of these church burnings. That's why I have asked the Congress to support stronger initiatives against terrorism, to stand up to people who would put us against one another.

And let me just say this in closing: As most of you know, Hillary and I went to the Olympics, to the opening ceremony on Friday. And before that we were privileged to go through the Olympic Village and meet with a lot of the athletes from other countries and to meet with the American Olympic team. And we both got to speak to them. And I was looking at them, just as I'm looking at you, and it struck me that if our Olympic team just wasn't—if they weren't all in the same room together, if they were just wandering around in the village, you know, with the other athletes, we might think they were from Asian countries or from African countries or from the Middle East or from Latin America or from Scandinavia. They could be from anywhere, because they are from everywhere, bound together only by their shared values and their commitment to work. And they represent what is right about America. And that is what we have to strengthen if we want to take this country into the next century as the kind of nation it ought to be and the kind of model for the world that it ought to be.

And if you think about the Olympics, one of the reasons we love the Olympics is that people have to win on their own merits. They don't win by criticizing their opponents. Nobody can get a medal—no runner could win a medal by breaking his opponent's legs before the race. [*Laughter*] Nobody is more respected by telling everybody what a bad person his opponent is.

In other words, in the Olympics people don't lift themselves up by putting other people down. They lift themselves up by bringing out the greatness that is within them. And that is what we should want for all Americans. We shouldn't want a single person in this country to be under the illusion that he or she is a better person because they're not of a certain race or they don't have a certain religious conviction or they happen to be born better off than someone else.

I believe the best days of this country are before us if we find a way to fight back our security problems, if we find a way to give everybody a chance to participate in the new economy, if we find a way to build strong families and strong communities. But the number one thing we have to do is to make up our mind we are going into the future together and that America is the best positioned nation in the world because we have people from everywhere in the world in America. That should color every decision we make about how we treat each other, not only through our Government programs but in our everyday relations.

Now, the election is 3 months, 2 weeks, and one day away. [*Laughter*] And I want to ask every one of you in the next 3 months, 2 weeks, and one day not to believe that coming here tonight to this great event—which has helped us very much, and I thank you for your generosity—but I ask you not to let your citizenship lapse now. I ask you to go back into your communities, talk to your family members, talk to your friends, talk to those with whom you work, talk to friends in other parts of America, and tell them what this election is all about. The result of the election can be determined by what people believe the election is about.

I believe the election is about what America will look like when our children are our age. What kind of country will we be? Will we go storming into the next century as a united and strong country and a great force for peace, or will we fall back into division and drift? If people vote for how they want this country to look when their children are their age, I'm not worried about the outcome.

You can help that occur. Most of you have come to this country and enjoyed great success because you have worked like crazy, because you have developed your gifts, because you have kept your family strong. If everyone in America

could just do that, this would be an even greater nation. So I ask you to work with us and walk with us and remember tonight is a wonderful night, but we want 3 months, 2 weeks, and one day from now to be a wonderful day. And you can help to make it so.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the Los Angeles Ballroom at the Century Plaza Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to March Fong Eu, U.S. Ambassador to Micronesia; and John Huang, deputy finance chair, Democratic National Committee.

Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iraq

July 22, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Iraqi emergency is to continue in effect beyond August 2, 1996, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The crisis between the United States and Iraq that led to the declaration on August 2, 1990, of a national emergency has not been resolved. The Government of Iraq continues to engage in activities inimical to stability in the Middle East and hostile to United States interests in the region. Such Iraqi actions pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and vital foreign policy interests of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure on the Government of Iraq.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 22, 1996.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 23. The notice of July 22 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks to the Community in Sacramento, California

July 23, 1996

Thank you. Thank you, Gail, for that fine introduction. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the warm welcome in more ways than one. [*Laughter*] This is a beautiful Sacramento day, thank you. It's a little hot, but it's still awfully pretty. You have so many trees in this community; a lot of you at least are under the trees, and that's good. The mayor told me Sacramento had 380,000 people and 250,000 trees, and I think that's about the right ratio. I wish every community had that many.

Let me say, Mr. Mayor, I'm delighted to be here again and to be here with you. I've enjoyed working with you especially on developing a new plan for the future of McClellan and for dealing with a lot of your other defense and base-closing issues in this community. But you blew my cover today; you pointed out that I have been here four times. This morning before we got here, I was complaining to my staff that I had not come to Sacramento enough. But I still think I haven't been here enough. I like coming here, and so I thank you.

Thank you, Chief Venegas, for your words and for your work and for the remarkable work that you and the others in law enforcement are

doing in this community. I want to thank Congressman Fazio and Congressman Matsui. I can tell you that they are clearly among the most well-respected people in Congress in either party because they put their work where their words are. They actually try to deliver; they actually try to do something that will make a difference in the lives of people, and I admire them so much.

I also want to thank, Congressman—I want to thank your wife, Doris Matsui, who works in the White House and has done a remarkable job for us. Thank you, Doris. Your Lieutenant Governor, Gray Davis, is here today; I thank him for being here. Thank you, Gray. Thank you, Art Torres, for being here.

I'd also like to thank the law enforcement officials who are here, the Central Sierra Chiefs, the Sacramento law enforcement and community chaplains, the people involved in the Safe Streets effort. And there are more than 40 Sacramento neighborhood associations represented here, people who are making this a safer and better place to live.

Most of all I want to tell you that I'm honored to be here today, to thank Gail Jones and the people at WEAVE and all of you who work to fight against domestic violence. As a father, as a husband, as someone who knows personally something about this issue, I want to join with families throughout California and our Nation in pledging to do all that I can to stop violence against women and innocent children. No child should ever have to grow up in a home where a gun is fired, a knife is flashed, a hand is raised in anger. And we have to work to do something about this.

If I might, I'd like to explain to you how this issue of domestic violence, which is a very big one for me and for Hillary, plays into my larger view of what we should be doing as a country. When I was a Governor and when we had more private time, Hillary and I spent a lot of time, especially around holidays, in shelters run by friends of ours in Little Rock with women and with children, talking to them, encouraging them, asking them about their circumstances, getting them to look to the future, and trying to support in whatever we could the activities of the wonderful people who are engaged in that work in our hometown.

But this is a very important part of what I think we should be doing as a country. When I became President I did so with a simple, clear vision of how I wanted our country to look as we move into the next century, which is only 4 years away. There are three things I want for America. I want the American dream to be alive for every single man and woman and boy and girl who is willing to work for it, no matter what their race, their background, their income, their gender, their condition of disability. I want this country to continue to be the light of the world and the leader of the world for peace and freedom and security and prosperity in a new era, in which the cold war is fading away but we still have to deal with things like terrorism and ethnic, religious, and racial hatreds crossing national lines, the proliferation of weapons, the proliferation of drug dealing and organized crime. This country needs to be fighting that fight around the world to keep it better here at home for our people. And finally, as you look around this crowd today and you see a picture of America, I want our country to go into the next century strengthened by our diversity, not weakened by it. I want us to be coming together, not drifting apart.

To achieve that vision, we all need to do what we can to create more opportunity for all of our people, to demand more responsibility from all of our people, and to create a real community in America where we know we're going forward together, we're going up or down together, we're determined to make the most of this together. For me, that means giving people the tools to make the most of their own lives and to build strong families. It means asking people to assume responsibility not just for themselves but for their families, their neighborhoods, their communities, and their country. It means reforming Government to make it smaller and less bureaucratic and less burdensome but also to make sure it is strong enough to fulfill the responsibilities that we have to meet together, things like keeping a clean environment, making sure the water and food we use are safe, making sure our young people have the educational opportunities they need, building a strong economy, and making our streets safe.

Today we're talking about strengthening our families. One of the most important things we can do is to reform our welfare system to make it possible for people to move to independence so they can support their children and so they can raise them well. But I think it's important that we ask and answer this question in the midst of this great welfare debate. What is it

that we want for poor children and poor families in America? I think what we want is what we want for middle class families and for wealthy families. We want people to be able to succeed at work and at home, and we don't want to have to choose one or the other.

In the last 4 years, we've given 40 States permission to try experiments to move people from welfare to work in a way that was tough on work but good for children. There are now 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took office. And child support collections have gone up 40 percent as we get people to support their children.

Do we need welfare reform legislation? We do. We do because States shouldn't have to get approval every time they want to try an experiment. We do because we need to do more to strengthen child support collection across State lines. If everybody paid the child support they owe we would move 800,000 women and children off welfare tomorrow morning, if everybody paid that.

On the other hand, we want a bill that actually is welfare reform. You can put wings on a pig, but you don't make it an eagle. [*Laughter*] We want real welfare reform. The Olympics are going on—I like to jog, but I couldn't make it in the 100-meter dash. We want real welfare reform.

Today the Senate, I want you to know, took some major steps to improve the bill going through Congress. It significantly increases support for the nutritional and the health care needs of young children who happen to be on welfare. And that's encouraging. If we can keep this progress up, if we can make it bipartisan, then we can have a real welfare reform bill, that honors work and protects children, coming to the White House for my signature. We can reduce the welfare rolls more, and we can achieve for poor families what we want for all families, having people succeed at home and at work. That is my goal, and that is what I want America's goal to be.

The first thing we have to do if we want families to succeed is to create an economy in which there is opportunity, in which people can find jobs. We changed the economic strategy of America in 1993. After quadrupling the debt for 12 years, we had a lot of debt, a huge annual deficit, and the slowest job growth since the Great Depression. We said we'd cut the debt in half, expand trade in American products, and do more to invest in our people, in technology, in research, in environmental protection, in things that will create the jobs of tomorrow. And after 4 years we now have a deficit that is 60 percent lower than it was when I took office. The deficit's going down. You need to know that the Government's deficit is going to go down 4 years in a row under one administration for the first time since the 1840's. And I'm proud of that.

And that economy with lower interest rates has produced over 10 million new jobs, 3.7 million new homeowners, the fastest rate of homeownership growth in 30 years, and the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. We are moving the economy in the right direction. California has its lowest unemployment rate in 5 years. And for the first time in a decade, the average wages of working people are finally beginning to go up instead of to be stagnant. We are moving it in the right direction.

This is not a record to reverse but not a record to rest on, either. We have to do more, and the previous speakers alluded to some things. We ought to pass that health care reform bill that says you don't lose your health insurance when you change jobs or somebody in your family gets sick. We ought to make it easier for people who work in small businesses or people who are self-employed to start saving through a pension plan that they can keep even when they lose their jobs and they can keep throughout a lifetime, that will be secure. We ought to raise the minimum wage. It's going to be at a 40-year low if we don't do it, and we're working on it.

And the best tax cut of all we could give is to give people a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition for their children or themselves. And on top of that, I have asked the Congress to make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school education is today by giving people a refundable tax credit worth $1,500 a year to go to any community college in America for 2 years. That's what we ought to do.

To try to help people succeed at home and work, the first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law, which says you don't lose your job if you take 12 weeks off when there's a baby born or a sick parent in your home, you have a genuine emergency. Twelve—listen to this—12 million Americans have used the

family leave law in the last 3 years, and every study shows there has been no significant damage to American business. We are creating jobs at a rapid rate, not losing them. It is good for the business community to take care of the families of working people. It is the right thing to do, and it is good.

We tried to help families raise their children by challenging the entertainment community to come up with a ratings program for children's television and a V-chip on new televisions so people can control the access of their young children to programs with excessive violence or other inappropriate material. And we're doing our best and I hope we win to stop the advertising of tobacco products to children and the sales and distribution to them. That is wrong and not right.

But as the chief said a moment ago, all the economic opportunity in the world doesn't amount to much if people aren't safe in their homes, on their streets, if our children aren't safe in their schools. We have worked very hard to help communities fight crime. We did pass a bill in 1994 to create 100,000 more police officers on the street. Forty-four thousand of those police officers have already been funded. We are ahead of schedule and under budget on that. California has gotten over 6,000 of those new officers. We have awarded Sacramento County $12½ million to hire or redeploy 191 new officers; 56 of them are already patrolling the streets of Sacramento. That is a good thing for the United States. And in California and in Sacramento, the serious crime rate is coming down, not going up, for a change. We need to keep doing that.

Mr. Matsui mentioned the Brady law. When that passed, a lot of people said we were going to take their guns away. There's not a single hunter in California or my home State or any place else who's lost a hunting rifle because of the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. But I'll tell you who has lost out: 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not been able to get handguns because of the Brady bill. It was the right thing to do.

We have more to do, more to do in our schools. In the last few weeks I've been in Long Beach, California; yesterday I was in Monrovia, California, to celebrate California communities that are using things like school uniforms, tougher enforcement of truancy laws, curfews, things designed to reduce school dropout, to reduce juvenile violence. There is a lot more to do, but we can move in the right direction if we do this as a community. The most important thing the chief might have said is that you've got people in your community working with the police officers to try to prevent crime before it happens and catch criminals when it does. That is the most important thing. I want to encourage you to stay with it.

We will never be fully successful until we deal with this issue of domestic violence and treat it as a public, not just a private, issue. It is a terrible, terrible problem. There's no such thing as a perfect family, we all know that. But there's a lot of difference in a family with a few problems and a family that is terrorized by violence. This is not a women's issue; this is an American issue. And every man in America ought to be just as concerned about it.

We passed the Violence Against Women Act. We set up a program to provide funds to help communities train police officers who would be specially equipped to do this. One of the most impressive Americans I have met since I have been President is a young police officer in Nashville, Tennessee, who grew up in a family of five or six children that was ripped apart by domestic violence. He is devoting his entire life to strengthening the ability of his police department and police departments around the country to deal with domestic violence. And the murder rate from domestic violence in his community has dropped by 50 percent since he started doing his work. That is what we need every place in America, people like that who care about that issue.

The WEAVE Center here gets help under this program, and soon California will receive $11½ million in grants to community groups to help fight domestic violence. Our program on police and community policing has recently awarded $300,000 to the city police department and the county sheriff's department to help train police officers here to do more to fight domestic violence.

We've also launched a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week toll-free hotline so people in trouble could find out how to get emergency help, find shelter, or report abuse to authorities. Listen to this: In just 5 months this hotline has become a lifeline to thousands of women who had nowhere else to turn. It has answered more than 35,000 calls—a national hotline on domestic abuse. And I never miss an opportunity to give

you the number. It's 1–800–799–S-A-F-E, SAFE. I want more people to call that hotline. It's saving lives, and I'm proud of it.

To give you an idea of what a big problem this is, listen to this: The National Legal Services Corporation, present in most communities in our country, says that one in every three cases they handle is a family law case—one in three. In 1995, 59,000 of them were attempts by poor women to get legal protection from abusive husbands; 9,300 of them involved neglected and abused children. If we want to protect people against domestic violence, we must not destroy the Legal Services Corporation; we ought to let them do their jobs so they can help the rest of us protect people.

We have to do more to hear the cries for help as well. And Gail mentioned this. We cannot do what we need to do on the issue of domestic violence unless we do something about the stunning fact that the 911 emergency number system today is completely overburdened. Today, it is groaning under the weights of hundreds of thousands of calls a year. Victims of domestic abuse, victims of all violent crime are having a harder and harder time getting through. Sometimes they have to wait up to 30 minutes for the phone to be answered. That can be way too long. Sometimes they never get through at all. Last year in Los Angeles, 325,000 calls were abandoned before the operator could answer. Who knows how many of them involved life-threatening emergencies.

The reason for the problem is simple and straightforward. Today, most calls to 911 are important and serious, but they're not emergencies. They should be handled elsewhere. In some areas, 90 percent of all the calls to 911 are not emergencies. Callers may have a legitimate reason to reach the police, but their calls don't involve crimes in progress or life-threatening situations that need immediate action through 911. It just is the only number they know, and so they call it.

So I have asked the Attorney General to work with the Federal Communications Commission, our Nation's law enforcement leaders, and the telecommunications industry to relieve the burden on 911 by establishing a new number like 911 for nonemergency telephone calls to the police. I asked the telephone companies to help us meet this challenge, to make it happen. People ought to be able to get in touch with law enforcement easily in any situation, but we have to make sure that emergency situations get the special attention they need.

Citizens will also have to do their part. They'll have to learn this new number, and they'll have to be responsible—they'll have to use 911 when there is an emergency—so they don't keep other emergencies from being addressed. We need a new national community policing number that's just as simple and easy to remember as 911, so that if you have a tip for the police, if you see a suspicious activity, if a car alarm is going off, you will still be able to call a community policing number. But if you have a real emergency, like domestic violence, you can call 911 and this time your call will go through.

Let me say finally that none of these measures will substitute for people like you supporting programs like WEAVE. And if you're lucky enough not to have ever faced this sort of problem, then you'll just have to do it out of the goodness of your heart. But that's what in the end will save our country and enable us to go into the next century as the strongest and best country in the world, the goodness of our collective heart.

When Hillary and Chelsea and I went down to open the Olympics, I had the opportunity to speak to the American team. And I looked at them and I realized just looking at them—great looking people—that if they were not in that room with me, identified as the American team, if they were just out there in the Olympic Village wandering around, you could look at them and you wouldn't have any earthly idea where they're from. They could look like they're representing a Latin American country, a Caribbean country, a Middle Eastern country, an Asian country, an African country, a Nordic country. Why? Because this is not a country defined by our race, this is a country defined by our values, by the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the belief in the dignity of all people.

And what we in Government should be doing is empowering you to make the most of your own lives, to meet your challenges, to protect your values. I see some hats out here of some of our young people who are involved in the AmeriCorps program. And I just want to say to you that, to me, more than any other single thing our administration has done, that symbolizes what kind of America we're trying to build. All kinds of folks can be in AmeriCorps. They may come from poor families; they may come

from wealthy families. They're mostly someplace in between. They get some credit, some money to pay for their college education by devoting a year or two of their lives to helping other people meet the challenges of their lives, meeting our common responsibilities. That's what WEAVE does. That's what Sacramento is doing. And if America does it, nothing can keep our best days from lying in the future.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. outside the Women Escaping A Violent Environment (WEAVE) Counseling Center. In his remarks, he referred to Gail Jones, WEAVE executive director; Mayor Joseph Serna, Jr., and Chief of Police Arturo Venegas of Sacramento; and Art Torres, California Democratic Party chair.

Remarks to the McClellan Air Force Base Local Redevelopment Authority and an Exchange With Reporters in Sacramento

July 23, 1996

The President. Thank you. Please sit down, everybody. Well, thank you. I know you've been meeting, and I don't want to take a lot of time because I want to spend most of my time just listening to you. But I've had a chance to talk to Congressman Fazio and Congressman Matsui, and Leon and I were visiting with them earlier. I know that this last year has not been easy for you and I have—frankly, it has not been easy for me to try to help you because Congress has fiercely opposed my efforts to try to privatize more of the maintenance operations more easily, as I'm sure you all know.

But we are still committed to making this work, and I am convinced we can make it work. I believe that the potential of this base is very great. I feel as strongly about that as I did when we decided to undertake this course, and we will do everything we can under the law to help you. My main purpose in being here today is to find out if there are things that you think we can do that we haven't done, and we're anxious to get after it and do more.

I know that you know all this, but I think that it's worth recounting that we have taken some steps in the last few weeks that I believe will help: say that the DOD will maintain the microelectronic center, keeping the commissary and the base exchange open, providing about $4½ million to retrain 1,500 civilian workers, providing some more money for the casting emission reduction program, which I'm very interested in because of the idea of developing environmentally friendly ways of providing for casting metal parts I think is a very important thing. It has enormous potential for a significant sector of our economy. And of course, I know that you know that the Department of Energy is going to provide $800,000 for your nuclear reactor facility for research on treatment for inoperable brain tumors, which is something that's acquired a lot more interest in the last couple of years because there seemed to be so many of them.

And there are other things that we can do, I'm sure. I'm committed to doing them. I just wanted to come here and kind of get an update from you, tell you that I understand some of your frustrations, particularly on putting up more business for this privatization in place. We have worked very hard for it, and we have been, frankly, frustrated that people who say they believe we ought to privatize everything don't seem to be interested in helping us on this. But I'm not discouraged, and I'm prepared to go on and do everything I can. And as I said, I mostly just want to hear from you and get whatever ideas you have. And I thank you for giving me the chance to be here.

TWA Flight 800

Q. Mr. President, can we ask you for just a second to give us an update on TWA 800?

The President. Yes. I got a report already, one report from James Lee Witt whom I asked to go up there and try to kind of coordinate things and make sure that we were doing everything we could be doing for the families as well as make sure that all of our group was working together with the State and local people.

I think it's important to say that I believe progress is being made in the investigation, progress is being made in identification and recovery. But again I would say—I read the news reports this morning, and the important thing I want to emphasize at this moment is that we must not draw a conclusion until we're sure that the conclusion is supported by the facts. And I cannot say that I've learned anything today which enables me to give you a definite conclusion about the cause of the accident.

But right now I'm very concerned about just getting all the evidence we can collected and dealing with these families and making sure that they're treated in the most humane way and that they get their answers as quickly as possible. So those are our priorities. We're working on them. I do not have a definite answer at this moment.

Q. Mr. President, there seems to be some confusion about whether or not chemical residue of some kind was found on remains or on debris removed from the aircraft. Can you clear up that confusion, sir?

The President. Well, I think the confusion would be what the evidence supports. There is some—traces of some chemicals have been identified, but in the way that they were identified, though, I believe—the stories that I read implied, I think, more than the evidence supported at the moment. And I'm not criticizing anybody because we're all desperate to find an answer to this.

But based on the reports that I have read, and I'm getting regular reports on this both orally and in writing, I cannot tell you that the evidence establishes a cause of the accident. So finding various traces of things may indicate that something happened, and it may not. But right now, the people we have looking at this have not drawn a firm conclusion that's been relayed to any of us.

Q. How long do you think it will take to make an analysis of it?

The President. Well, I don't know, but they're working very hard on it. I mean, believe me, we don't have another priority. So as quick as we can find something out, you'll know it.

Welfare Reform

Q. [*Inaudible*]—Senate on welfare—[*inaudible*].

The President. What did you say?

Q. [*Inaudible*]—Senate on welfare—[*inaudible*].

The President. Well, I think they adopted two good amendments today. But I think the question that you ought to ask yourself in evaluating that bill, including the amendments that were adopted, which I favor, is does this weaken the protections we give to children in our country? That's the major issue to me.

A lot of the savings in the welfare bill actually have nothing whatever to do with welfare. They're just part of the budgetary calculus of the overall balanced budget plan. They're necessary to finance the tax cuts and the other things in their plan. And so I just don't want to do anything that hurts kids.

They adopted two good amendments. I applaud them for doing it. The bill's going to go to conference. I'm going to keep working with them, and we'll see if we can all agree on something that is acceptable. The actual provisions of the bill that apply to welfare per se are much better and basically pretty good, including putting several billion dollars more for child care.

The savings in the bill that I don't agree with, except for the voucher—the absence of giving the States the option to provide some assistance for people who run out of their time limits are for their children. That's the only welfare issue that I'm aware of that's still hanging out there. The rest of the issues basically relate to budget cuts that will affect poor working people, as much as anything else, and their children.

A lot of these food stamp cuts will affect poor working mothers, minimum-wage mothers and their children. Or the cuts to legal immigrants are likely to affect people who come to this country and may be middle class, may be even upper middle class, but then through no fault of their own, after paying taxes here for years, something happens to them that affects their children, they get in a car wreck, they get cancer, they get mugged. These are things that happen to people who live anywhere in the world, and they can happen to people here.

So I'm concerned about the impact of some of the provisions of this on children. But I still believe—since it's getting better, I'm optimistic we can make it even better in the conference, and I'll just keep working at it and try to get it done.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3 p.m. in the Commanders' Air Room at McClellan Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta.

Statement on the Death of Hamilton Fish, Jr.
July 23, 1996

Hillary and I wish to express our sympathy over the death of former U.S. Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr.

In the tradition of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, Ham chose a life of public service in the Congress, where he tirelessly championed social causes and civil rights even when it was not the popular thing to do. His support of the Fair Housing Act, Americans with Disabilities Act, and Civil Rights Act reflects his determined concern for equality and righteousness for all. I had asked Ham to serve on the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation, but unfortunately his health kept him from accepting that nomination. Ham will be remembered for his efforts on behalf all Americans and especially for his service to the people of New York's 19th District. Our prayers are with his family and friends in this time.

Remarks at a Democratic Dinner in San Francisco, California
July 23, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Well, the mayor can lay it on, can't he? [*Laughter*] When Willie Brown was elected mayor of San Francisco, Hillary and I were sitting at home waiting for the returns to come in. She said, "Well, exactly what do you think it means?" And I said, "Well, if there were any doubt, San Francisco will never be bored again." [*Laughter*]

You know, the mayor talked about how I had to go around the country and meet with all different kinds of groups. I remember once going into the back room where the members of the Democratic caucus and the California general assembly would meet with the speaker, and a lot of its members didn't even interrupt their card games to say hello. [*Laughter*] But most of them couldn't have found Arkansas on a map probably, anyway.

But Willie humored me along. He thought I might amount to something some day. [*Laughter*] And I remember after I talked to Willie Brown about politics I felt the way the late, great actor Richard Burton felt. You know, he—in the early sixties, some of you may remember a movie called "A Man for All Seasons" which won the Academy Award. You remember that, where Paul Scofield played Sir Thomas More in one of the great performances ever in the history of film. Richard Burton said, "When I saw Paul Scofield I knew I'd never be that good, so I decided to go for the money." [*Laughter*] And when I met Willie Brown I knew I'd never be that good, so I decided I might as well run for President and get out of politics.

I want to thank Shirley Nelson and Brooke and Sean Byers and George Chu and Jim Hormel and all the people at the head table and all the rest of you that helped to make this dinner a success tonight. I'd like to thank my friend Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis for being here tonight, the council members, the supervisors that are here. Senator Bill Lockyer is here, the leader of the Democrats in the California State Senate.

I'd like to introduce a friend of mine who's come a long way, who is right now supervising the celebrations for my 50th birthday—something I'd just as soon ignore, but this being an election year, I don't suppose I can—the former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and former Governor of the State of Mississippi, my longtime friend and colleague Ray Mabus from Mississippi, who is somewhere. I thank him for being here.

I want to thank Peter, Paul, and Mary. They are always wonderful. They never lose the light in their eyes, the lilt in their voice. And they remind us that all those terrible things that our adversaries say about the sixties are not entirely true. [*Laughter*] Thank you very much, and God bless you.

I thank you for coming here tonight. I thank you for your contributions and for your support. I ask you to leave here and do more, to go out and use your voice, your energy, your spirit, and try to reach others and engage them in a serious conversation about this election. In 3 months and 2 weeks from this day, the American people will make a decision about the future of our country and what path we will walk into the 21st century. It is partly about who gets to be President. It's partly about whether Chairman Fowler, the chairman of the Democratic Committee, who's here with me tonight, and our finance chairman, Marvin Rosen, feel like they've been victorious, or the Republicans feel that they have won again. But that's not mostly what it's about.

Mostly what it's about is what this country will look like when we set foot into a new millennium and what our country will be like when our children and grandchildren are our age. I believe elections are determined fundamentally by what questions people ask and answer. First of all, is it worth my voting? And if I vote, for whom shall I vote? Those questions will be determined by what people think the election is about.

When I ran for President in 1992, I did it because I was afraid our country was going to go into the 21st century just drifting along, increasingly divided; weakened instead of strengthened by the changes going on in the world. And I believed, and I believe more strongly today after nearly 4 years as President, that we can charge into the 21st century if we are more united and if we are focused on what we have in common instead of what divides us, if we are looking to the future instead of being chained to the past, and if we are committed to doing the things that have to be done to lift everyone in this country. That's what I believe.

When I became President, I had a simple vision. I wanted to serve for 8 years so that when I left and the country went on into a new century, the American dream would be alive for every single man and woman, boy and girl in this country without regard to their station in life; this country would still be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity and security; and we would be coming together in our community, celebrating our diversity instead of being divided and weakened and torn apart by it as are so many around the world today. Those are the three things I wanted. And those are the three things that I want tonight.

I believe to do it we have to create more opportunity for people, we have to expect more responsibility from people, but we also have to challenge all Americans to take responsibility not simply for themselves and their families but for their communities and for our country. We have a responsibility to go forward together.

And tonight, just before I came down, I saw the women's gymnastics team for America take the lead in the contest for the first time in the history of the Olympics. Never has an American gymnastics team ever been in first place after the first of the final four events. And I was looking at that team, and there was an Asian-American girl there, there was an African-American girl there. I don't know what the ethnic backgrounds of the other young women on the team were, but it occurred to me that there they were, working together, representing the best of our country.

And I thought to myself, why is it that we get such a kick out of the Olympics? Part of it is that people really do win by working together and by just being their best. You don't win by bad-mouthing your opponent. You can't win a medal if you win a race because you break the other person's legs. Nobody gets interviewed on television because they say, "These people from another country are simply no good." In other words, the thing we hate about our politics and the thing we really dislike about what goes on in other parts of the world that are destructive are totally purged in the Olympics.

And that's really the way we ought to approach this election. When Hillary and I got to go down there and meet with the team, it struck me that if that Olympic team of ours were to walk out into the Olympic Village and then separate and sort of start wandering around, you couldn't possibly know where they were from. You could see one of our athletes and say, well, there's someone from Africa; there's someone on a Caribbean team; there's

someone on one of the Asian teams; there's someone on a Latin American team or a Middle Eastern team; there's someone from India or Pakistan; there's someone from the Nordic countries. They could be from anywhere because they're from everywhere, because America is not about a particular race or creed. America is about the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and believing everybody is equal under God and should have the same chance to be treated with dignity and pull together and work together.

I ran for President because I did not think we were running our country in that way, and I didn't think we were running our communities in that way. And I could see people struggling all over the country to come back together at the grassroots level, to do things that made sense, to reach across the lines that divide us, and struggling against having wedges driven into the heart of our society. And I knew that there were changes we need to make, but we needed to make them together.

Now my contract is just about expired, and I'm trying to get a renewal. And what I would like to do tonight is to tell you the three things I'd like you to tell anybody who is willing to listen between now and November. Many of you can afford to be here tonight; you have the ability to influence other people, and I want you to use that ability.

I want you to say first, we came in with the idea of changing the course of America based on opportunity, responsibility, and community. We had a strategy, we implemented it, and the country is better off than it was 4 years ago. And our opponents fought us on every—not everything but nearly everything we tried to do. I'll just give you a few examples.

When we presented a plan to reduce the deficit but continue to invest in education and the environment and technology and research, to spend more money in the treatment of people with AIDS, for example, and cut other things, every person in the other party opposed it and said it would bring on a recession. We said it won't bring on a recession, it will lower interest rates, cut the deficit in half, and produce 8 million jobs.

Well, they were wrong, but to be fair, so were we. We cut the deficit by more than half, and the economy produced over 10 million jobs. We were right, and they were wrong.

And when we presented an anticrime strategy that, yes, had some tougher penalties like "three strikes and you're out" but also said what we really need to do is put 100,000 more police on the street, concentrate on community relationships, getting citizens involved, preventing crime, banning assault weapons, and passing the Brady bill, they said, no, that's a terrible idea. Well, 4 years later we've had some experiments in that—we've had some experience; we're in a position to make a judgment.

As I say every time I go to one of the rural areas of our country where people value their hunting, not a single hunter has lost his rifle in the last 2 years in spite of what people were told in the '94 election. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not gotten handguns because of the Brady bill. It was the right thing to do. And for 4 years in a row, the crime rate has come down.

I've heard a lot of talk about welfare, a lot of talk in Washington today about welfare reform. I'll say a little more about that in a minute. But under a law passed in 1988, that as Governor I had the privilege to help write, the President can give States permission to move people from welfare to work as long as they take care of the children in the process.

Forty of the fifty States have gotten permission to experiment in moving people from welfare to work. Seventy-five percent of the people in this country are already under welfare reform experiments. And today, without hurting the children of America, there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took the oath of office. It is the right sort of welfare reform. And I might add, child support collections are up 40 percent to $11 billion a year.

Now, do we need national legislation? You bet we do. The reason we do is we still don't have the power we need to really collect all the child support that is legally owed and could be paid across State lines. And if everybody paid what they owe and could pay, we could reduce the welfare rolls by another 800,000 women and children tomorrow morning. So we need that.

And there needs to be some more flexibility in the law. But the key is not to hurt innocent children. What we want for poor families and for immigrant families as well as citizen families—[*applause*]—what we want is the same thing we want for middle class families and rich

families. What we want is for people to be able to succeed at home and at work.

Ann Richards, the irrepressible former Governor of Texas, gave a very funny speech in Washington the other night that said she disagreed with the folks in the other party. They seem to have a curious position. They say that the country's in trouble because people on welfare want to stay—women on welfare want to stay home with their children instead of going to work, and then they say the country's in trouble because middle class women want to go to work instead of staying home with their kids. [*Laughter*] And she said she was having a hard time figuring that out.

Well, what I want our party to do, instead of getting into that fight, is to say that's the wrong way to ask it. What we really want is to face the fact that most parents are at work. And if this country's going to be what it ought to be, we have to create conditions in which people can go to work and then succeed at work without having to lose out as parents. We want to succeed in both ways, and I think that's what we need to do.

I will tell you this, there were two very, very important positive amendments adopted by the United States Senate today, and we're moving to try to make that bill better. But the test should be, will it help people succeed at work and at home, will it promote independence and good parenting? That is the test.

Let me give you one or two other issues. When it came to families, a lot of people talk about being pro-family. I've never heard a candidate stand up and say, "I am anti-family and proud of it." [*Laughter*] The question is, what are we going to do about it? I believe the role of Government is to create conditions in which people have a chance to be good parents while providing for their children. That's why, for example, I can't understand why anybody would oppose the minimum wage, when if we don't raise it, it's going to go to a 40-year low. We ought to do that.

We passed the family and medical leave law, and the leadership of the other party opposed us. They said, "This will be a job killer; this is going to be a terrible thing; oh, it's worse, it's awful." Well, we now know who was right and who was wrong. After 3 years, 12 million Americans have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law. Because there was a baby born or a sick parent, a family emergency, they got up to 12 weeks off without losing their job. And a recent survey said that 90 percent of the employers said it imposed no problems on them whatever. [*Applause*] Thank you. You can clap for that if you'd like—12 million people.

The 7 largest economies in the world have created 10.3 million jobs in the last 3½ years, 300,000 in the other 6 countries, 10 million in America. They were wrong. The family and medical leave law was good for America because it strengthened families, and in the process it made the workplace more productive, happier, and more profitable for the employers of America. It was the right thing to do.

We said we think that there ought to be a V-chip in the new televisions, and we challenged the entertainment industry to set up a rating system for TV programs like they do for movies. Most kids spend more time in front of the TV's than they do at movies. And we said this will help parents to control things their young children see. We had another survey last year, the 300th, I think—literally, there have been 300, that documented the cumulative impacts of excessive violence on young children when they see it for hours and hours and hours and hours from early childhood—and almost every single study says that it deadens children to the impact, the horror, and the moral wrongness of violent behavior. And a lot of them thought that was a lousy idea. But I think we were right.

So I could go through issue after issue after issue like this. We reduced the size of Government, but we said, let's don't reduce the size of Government in a way that undermines our values. Let's reduce the size of Government to make it less bureaucratic, but let's keep a strong Government where we need it to be strong. When you had all these natural disasters in California, you didn't want a weak emergency management agency. When you had these problems with businesses going broke, it's a good thing that we've had a Small Business Administration that increased loans to women by 90 percent, that almost doubled the total loan volume, even though we cut the budget. That was a good thing.

It's a good thing that the Food and Drug Administration is approving drugs more rapidly than ever before, particularly for life-threatening illnesses like HIV and AIDS. It's a good thing that we cut back on the deficit, but it's also a good thing that we're continuing to spend

money on things that make a difference. We have dramatically improved research and medical programs, for example, breast cancer research, tests on women for all kinds of health care problems, a big increase in research into HIV and many other critical areas.

Just today, because of the recent evidence that putting certain drugs together really helps to deal with the problems of HIV and AIDS and to dramatically prolong life, I've asked the Office of Management and Budget and the Department of Health and Human Services to increase my 1997 budget request for State AIDS drug assistance programs by another $65 million.

Think about this when people tell you how bad the Government is. These programs alone are helping almost 70,000 low-income people who are HIV-positive to buy drugs that were recently discovered and that can extend their lives. The budget will more than double the amount we are now seeking for these life-saving drugs. Now, is this an area where we want a weak or nonexistent Government? Is this an area where the Government is a problem? I don't think so. This is an area where we're furthering our common objectives.

So the first argument I want you to make is, they had a plan, they implemented it, we're better off than we were 4 years ago. And the other folks didn't think it was a very good idea. The record is in.

The second argument I want you to make is, this is a very good election for the voters because there's no guesswork. [*Laughter*] You heard the rhapsodic introduction of Mayor Brown. But the truth is, you folks were taking a chance on me 4 years ago. I mean, you didn't know me, and you were taking a chance. And if you remember the campaign of 1992, the other side went to a lot of trouble to make you scared about the chance you took, to make you afraid to take the chance of change.

Now you don't have to worry about that. You know what I'm going to do, and you know what they're going to do. You know. I'm sure there will be attempts in the next few weeks to blur that knowledge you have, to make it seem warm and fuzzy. But you know what they're going to do because they've already done it, it's just the first time when they did it, I vetoed it and stopped it.

But if you want the 1995 budget, if you believe the way to balance the budget is to wreck the environmental protection fabric of the country and cut back on education at a time when education is more important than ever before or walk away from the guarantees Medicaid has given to little children and poor pregnant women and seniors and families with members with disabilities in them for 30 years, we can have that. You just need to vote for them. They'll give it to you. They gave it to you once; we just stopped them. If you give them both branches of Government, they'll give it to you again within 6 months of the new year.

This is a very—you're laughing and everything, but not everybody has thought about that. The most severe anti-environmental measures proposed in my adult lifetime were proposed in that last Congress. Basically, measures that—the takings bill would virtually strip the National Government of the ability to protect the common heritage of this country.

And so there's no guesswork here. You do not have to guess. And that's good. Neither is there a status quo option, because both of us have very dynamic ideas about how to get into the future. We will choose a path: What road are we going to walk into the 21st century? And not voting is a choice.

So if some young person says, oh, they're all the same and it doesn't matter, tell them they're not all the same for the tens of thousands of young people that won't be in Head Start, the hundreds of thousands of people that will lose access to the direct college loans, the countless millions of people that will be endangered if we end the guaranties of Medicaid, the poorest, the sickest, and the oldest seniors on Medicare that will get a two-tiered, second-class system of care. They're not the same for those who care about the environment. They are not the same. To say that there is no choice is to ignore the lessons of the last 2 years. So I hope you'll say that to people.

But the final thing I hope you'll do is to make the most important argument of all. We do have a good record. But you might argue that that's what I got hired to do. The most important argument is that it's a record not to reverse but to build on. And there's a lot more to do before this country will really be ready to go into the 21st century.

If you look at the area of peace and freedom and security and prosperity, I'm proud of the fact that there are no nuclear missiles pointed at the United States for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. But I'm worried

about the fact that we still need the disciplined support of our allies and a real system for dealing with the threats of the proliferation of dangerous weapons, chemical weapons, biological weapons, and the proliferation of terrorism around the world.

I want help, and I want to leave this country with a system, a regime, a disciplined way to stop the testing of nuclear weapons, to end chemical weapons production, to stop biological weapons production and sale and transfer, and to move swiftly and aggressively across national lines against terrorism, organized crime, and drug running. Those are the threats of the future, and we have to have them there.

If you look at our society, there's a lot more to do to help people succeed at home and at work. I've been going to communities all over the country celebrating the things that are driving the crime rate down. But we have more to do. I've been trying to think of things we can do to help families more. And I just would mention three or four things.

First, we ought to pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill that says you can't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or if someone in your family gets sick.

Second, we should make it easier for people who work for small businesses or who are self-employed to take out and keep a pension even if they're unemployed for a period in their lives so they'll always have something else for their retirement.

The third thing we ought to do, and in many ways by far the most important, is to continue to expand the quality and the reach of educational opportunity. The Vice President and I came out here not so long ago and announced the first NetDay where we hooked up over 20 percent of the classrooms in California to the Internet. This is sweeping the country. But I want to explain the significance of this. We're determined to hook up every classroom and library in America to the Internet by the year 2000. We're also determined to make sure that in every classroom there will be a qualified teacher there who understands how to make use of that incredibly important tool.

Right now, this summer, we have 100,000 teachers teaching 500,000 others how to maximize the use of the information superhighway for their children. What this means is that when we do this in the poorest urban neighborhoods or the poorest rural communities in Appalachia or the most remote Native American reservation in America, our children will have equal access to all the knowledge in the world. This is a phenomenally important thing, and we must keep at it until the job is done for all of our children.

And I want to say, standing here so close to Silicon Valley, I will be indebted for the rest of my life to the members of the telecommunications industry who worked with us in the telecom bill to get a bill that would protect the rights of access of poor schools in urban and rural areas and hospitals in urban and rural areas and libraries all across this country to all this information so that we do not use the Internet to create a two-tier society but instead to be an instrument to bring us all together and to move forward together.

Now, the final thing I want to say about education is, my view is the most important thing we could do in the way of tax cuts now would be to give every American family a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition and to guarantee access to every American for at least 2 years of community college after high school through a tax credit that's refundable.

Now, let me explain what this means. It's universal now, more or less, in America for younger people to have a high school diploma. It's not good enough. Younger workers with a high school diploma have had precipitous drops in their earnings in the last 15 years. The single most significant determinant of increasing inequality in America is not the policies that the previous Republican administrations—which I don't agree with and which aggravated inequality—but the single most significant determinant of increasing inequality is the difference in levels of education and skills and what people know and what they're capable of learning. We need to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal in America immediately as a high school education is today. And we'll begin to grow this economy in a fair way again and bring the American people together again.

The last thing I want to say about the future is—and maybe the most fundamental lesson we'll have to teach ourselves in this election, because we'll make this decision clearly, consciously, or inadvertently—is that we have got to make a decision to go forward together. I think the most touching moments in the Olympics opening for most of us was when they called all those athletes up on the stage and

the Olympics let Greg Louganis stand up there as a hero and said we're not excluding people because they're HIV-positive or because somebody may not like them. They brought a 97-year-old man up who was dancing a jig, and they wanted to make the point that being healthy is a good thing for older people and maybe even better than for younger people. And then they let Muhammad Ali—purging the ghost of the Vietnam war and his conversion to Islam and everything he ever did that was controversial, standing there in the courage of dealing with his disease with dignity—light the flame. And just about everybody I know had a tear in their eye when that happened. But that whole show was about how we're stronger when we're together than when we're looking for ways to be divided.

You just think about what's wrong with the whole world today. What's the matter in Bosnia? Three groups of people that are biologically indistinguishable have been taught to kill each other with reckless abandon and had to ask people to come in from the outside to stop them from killing each other even though they lived for decades in peace. It didn't take any time for them to fall into it.

Look at Northern Ireland. For a year and a half they lived in peace. Their economy was booming. They had the lowest unemployment rate in 15 years. When Hillary and I went to Northern Ireland last year, the streets were lined, the Catholic streets, the Protestant streets, all together, people cheering and yelling, happy with the peace they had won, proud that the United States had played a role in it. And then, boom, in the flash of an eye, against the wishes of over 99 percent of the people, a series of bad decisions by leaders plunged the country into violence again. It's an outrage. They're still looking down on each other because of a religious fight that's 600 years old.

You know the story in the Middle East as well as I do. We had 13 Arab countries condemn terrorism in Israel for the first time as well as in every other country in the Middle East. But there are still those who so desperately have to have the fighting continue to preserve their own position, to search for their own priorities, that terrorism is still alive and well there.

And it's not just there. That's also what was behind, apparently, the political hatred that led to the bombing in Oklahoma City. That is what is alleged to be behind the breakup of the vast weapons cache with the alleged plans to destroy Federal buildings in Arizona. That's what's behind a lot of these black church burnings and mosque burnings and synagogue defacements.

The other day at the center of our military strength at Fort Bragg, African-American Special Forces soldiers had swastikas put on their doors. What were these people thinking about? Do you know who those men are? They're people I can send anywhere in the world tomorrow on a moment's notice to undertake the most difficult imaginable task, who are willing to put their lives on the line for you and die if necessary, immediately, and somebody thinks they can put a swastika on their door? Why? Why?

Because even here there are people who believe somehow their life is elevated only when they can look down on somebody else, only when they can feel superior to somebody else, only when they can be forces of division. Those are the questions that "Blowin' in the Wind" was about—that's what the song Peter, Paul, and Mary sang about—and it's important. You may not think everything about the sixties was right, but that song asks the right questions, and we'd better not forget that.

And you know, if you look at our diversity and you imagine the world we're going to live in, where everything is closer together, there is no nation in the world as well-positioned as the United States to reap the benefits of the 21st century, of the explosions of the information age, if we can learn to deal with the security threats; if we can learn to be more responsible not only for ourselves but for our families, our communities, and our country; if we can have the ability to develop our own capacity so we can live out our dreams.

But none of that will happen unless we first decide that we're in this together and we have to go forward together. And you know, fundamentally, all these other issues can almost be submerged into that.

So I ask you to go out in the next 3 months and 2 weeks and talk about it. Tell them about the record, and tell them we were right and they were wrong. Tell them about the choice, and tell them not to forget that they've seen it once, it just got stopped. But most importantly, talk to people about what they want this country to look like when we stand on the edge of a new millennium—it only happens once every thousand years—and what they want

America to be like when their children and grandchildren are their age. If those are the questions the voters ask, then they'll give the right answers, and our best days are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:17 p.m. in the Continental Ballroom at the San Francisco Hilton. In his remarks, he referred to folk singers Peter Yarrow, Paul Stookey, and Mary Travers, and former U.S. Olympians Greg Louganis and Muhammad Ali.

Statement on Senate Action on Food Quality Protection Legislation

July 24, 1996

I am pleased that the Senate tonight passed the Food Quality Protection Act. Americans have every right to expect the world's most bountiful food supply will also be the world's safest. Earlier this month, I announced tough new measures to improve meat and poultry safety. Meeting goals I set early in my administration to strengthen our pesticide laws, this legislation is another major step forward. It puts in place a strong health-based standard, provides special safeguards for children, and protects our health and safety using the best science available. This bill demonstrates how Congress and the administration can work together to help farmers and consumers, and I look forward to signing it.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on United States Activities in the United Nations

July 24, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit herewith a report of the activities of the United States Government in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies during calendar year 1995. The report is required by the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress; 22 U.S.C. 287b).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 24, 1996.

Remarks Prior to a Meeting on TWA Flight 800 Recovery Efforts in Jamaica, New York

July 25, 1996

[*The President's remarks are joined in progress.*]

The President. ——have a briefing from all the folks who have been working on this terrible tragedy, making an effort to recover the bodies as quickly as possible and find out what caused the crash. And I'm looking forward to that briefing and having a chance to thank them for the efforts they've made and then to go over and meet with the families.

I want to thank the Members of the Congress, the Governor, and other officials from New York, and particularly the Ambassadors from France and Italy for being here with me. And I'm anxious to get on with the morning.

Thank you.

Q. Are you satisfied with the efforts to recover the bodies even as the search for clues as to the cause of this tragedy is underway?

The President. I will have a statement after we meet this morning, and I'd prefer to wait and answer all my questions then.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 9:40 a.m. in Port Authority Building 14 at John F. Kennedy International Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to Ambassadors Francois Bujon de l'Estang of France and Ferdinando Salleo of Italy. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Announcing Measures To Improve Aviation Safety and Security in Jamaica, New York

July 25, 1996

Good afternoon. Hillary and I have just met with the families of those who lost their lives on TWA Flight 800. I'd like to talk a little about that meeting and describe for you the immediate steps I have ordered to improve airline safety and security.

These families had suffered enormous pain, the loss of a parent, a child, a husband, a wife, a brother, a nephew, a niece. They were still in a great deal of pain, and I know that we can all understand not only their pain but the frustration that they feel at the time it is taking to recover their loved ones and to get answers.

I also want you to know, however, that an awful lot of them expressed gratitude to me for the efforts that are being made by the Government personnel, the TWA personnel assigned to the families, and the many volunteers who are working hard to make this awful experience at least bearable for them.

We have listened to the victims' families. While much has been done by many to assist them, they believe, and I agree, that there should be in place in the Federal Government a specific office that has the responsibility and the capability to assist victims' families in tragedies like this one. That is the case where FEMA does the work when there are natural disasters; it was the case in Oklahoma City. That is not the case today with regard to airline crashes. And I intend to work with Congress to see that it does happen.

We do not yet know what caused Flight 800 to crash, whether it was mechanical failure or sabotage, but we will find out. Just last night the divers who were braving the waters of the Atlantic to search for answers recovered both flight data recorders. Our experts are analyzing their contents at this very moment. This is a major step toward unraveling the mystery of Flight 800. In the meantime, let me again ask every American not to jump to conclusions.

This investigation is moving forward with great care and even greater determination. While we seek the cause of the disaster, let us all agree that we must not wait to alleviate the concerns of the American people about air safety and air security. In the wake of the ValuJet crash and TWA 800, that concern has increased. The safety record of the United States aviation is unmatched in the world, and air travel remains the safest means of transportation. But that is of no consolation when a single crash, whatever its cause, can take so many lives.

Beginning in 1993, our administration took steps to improve aviation safety and security. We proposed a detailed plan to overhaul and modernize the air traffic control system. We worked with the airline industry to identify and correct safety problems. We hired more than 200 safety inspectors, and we're budgeted for 258 more. We've issued uniform safety standards. We began field testing new high-tech explosive detection machines in San Francisco and Atlanta. And we very much hope we can work through the problems with those machines and bring them on-line in all airports in the near future. We significantly increased security vigilance at our airports. And the FAA created a new Government and industry panel to review and improve airport security and airline security.

Today I'm announcing new measures to increase the safety and security of air travel. First, I have ordered the Secretary of Transportation to issue new directives on airline security that

cover international and domestic flights and apply to passengers and to cargo. From now on, we will hand-search more luggage and screen more bags. And we will require preflight inspections for any plane flying to or from the United States, every plane, every cabin, every cargo hold, every time.

Second, I have asked Vice President Gore to take charge of a commission to review aviation safety, security, and the pace of modernization of the air traffic control system, a subject that he and his reinventing Government task force have been working on for more than 3 years now. The Gore commission will work with the National Transportation Safety Board, the Departments of Transportation and Justice, industry advisory groups, and concerned nongovernmental organizations. The Vice President will report his initial findings of aviation security to me in 45 days, including an action plan to deploy new high-technology inspection machines that can detect the most sophisticated explosives.

I want to stress again, we do not know why TWA Flight 800 crashed. If it proves to be a mechanical failure, additional safety measures may be required. If it proves to be a criminal act, other security steps may be required. Whatever needs to be done, we will do it. I will use the full powers of the Presidency. And if congressional authorization is required, I am certain we will have full bipartisan congressional support.

The steps we are taking today and others we may take in the future could increase the inconvenience and the expense of air travel. I want the American people to know that up front. We'll do everything we can to minimize these costs, but the safety and security of the American people must be our top priority.

We're privileged to live in a time of great possibility and great opportunities for mobility for our people and people throughout the world. But we know that these times are not free of peril. Our responsibility now as Americans is to pull together and work together to solve the problems of tragedies like TWA Flight 800; to support their families with our thoughts, our prayers, and where we can, our tangible support; and to do whatever is necessary to look out for the security and the safety of the American people and its aviation system.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in Hangar 12 at the John F. Kennedy International Airport.

Statement on Senate Action on Health Care and Minimum Wage Legislation

July 25, 1996

I am pleased that the Senate has broken the gridlock and appointed conferees to deal with two of my highest priorities to help working families: health care and the minimum wage. I commend the leadership of both parties who have diligently worked to reach this point.

The Kassebaum-Kennedy bill will allow American workers the security of knowing that they will not lose their health coverage if they change their jobs. We now have the opportunity to move forward and enact real health insurance reform this year.

Raising the minimum wage for millions of America's hardest workers is also the right thing to do. Working parents simply cannot support a family on $4.25 an hour.

I urge the conferees to take swift action on these two important measures before the August recess. America's working families deserve nothing less.

Remarks on Presenting the National Medals of Science and Technology
July 26, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Please be seated. We're honored to be joined today by Senator Chris Dodd; Chairman Ben Gilman; Congressman George Brown; Secretary Kantor; Secretary O'Leary; Secretary Shalala; Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Joe Stiglitz; Dr. Laura Tyson, the head of the National Economic Council; Dr. Neal Lane, the National Science Foundation Director; and Dr. Harold Varmus, the Director of NIH; Mary Good, the Under Secretary of Commerce for Technology; and of course, the President's adviser on science and technology, Dr. Jack Gibbons, who has done a wonderful job. I want to thank him for everything he's done.

I am very honored to be here today to present the winners of the National Medals of Science and Technology. Scientists have always been at the center of our national defense and our national conscience. Sometimes they have been one and the same. Thirty-three years ago today President Kennedy, with the advice and counsel of his science adviser, Jerome Wiesner, and the scientific community, called upon our Nation to take a step back from the shadows of war by supporting a limited nuclear test ban treaty. In that famous speech, President Kennedy envisioned a farther reaching treaty that banned all testing everywhere, including underground.

Today I am proud to tell you that when the Conference on Disarmament reconvenes in Geneva on Monday, we will be one step closer to realizing President Kennedy's vision of a safer world. The United States will support without change the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty that the chairman of the negotiating committee proposed when the negotiations adjourned last June. The United Kingdom, France, and Russia have also announced their support for this document. Now I call upon other members of the Conference to do the same. I urge them to endorse and forward the chairman's text without change to the United Nations so that the General Assembly can approve the treaty and open it for signature in September. What a remarkable thing that would be.

This is an exciting time for our entire world and, of course, for America. Today we are enjoying the Olympic games, and as we applaud the athletes in Atlanta we have to remember that the technological advances of many, many people throughout the world have made it possible for all of us to enjoy it, perhaps more when we aren't there than even when we are, although having been there I can vouch for the virtue of being there.

We also have to remember that America is engaged in another kind of competition, the competition for leadership in the world in science and technology and for the jobs and economic growth and social stability that they create. Here at home our economic strategy is working. Our people have created more than 10 million new jobs in the last 4 years. We've cut the deficit by more than half, and we're the first administration to cut it 4 years in a row since John Tyler in the 1840's. Every time I say that and someone's impressed, I have to add that President Tyler was not reelected. [*Laughter*] But I think it was a good thing, anyway, that he did.

Real hourly wages are rising again after dropping for a decade. The combined rate of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages are the lowest in three decades, so our country is moving in the right direction. But to stay on top in the global economy, clearly we have to do more. I've done everything I can to increase our commitment to support scientific research and development at every level, especially at our universities. Government investment in technology is responsible for the computer, the jet aircraft, and the Internet. Once these inventions were the stuff of science fiction. Now it is hard to imagine life without them. No investments we've ever made has paid off better in jobs, in growth, in opportunity. Breakthroughs of the kind we applaud today do not just happen overnight. They represent years and years of investment and hard work. If we want the best science in the world, we must have the best scientists.

Last fall I launched a program to connect every classroom in America to the Internet by the year 2000. I want to make a college education available for every American who is willing to work for it. I want to make at least 2 years of education after high school as much

of a standard for everybody as a high school education is now.

All these things will help us to grow the economy and to allow America to grow together into the 21st century. But if we really want the America of our dreams, we must have research and development at universities and at every level as a funding priority for America. We must extend the research and development tax credit to encourage the private sector to do its part as well. This is absolutely critical.

Today I'm announcing a research contract to build the world's fastest and largest supercomputer at the Department of Energy's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California. This new supercomputer will be 300 times more powerful than any in the world. If it were an Olympic pole vaulter, for example, that means it would beat the current world record by about 600 stories on a typical building. [*Laughter*] This computer will be able to do in one second what it would take a person with a hand-held calculator 30,000 years to accomplish. It will bring us closer to a comprehensive test ban by helping to maintain the safety and reliability of our own nuclear stockpile without resorting to nuclear testing.

Unlike other supercomputers developed for national security purposes, it can quickly be switched to important civilian applications as well: developing new drugs and medical devices, improving weather forecasting, designing safer and faster airplanes, exploring space. In partnership, the Department of Energy and IBM will help us to build this machine which will go on-line in 1998. The new supercomputer is the result of our investment in research and development. It will help to make sure that America enters the 21st century as the world leader in computing power and that we retain that lead for decades to come.

In a few moments it will be my privilege to present the National Medals of Science and Technology to a number of very distinguished Americans, to whom we're all grateful. When I do, I'll have the honor to award a special posthumous National Medal of Technology to the late Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown. Many of you who knew and worked with Ron know that he was a tireless advocate of Government leadership in research and development, especially in technology. He understood that it was the key to producing world-class technology to ensure America's leadership in the global economy. He knew that he could do his job better in promoting our economic interests around the world if we were still leading in research and development, in technology, in partnerships with the private sector.

He knew the American spirit of innovation is one of our greatest national resources. And for him it was embodied in the Department of Commerce's advanced technology program. Under his leadership, that program prospered and forged remarkable, remarkable partnerships with the private sector, with remarkable results. I regret to say that there are some who disagree with us on this in the Congress. I think it is more ideology than evidence. And I hope, in the spirit of science, we can look at the evidence and realize that Ron Brown was right. It's hard not to miss him at an occasion like this which would have given him so much pride in our Nation and its prospects.

As I present these awards, let us all remember the impact that the work of these people have on our world. Police officers are stronger and safer because their bulletproof vests are stronger. People undergoing organ transplants have a better chance of complete recovery. Our aviation safety is more secure.

Like the athletes in Atlanta, these men and women have devoted themselves to being the best at what they do. Their vision, their genius, their constant commitment to do their work better have made America a better place and the world a better place. They deserve the highest measure of our respect and praise, and they also deserve our support in following policies that will enable them and those who will succeed them to keep alive the burning torch of research, development, science, and technology in the United States for as long as we are here.

We cannot let them down when they have done so much for us. I ask you to join me in honoring them and, Major, you can begin to read the citations.

[*At this point, Maj. Michael Mudd, USA, Army aide to the President, read the citations, and the President presented the medals.*]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, we're about to adjourn. I do want to make one announcement. After my hamhanded attempt, Dr. Samuelson succeeded in putting the medal over his own head. And I don't know how many of you, like me, read his textbooks in college, but that is not the first problem that he could

solve that I couldn't. [*Laughter*] So it's been another exercise in Presidential humility from you, sir. Thank you very much.

It's been a wonderful afternoon. Thank you. God bless you all, and good day. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Representative Benjamin A. Gilman and economist Paul A. Samuelson, National Medal of Science recipient.

Statement on the Death of Hector Garcia
July 26, 1996

Hillary and I are deeply saddened to learn of the death of Dr. Hector P. Garcia. The founder of the American GI Forum, Dr. Garcia fought for half a century for the civil and educational rights of Mexican-Americans. A national hero and decorated Army veteran, Dr. Garcia became the first Hispanic-American to be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Nation's highest civilian honor.

Recently, Texas A&M University in Corpus Christi, his hometown, dedicated the Hector P. Garcia Plaza and established the Hector P. Garcia Scholarship Endowment. It is a fitting tribute to a man who fought for the rights of Hispanic-Americans, veterans, and all Americans throughout his life. Hillary and I extend our deepest condolences to his family and to all the Latino community.

The President's Radio Address and an Exchange With Reporters
July 27, 1996

Centennial Olympic Park Bombing

The President. Good morning. The bombing at Centennial Olympic Park this morning was an evil act of terror. It was aimed at the innocent people who were participating in the Olympic games and in the spirit of the Olympics, an act of cowardice that stands in sharp contrast to the courage of the Olympic athletes.

On behalf of all Americans, let me extend my condolences to the families of those who lost their lives and our prayers to those who were injured. I want to thank the brave security personnel who were on the scene. They saw the package; they alerted the bomb squad; they cleared the crowd. They prevented a much greater loss of life.

I also want to compliment the medical personnel of all the hospitals, those who were operating the ambulances, they and the volunteers who were helping people who were down at the scene. Those of us who watched it throughout the night last night could not have been failed to be impressed by their courage, their competence, their real heroism under pressure.

Last night I was awakened by Mr. Panetta shortly after the explosion, and I continued to receive reports and follow events until the press conference early this morning. Then this morning the Vice President and I spoke to the president of the International Olympic Committee, the president of the Atlanta committee for the games, the Governor of Georgia, the mayor of Atlanta, the Attorney General, and the Director of the FBI.

I want to make clear our common determination. We will spare no effort to find out who was responsible for this murderous act. We will track them down. We will bring them to justice. We will see that they are punished. In the meanwhile, we are all agreed the games will go on. We will take every necessary step to protect the athletes and those who are attending the games.

I know that the people who've worked so hard to put on these Olympics, the people of Atlanta, the thousands and thousands of volunteers, are more determined than ever to see them to a successful conclusion. Already we see the spirit at work this morning. The mayor

spoke about the significant numbers of people in the streets in Atlanta. President Samaranch reported to me on the events that are already taking place and said there were large crowds of spectators at them and that the people were clearly determined to go forward and attend the games and follow them.

Let me say finally that an act of vicious terror like this is clearly directed at the spirit of our own democracy. It seeks to rip also at the spirit of the Olympics. We are doing everything in our power to prevent these attacks. There's been an enormous effort made to establish security at the sites of all the events. At the park itself, the investigation will continue today and then there will be additional security measures taken there.

But we must not let these attacks stop us from going forward. We cannot let terror win; that is not the American way. The Olympics will continue. The games will go on. The Olympic spirit will prevail. We must be firm in this; we cannot be intimidated by acts of terror.

Thank you very much.

Q. Mr. President, do you think this reflects on the United States in terms of its ability to protect the people?

The President. Well, actually, I believe, first of all, that there's—everyone says, including all the people who have participated in Olympics for decades, that this is the best and most extensive security effort ever undertaken at all the events. I think they would all say that there was more concern about the Olympic park than any other place because it was thought that there had to be some place where the general public could congregate, people who did not have tickets to the games but were there in town, wanted to participate, wanted a place where they could go and swap the pins and do all the things that they can do. And they wanted to make some entertainment available to the public for free.

Now, I would point out that even there, a place that was more open, someone spotted that suspicious package last night and alerted the bomb squad and helped to clear the area and dramatically minimized the loss that would otherwise have occurred. So they are looking now at what else can be done to secure that particular area when it can be reopened after the investigation has been completed.

Q. Would you support the death penalty for whoever is found to have done this?

The President. Well, I support the death penalty for terrorism that leads to murder; I always have. And we—if you look at what we did in the crime bill, you know that. I believe that people who deliberately kill each other—kill other people, excuse me—particularly under circumstances demonstrating this kind of cowardice and designed to intimidate and cower large numbers of others, deserve capital punishment. I certainly do.

Q. Mr. President, can you definitively eliminate the possibility of any type of attack at the Olympic games?

The President. I don't think anyone has ever been in a position to definitively eliminate an attack anywhere in America, you know, or anyplace in the world. But I can say this—I will say what I have said before: If you talk to anybody associated with these Olympics, they will tell you that the security effort is the most extensive ever made. And if you talk to anyone involved in American law enforcement where there are many different agencies at different levels of government, I think they will tell you this is by far the best coordinated effort that has ever been made.

And let me say again, as much as I grieve that this incident occurred at all, I want to reiterate the fact that people on the spot there were alert enough to see this package, to call the bomb squad, to clear people out, and to save a lot of lives. As much as we grieve for the injuries that were there, I think that is important.

So I would say that they have done as good a job as could be done, particularly at the events. They were always concerned about any open area, where you have so many people operating in an open area. And they are examining what can be done, what should be done there during this period when the criminal investigation is going on.

Q. Mr. President, Chelsea has been at the Olympics all this past week. Speaking as a father, what is your own personal reaction to this? Would you not feel some sense of anger that more might have been done to prevent this tragedy, but what is your first personal reaction to this?

The President. Well, my first personal reaction was—I thought about it last night, of course, because she was in the park quite often and visited the pin exchange place there. And I

was—my first personal reaction was that I hope nobody else's children get hurt down there.

But I would say to you that these people have done a very good job planning and bringing off this Olympics. And I don't think anyone believes that we live in a risk-free world. And I think it's important not to jump to any conclusions about who did or didn't do what here. We'll look into this, and we will find who's responsible.

But on balance, I still would say to you I feel good about the efforts they have made there. They've worked very, very hard. And we just have to keep working. And they are examining, even as we speak—you know, the Vice President's been heavily involved in this. And we talked about it last night when he and I both were awakened, and then we had a visit and talked about it again this morning. They're examining even as we speak whether there is some way to increase the security at the centennial park and still make it a place where a larger number of people who cannot either obtain or could not afford tickets to the events themselves can come and go. Everyone always knew that was the most open and most vulnerable place.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Briefing Room at the White House, and the address was broadcast live on radio and television. In his remarks, he referred to Juan Antonio Samaranch, president, International Olympic Committee; William P. Payne, president, Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games; Gov. Zell Miller of Georgia; and Mayor Bill Campbell of Atlanta, GA.

Teleconference Remarks to "Adelante Con Clinton" Participants
July 27, 1996

The President. Hello.

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros. Mr. President, this is Henry, and Federico's on the line as well, and almost 50 other locations across the country, sir.

Secretary of Transportation Federico Pena. Good morning, Mr. President.

The President. Good morning.

Secretary Cisneros. Mr. President, we appreciate you being able to be with us, given the circumstances in Atlanta. I admire your statement of just a few moments ago to the country. And we know your time is very short, but we deeply appreciate your reserving some time to make a short statement to these communities across America. We have over 1,000 people in homes all across the country ready to roll out their "Adelante Con Clinton '96" effort, and we just appreciate your being here.

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you, Henry. Thank you, Federico. And I want to thank all the others who are there today, the Members of Congress and the other leaders, the call leaders: Jose Villareal, Don Mares, Peggy Anastos, Ray Sanchez, E.J. Salcinas, and Mayor Joe Serna, Luis Gutierrez, Freddy Ferrer, everyone else, thank you for doing this.

All of you know what happened at the Olympics last night. And I was up most of the night getting reports and following it. So I'm sorry I can't spend as much time as I planned to on the call. I want to thank you for the work you've done, and I'm looking forward to meeting with you, working with you. And as you know, "Adelante Con Clinton" is very important to what we're trying to do this year. And every one of you should know how much I personally appreciate it.

I want to say also a word, if I might, about how saddened Hillary and I were to hear yesterday about the death of Dr. Hector Garcia. We had both known him for more than 20 years, and he was to us a real American hero. From his service in World War II to his work as an ambassador through the American GI Forum, which he founded, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, on which he served, he was a clear voice for Hispanic civil rights. And I just wanted to say to all of you we should honor him best by committing ourselves to continue the work of his life. He was a remarkable man.

The other thing I'd like to say, just very briefly, is that it seems to me that as much as any group of Americans, Hispanic-Americans em-

body the spirit of what I have been trying to do as President to bring more opportunity to all Americans; to insist on more responsibility from all Americans for themselves, their families, their communities, and their country; and then to try to build a deeper sense of community that unites us. In this new world, I think the most important thing we can do is to give people the tools they need to build better lives for themselves. Secretary Cisneros is trying to empower people who are eligible for housing assistance to make more decisions on their own. And with our public-private partnership, we've now cut by $1,000 the average closing costs for first-time homebuyers. That's a remarkable thing.

That's what the Family and Medical Leave Act is designed to do. That's what the V-chip and the television rating systems for parents is designed to do. That's what our initiative to keep tobacco from being advertised and distributed and sold to young people is designed to do. That's what the EITC, the earned-income tax credit, which dramatically lowered taxes for working families with children who are on modest incomes—took 850,000 Hispanic-Americans alone out of poverty—that's what that's designed to do. That's what our education initiative is designed to do, making it easier for people to go to college, give people the tools they need to build their own lives. That's what our investments in infrastructure and technology, the things that Secretary Pena and others in our administration have done to invest in the economy—it's all designed to give people the tools they need. That's what our anticrime program was designed to do.

And I think it's very important that we continue to focus on that and to bringing our people together, not dividing them. And that's why I have opposed the outright repeal of bilingual education programs or putting in our bill on illegal immigration the denial of education to children of undocumented immigrants. I think that would be a big mistake, and things like the excessive cuts to children of legal immigrants in the welfare reform bill or the CCRI in California.

These things that tend to divide people I think weaken our country, when what we ought to be doing is pulling our country together around our shared values to meet the challenges of the 21st century. We should be more concerned about how we can hook up every classroom in America to the Internet by the year 2000 than by whether we should be kicking a few kids out of our classroom who'd be much better off in school than on the street.

And that is sort of in a nutshell what I want this election debate to be about. And I want our people to be on the side of opportunity, responsibility, and community, bringing us together. This terrible incident in Atlanta reminds us once again that the forces in the world today that are out to divide us are the enemies of democracy, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of decency. And we have to stand against it.

And I just want to thank all of you for being there and wish you well. And also, I want to, as I sign off—as I said, I wanted to thank all the Congress Members who are on the call. And I think Representative Gutierrez, Representative Velazquez, and perhaps Representative de la Garza are on the phone. But I wanted to say a special word of appreciation to Kika de la Garza who was such a distinguished Member of Congress all these years and is a great committee chairman and a wonderful friend to me. I wanted to thank him for that and thank all of you for doing this phone call today.

And again, please forgive me. I haven't had a lot of sleep, and I've got to go back to the matters at hand. But I'm profoundly grateful to you.

[*At this point, Secretary Cisneros thanked the President for his participation.*]

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much, all of you. God bless you, and have a good day.

NOTE: The President spoke by telephone at 11:13 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Statement on Welfare Reform
July 27, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk with you about welfare reform, but first I want to ask you to join with me in celebrating the sixth anniversary of a landmark civil rights law that is breaking down barriers for millions of our fellow Americans, the Americans with Disabilities Act. I'm joined today by many of the advocates for people with disabilities who made this the law of the land. Because we have enforced this law vigorously and with common sense, people with disabilities now have access to places they never did before, from classrooms to restaurants.

Since 1991, 800,000 people with severe disabilities have joined the work force. Because of Federal education efforts, tens of thousands of children with disabilities have better educational opportunities. Because of Medicaid, health care for Americans with disabilities can be provided without bankrupting their families and in a way that promotes their independence.

That's a big reason why I oppose repealing Medicaid's guarantee of health care to Americans with disabilities. All these efforts are good for them, but they're good for all the rest of us, too. So today let us all rededicate ourselves to the fight against disability discrimination.

This morning I want to focus on the great welfare debate now unfolding in Washington and all across our country. This debate is really about our fundamental American values, about expanding opportunity, demanding responsibility, and coming together as a community. For decades our welfare system has undermined the basic values of work and responsibility and family, trapping generation after generation of people in poverty and dependency, exiling millions of our fellow citizens from the world of work that gives structure, meaning, and dignity to our lives. It instills the wrong values, sends the wrong signals, giving children who have children a check to set up house on their own, letting millions of fathers walk away from their responsibility while taxpayers pick up the tab.

This system does the most harm to the people it was meant to help. Children who are born to a life on welfare are more likely to drop out of school, fall afoul of the law, become teen mothers or teen fathers, and raise their own children on welfare themselves.

I just don't believe that a nation as rich in opportunity as ours is willing to leave millions of people trapped in a permanent under class. We can't leave anyone behind. In fact, what I want for poor families on welfare is what I want for middle class families and upper income families as well: I want people to be able to succeed at home and at work. That will make America stronger and their lives richer.

When I ran for President 4 years ago, I was very clear we must end welfare as we know it. And during my time as President, I've used all the powers at my disposal to achieve that goal. We've worked with 41 States to launch 69 welfare-to-work experiments. For fully 75 percent of people on welfare, the rules already have changed. The New York Times called it a quiet revolution in welfare.

I've taken executive action to require teen mothers on welfare to stay in school, requiring mothers to identify the fathers of their children so we can hold every man accountable for the support he owes his family, ordering Federal employees to pay child support, putting wanted posters of deadbeat parents in post offices and on the Internet. I directed the Attorney General to crack down on people who owe child support who cross State lines.

All these efforts are paying off at the national and local level. Today there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than on the day I took office. Child support collections are up 40 percent, to $11 billion. Paternity identification is up 40 percent, too. We're mending our social fabric and moving in the right direction.

Now we have an opportunity to finish the job and pass national welfare reform legislation. Real welfare reform should impose time limits and require work and provide child care, too, so that people can go to work without hurting their children. It should strengthen our child support enforcement laws even more and do more to protect children. I've challenged Congress to send me bipartisan legislation that reflects these principles. For example, if everyone in America who owes child support legally and

can pay it did so, 800,000 women and children would leave the welfare rolls tomorrow.

Now, 6 months ago the Republican majority in Congress sent me welfare legislation it had backwards. It was soft on work and tough on children, failing to provide child care and health care so that people can move from welfare to work without hurting their children, imposing deep and unacceptable cuts in school lunch, child welfare, and help for disabled children. That bill came to me twice, and I vetoed it twice.

Since then, I'm pleased to report, there has been considerable bipartisan progress toward real welfare reform. Many of the worst proposals I objected to have been taken out. Many of the improvements I asked for have been put in. The legislation has steadily improved as it's moved through Congress. Earlier this week, by an overwhelming bipartisan majority, the Senate passed a welfare reform bill that does provide health care and child care and took some important strides to protect our children. But we still have more work to do to promote work and protect children, though we've come a long way in this debate and we mustn't go back.

To those who have doubts about any welfare reform, I say we will never lift children out of poverty and dependency by preserving a failed system that keeps them there. And to those who would undo the progress of recent weeks by sending me another extremist bill like the ones I vetoed, I'd say we can only transform this broken system if we do right by our children and put people to work so they can earn a paycheck, not draw a welfare check. That's the only kind of welfare reform I can sign.

We have a chance to make history. Our welfare system has nagged at our national conscience for far too long. And if we'll put politics aside and work together, we can once again make welfare what it was meant to be: a second chance, not a way of life.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: This statement was prepared for use as the President's radio address on July 27 but was not broadcast.

Remarks to the Disabled American Veterans Convention in New Orleans, Louisiana

July 28, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you for the exuberant welcome. I want to thank the ladies of the auxiliary for leading the applause for Hillary; that was a nice thing to do. Thank you very much. That was a very nice thing.

I want to thank Commander McMasters for that introduction. It's been so long I'd forgotten I'd done some of those things. [*Laughter*] And he mentioned that I was a saxophone player. I think we have a Navy band over there; I want to thank the Navy band. Thank you for being here and for playing. I'll always laugh any time someone says I'm a saxophone player now because a couple of weeks ago, Colonel John Bourgeois, the Commander of the United States Marine Band, the President's own, retired as one of the longest serving conductors of the Marine Band. And he did a television interview on national television in which he was asked about my saxophone playing, and having sworn an oath to truth, he said that I was adequate. [*Laughter*] And painfully, I admit that that is about all he could say. And that's why I'm here today in this position rather than playing for you in your entertainment. [*Laughter*]

I'm delighted to be here with Commander McMasters; with your senior vice commander, Gregory Reed; Barbara Hicks, your auxiliary national commander; Art Wilson, your national adjutant; the other officers of your distinguished organization; and with all of you.

I'm glad to be joined today by Secretary Jesse Brown. [*Applause*] You know, the first time I realized that you would cheer like that—I love to kid Jesse and I was kidding him on the way in, and I said, "You think they give that kind of reaction because they love you so much or because they're glad I took you off of their hands?" [*Laughter*] I think it's the former, and I think you should.

I'm also delighted to be joined today by a number of State officials from the State of Lou-

isiana and by Congressman Bill Jefferson and Congressman Cleo Fields. I thank them for coming.

Ladies and gentlemen, as veterans who have given so much to defend our country, you know what it is personally to face an enemy. Today, we have an enemy it is difficult to face because the enemy is so often hidden, killing at random, surfacing only to perform cowardly acts. Their aim is to demoralize us as a people and to spread fear into everyday life. We must not let them do that. As Americans, we can and must join together to defeat terrorism wherever it strikes and whoever practices it.

We all are outraged by what happened in the Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta. And we all admire the athletes, the thousands of volunteers, the tens of thousands of fans who made a strong statement to the world yesterday when they showed up and carried on the Olympics, saying that they would not be intimidated by terrorism and that no terrorist could kill the Olympic spirit.

What we saw yesterday was a symbol of an emerging consensus among all responsible nations and freedom-loving people everywhere that we have to work closely together to stop the spread of terrorism. We know, from the Tokyo subway to the streets of Tel Aviv to the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, where we lost 19 of our fine Air Force personnel, that terrorism is a problem that knows no boundaries. We have learned here so painfully in America, from the World Trade Center to Oklahoma City, that attacks from terrorists can be homegrown or can be generated in other lands. We know that nations are beginning to understand that there is no place that is safe when any place is vulnerable to terrorists.

Not very long ago after the upsurge of terrorist attacks in Israel, we had a remarkable meeting of 29 nations at Sharm al-Sheikh in Egypt, where for the first time 13 Arab States condemned terrorism in Israel. It was the beginning of wisdom, because, as the Saudis have seen, there is no nation which can hide from terrorism unless we all recognize that the rules of civilized people do not permit it to be practiced.

The recent meeting of the G–7 nations in France produced a significant increase in international measures to cooperate against terrorism. And this week, following up on that, we will have a very important conference in Paris, France, involving those nations with high-level representatives to deal with the questions that terrorism presents us.

Terrorists are often supported by states. And states that sponsor or permit terrorism, including Iraq, Iran, Libya, and Sudan, and any others, must face strong sanctions. We all have to say we cannot live with this; it is wrong. People must seek to resolve their differences by ways other than killing innocent civilians.

This year I signed into law an antiterrorism act which made terrorism a Federal offense, expanded the role of the FBI in solving these crimes, and imposed the death penalty for terrorism. As strong as the bill was, it did not give our law enforcement officials some of the powerful tools I had recommended because they wanted and needed them, including increased wiretap authority for terrorists who are moving from place to place—where they are flexible, so must we be—and chemical markers, often called taggants, for the most common explosives, black and smokeless powder, so that we can track down those who make bombs that kill innocent people.

This morning I was very encouraged to hear the Speaker of the House, Mr. Gingrich, express a willingness to consider these tougher measures. I have asked the Speaker, majority leader Senator Trent Lott, the leaders of the Democratic minority, Senator Daschle and Mr. Gephardt, and the FBI Director, Louis Freeh, to come to the White House tomorrow to help to agree on a package that will provide these additional protections against terrorism and any other measures we need to take to increase the protection of the American people.

We will continue to do whatever is necessary to give law enforcement the tools they need to find terrorists before they strike and to bring them swiftly to justice when they do. This week I announced new measures aimed at increasing airport security, increasing baggage searches and screening, to tighten passenger checks, to plan the deployment of the latest X-ray technologies. I said then and I will say again, I am well aware that these new security measures will increase inconvenience and may even carry a modest increased cost to the air-traveling public. But this inconvenience is a small price to pay for better peace of mind when our loved ones board a plane. These measures went into effect immediately.

And so, my fellow Americans, we have opened up three fronts against terrorism. We're increas-

ing international efforts to ensure that terrorists will have no place to plan or hide their operations. We're making use of expanded antiterrorism powers at home, including the death penalty. And we are tightening airport security. We will continue to expand our efforts on all three fronts against terrorism.

I want to remind you that we have had some results. We have seen a record number of terrorists captured and convicted. We have thwarted a number of planned terrorist attacks, including a serious one against the United Nations and one against the United States airlines flying out of the West Coast over the Pacific. We are keeping the heat on terrorist organizations and those who would support them.

But I would remind you that every death is one death too many. And we have seen now over many, many years, from the struggles of our allies, as well as from those we have faced recently, that this is a long, hard fight. But if we work together, this is a challenge we can and will meet. It may well be the most significant security challenge of the 21st century to the people of the United States and to civilized people everywhere. And the veterans of the United States, I know, will support our country being as strong and tough and smart and steadfast as it takes to get the job done.

Now, let me continue by saying to you that when I ran for President I promised the veterans of America I would appoint a true advocate as Secretary of Veterans Affairs. I found that person among your ranks. Jesse Brown honed his skills while serving as executive director of the DAV. He and his deputy, Hershel Gober, who is also here with me today, I believe make up one of the finest leadership teams in the entire Federal Government. I can tell you this: Not only in public but in private, in every meeting on any subject, they are consistently committed to a better life for all veterans. And I thank them for their service.

I'm also honored to join you in celebrating three-quarters of a century of service to your country. You are the best representatives of what I'd like to talk about today: the duty we owe to our veterans, the duty we owe to each other and to our children, the duty we owe to the rest of the world and to our future. We owe a duty to all of you, of course, not only for your bravery and sacrifice but for all you continue to do for each other, your families, and our country.

Last year we celebrated the 50th anniversary of World War II. Many of you fought in that great struggle and put your lives on the line for freedom. Your country owes you a debt of gratitude we can never repay. And I can honestly say one of the most humbling honors of my life was representing the United States at those ceremonies in 1994 and 1995. But I want to say again to you, to every American who served in World War II, including the Republican candidate for President, Senator Bob Dole: Thank you for your service; thank you for your sacrifice; thank you for your courage. We're still around because of you. And to all who have served since, in Korea and Vietnam, in the Persian Gulf, in Bosnia, in peacetime as well as wartime, America thanks you, too, and so do freedom-loving people all around the world.

Your tradition of service, of course, extends beyond the battlefield. This is also the 50th anniversary of the VA Voluntary Service Program's involvement of the DAV. Last year you donated more volunteer hours at VA hospitals around the country than any other organization. I want to congratulate your volunteers of the year whom I had the privilege to meet just a moment ago, Tillman Rutledge and Dorothy Marie Waters. They are great examples of what you stand for. Thank you. Thank you.

You have done your duty to America, and America must do its duty to you. Secretary Brown and I recognize a simple truth: When men and women leave the service we must not leave them. In keeping our veterans' commitments, our commitments to our veterans, to help them make the most of their own lives does not only help veterans and their families, it's made America a better and stronger place. From education to employment, from buying a home to getting quality medical care, our veterans deserve our Nation's support. And when we give it, our Nation is better off. For the past 3½ years that is what we have done.

Even as we cut Government spending to reduce the deficit and move toward a balanced budget, I have asked for a billion-dollar increase in funding for the VA, more than half for medical care and discretionary programs, including funds for a new hospital and nursing home in Brevard County, Florida, and a replacement hospital at Travis Air Force Base in California.

We are committed to keeping the VA health care system strong into the 21st century, and we know that requires us to carry out a dramatic

restructuring that will improve the quality of care and make our hospitals more patient-centered and less bureaucratic. Last year I sent to Congress legislation that will allow us to simplify the complex and arcane eligibility rules and improve access to care at VA hospitals. I am pleased that Congress is beginning to act on this important proposal, and I hope they will get a bill to me this year. Very soon we will submit legislation for a pilot project to allow Medicare-eligible veterans to obtain treatment at a VA facility and to have the costs reimbursed by Medicare.

I also want to make special mention of the extraordinary care that is provided by our veterans facilities to people with spinal cord injuries and my commitment to continue the work and research and care in this important area. Recently, after a visit with Christopher Reeve, I was pleased to announce that we are increasing our research commitment $10 million a year in this year. And I hope all of you noticed just a few days ago that we finally are beginning to show some incredible results where nerve transplants from the ribs to the spinal cord of laboratory animals have succeeded in giving laboratory animals some mobility in their limbs again. We can do better on this, and we have to keep going until we have some real success.

We have also reached out to veterans service organizations, appointing veterans as delegates to the White House Conference on Aging and the Presidential delegation to Vietnam. We established the first ever interagency veterans policy groups to coordinate and spur progress on issues of concern to veterans and military organizations. One such issue for more than two decades has been the suffering of our Nation's Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange. In May, I announced that Vietnam veterans with prostate cancer and peripheral neuropathy are entitled to disability payments based on their exposure to Agent Orange. Just this week I sent to Congress legislation to provide an appropriate remedy for children of Vietnam veterans who suffer from spina bifida.

We have also responded aggressively to Persian Gulf illnesses. As the First Lady was traveling around the country talking about health care to people all over America, she kept coming back to the White House with stories of people who had served in the Persian Gulf conflict who had difficulties that were otherwise inexplicable. She got very involved, even emotionally involved, with some of the families, and she kept hammering on me that there had to be an explanation for this and there was no other conceivable explanation for some of these instances of difficulties. She encouraged me to appoint a Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses. I did that and charged them to leave no stone unturned in finding the cause of the illnesses and improving care available to Persian Gulf veterans. Meanwhile, we have made available for the first time ever compensation to the victims of undiagnosed illnesses who served in the Gulf war. I think they did the right thing there.

One other area of endeavor is especially important to me, improving the contributions of all of our veterans to the maintenance of their own lives and their families and our communities. Today as we celebrate the sixth anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act, I want to reiterate a pledge I made in 1992. Our disability policy should be based as a nation on three simple principles: inclusion, independence, and empowerment.

I know how hard you fought, along with others in the disability community, for the passage of this important legislation. We've made vigorous laws protecting all people with disabilities a top priority. We'll continue to do so until all the barriers come down. Consistent with that commitment, my budget for 1997 proposes an increase in the resources available to enforce the Americans with Disabilities Act.

One of the main objectives of the act is to improve employment possibilities for people with disabilities. Unemployment among disabled veterans in particular is still too high. I am pleased that Ron Drach, DAV's employment director, is serving as Vice Chair of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities. I thank him for his hard work to turn those employment numbers around. And we should all be grateful that he is on the job.

Beyond the duty we owe to our veterans, there are certain duties we all owe to each other and to our country if our children are to live in a 21st century that is full of peace and possibility. First, we have to give the American dream of opportunity to everyone who is willing to work for it. That means we have to have an economy that is strong and growing, that produces good jobs with growing incomes.

When I became President, I was worried about the drift in our economy and the increas-

ing divisions within it. We've put in place an aggressive strategy to reduce the deficit, because that would get interest rates down and spur private investment and remove a burden from future generations; to increase trade so that we could sell more American products and services around the world in a global economy; and to invest in our people and their potential so that everyone could participate in this global economy in a positive way over the long run.

We invested in education, in how to protect the environment while growing the economy, in transportation, in research and technology, in defense conversion to help those communities that had helped us to win the cold war so that they wouldn't be left out in the cold. We even lowered the average closing cost for first-time homebuyers by $1,000 so young families could start getting in homes again instead of just having a distant dream. [*Applause*] Thank you.

It's been a remarkable turnaround in these last 3½ years. The deficit was lowered from $290 billion a year when I became President; it will be $117 billion this year, a 60 percent reduction. It's the first time since John Tyler was President in the 1840's that an administration has reduced the deficit 4 years in a row. And I'm proud of that. I have to tell you, by the way, that my staff is pleading with me to stop using that statistic because John Tyler was not reelected, but—[*laughter*]—still it sounds great because it's true, and it's important.

Our economy has produced 10 million new jobs, 3.7 million new homeowners, 8 million homeowners who have refinanced their mortgages at lower interest rates. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. Exports are at a record. For 3 years in a row we've had a record number of new small businesses formed in America. And for the first time in a decade, incomes are actually going up for average American working people again. This is important. It matters.

Veterans employment—veterans unemployment has dropped by nearly a third, from 7.2 percent to 4.9 percent in January of 1996. Six million veterans have received training and job search assistance through the Department of Labor in the last 3½ years. Two million now have jobs. We are clearly moving in the right direction.

We have other responsibilities as well. And I want to just mention a couple. One is heavily on my mind at this moment. We have a responsibility to make our streets and our schools and our neighborhoods safer. The United States cannot tolerate the rates of crime and violence which have come to be almost commonplace in our country in the last several years. We have to intensify our efforts to reduce crime.

The deaths of two police officers within a 24-hour period right here in New Orleans last week painfully drove that point home to everyone who knew about them. I had the opportunity to meet with their families just before coming in here. And I want to personally offer my condolences to the families of Officers Joey Thomas and Chris McCormick, who died while protecting the citizens of this city. They, too, were patriots who paid the ultimate price. And I know you join me in praying for their families.

In the past 3½ years we have tried to change the Nation's approach to crime from rhetoric to action. We've had a clear strategy: Look at what works and make it happen everywhere. When I became President, to be perfectly frank, even though we had a high crime rate, there were cities all over the country that had already begun to lower their crime rate. And I went to those places and asked them how they were doing it. It was obvious to me what was going on. They were putting more police on the street, out from behind the cars, out from behind the desk, walking the streets, getting to know kids, getting to know neighbors, working with them, preventing crime as well as catching criminals more quickly.

I asked them what they needed, and they told me. And that became the crime bill that we passed in 1994: 100,000 police on the street, a ban on assault weapons, tougher punishment for people who are serious criminals, and prevention programs to help kids stay out of crime in the first place. We also passed the Brady bill that kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from buying handguns, and there wasn't a single hunter that lost his or her hunting weapons. So we did the right thing, and for 4 years in a row crime has been coming down in the United States. We can be proud of that.

But it is not enough. We're now going around the country trying to explain to communities how they can, without the fear of legal challenge, institute curfew policies, as New Orleans has, for juveniles in a way that has dramatically lowered the juvenile crime rate here and in a positive way has helped a lot of juveniles to sort through their own problems and get back on the right track in life; school uniform policies

and tough truancy policies, like so many California communities I've seen have implemented in a way that has increased learning in the schools and diminished crime beyond the schoolyard. There are more things we can do in this way, and we must all continue to do it.

We have a responsibility to reform the welfare system. I'm sure you've all seen the big debate about welfare in Washington. Let me just say that we have been working for 3½ years on that through a provision of existing law which allows the President to say to any State in the country that presents a plan to move people from welfare to work and to require them to move from welfare to work, you can get around all the Federal rules and regulations if you're doing that.

But let me ask you, as you see this debate unfold in the next few days, to think about your own family and ask yourself, "Well, what do I really want to change in the welfare system?" I think to answer the question you have to say, "What do I want for poor people in America; how would I like for them to be able to live?" And I think what we want for them is what we want for middle class families and, indeed, for upper income families in America. We want people to have strong families and successful work lives. We want them to succeed when they go to work and when they're working at raising their children. And we don't want them to have to choose. We want them to do both. And that's exactly what we want other families in America to do as well, success at home and success at work. And if we have a system that undermines either one, America is weaker because of it.

So we have worked hard. We've got 75 percent of everybody on welfare now under welfare-to-work experiments in a way that enables them to continue to support their children when they leave the welfare rolls and go onto the work rolls. And that's what we ought to want for every American. There are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I became President. This will work. We can move people from welfare to work if we do it in the right way.

The other big part of this is that people who owe it ought to pay their child support. When I became President we were collecting $8 billion a year in child support; now we're collecting 11 billion, a 40 percent increase. But you need to know that if every person in this country who owes support for their own children is legally obligated to pay it and is financially able to pay it, if they paid it all tomorrow, tomorrow morning there would be 800,000 fewer women and children on welfare in the United States. So that's a big part of this and a big part of why we need national legislation to reform the welfare law.

So we're working hard with the Congress to try to get a welfare reform bill out so we can cover all the States, all the people and have even tougher child support enforcement, especially for the cases across State lines. But remember when you hear this debate and you hear people propose certain things, ask yourself, "What do I want for those families, and don't I want for them the same thing I want for the families in my neighborhood and the families of America, success at home and success at work?" And I think if we think about it that way we'll make the right decisions.

Finally, let me say we have a responsibility to finish the work of balancing the budget, but to do it in a way that is consistent with our values and our long-term interests, which is, in my view, taking care of the health care needs of seniors, people with disabilities, poor children; making sure that we continue to invest in education and protecting the environment and other things that are critical to our future; making sure we do not increase the burdens on the hardest pressed working families. But we can do that, and I am committed to it.

And lastly, we have a responsibility to maintain the national defense and to continue to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. As we enter the—near the end of the most successful drawdown in our history, our military readiness has never been higher. We continue to have the best equipped, the best trained, the best prepared military in the world. And we must always have that. Whether we're standing down aggression in the Persian Gulf, restoring democracy in Haiti, safeguarding the peace in Bosnia, saving lives in Rwanda, working with NATO and our new allies from the former Communist bloc in the Partnership For Peace, our service men and women have proven their abilities time and time again in the last 3½ years.

Our funding and support for them must not falter, first for military technology, to meet any new challenges now or in the future and, even more important, to support the men and women

in uniform. For they are the most precious resource in our military arsenal, and we have to be there for them.

Last year we set aside funds to ensure that military personnel received the highest pay raise allowed by law through the end of the century. We are committed to maintain and improve the quality of life for service members and their families around the globe, including better housing, community support, youth programs, and child care. They, too, have a right to know that if they're succeeding for us at their work, their homes are going to be successful and their children and their spouses are going to be taken care of. And that is a very, very important part of defense spending in this world.

There are a lot of things that we have to do for the future. We're working in Washington now to raise the minimum wage, to pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill which will say you don't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or someone in your family gets sick. We're working hard on welfare reform. I hope that we can strengthen the family and medical leave law, which has permitted 12 million working Americans to take some time off when they've had a baby born or a sick parent without losing their jobs. And I'd like to see more done so that people could go to regular doctor's appointments with their parents or their kids or go to a parent-teacher conference at school without losing their jobs. We've got to make it possible for working parents to succeed at work and at home with their children and with their parents.

I want to make a college education available to every person in this country who's willing to work for it. I think we ought to—the most important tax cut we could pass in America today is to give people a deduction for the cost of college education, their own or their kids'. I would very much like to see us make the 2 years of education after high school that most Americans now get in community college, I want that to become just as universal in the next couple of years as a high school education is today. So I propose a tax credit for the cost of community college for the next 2 years after high school. That would be a good thing to do.

And finally, let me just mention this last duty. We have a duty to respect our differences and to learn to bridge the gaps between us. If you look around the world today, what's fueling a lot of this terrorism? What caused all the slaughter in Burundi and Rwanda? Why did people who live for decades in peace in Bosnia all of a sudden become the sort of nagging agony of the entire world, slaughtering each other with reckless abandon after having lived in peace together for decades, neighbor against neighbor, killing each other? Why can't we fix what's gone wrong in the Middle East? Why did Northern Ireland start violence again after 15 months of peace when they've got the lowest unemployment rate in 15 years? And when Hillary and I went there, we were mobbed by Catholic and Irish young people alike saying, "We love peace. We don't want to go back to war." What happened?

Because throughout history there has been an atrocious tendency among human beings to give in to racial, ethnic, religious, and tribal hatred. And as your generation helped to ensure victory for us in the cold war so that billions of people every day didn't have to get up wondering about whether someone was going to drop a bomb on them from the Communists or the non-communist world, depending on what side of that cold war they lived on, and people were able to relax, too many have fallen back into the old patterns of racial, religious, ethnic, and tribal hatreds.

Why do people hate other people who are different from them? Either because they think they won't permit them to live as they want to live, or more likely, they really need somebody to look down on.

You know, I guess nobody has a perfect family, but I'll go to my grave being grateful for my mother telling me, "Don't you ever, don't you ever feel better because of somebody else's misfortune. You should feel better because of what you are and what you do. Don't ever think you've got to put somebody else down because of that."

But all over the world there are people that will get up tomorrow morning and start out the new week defining themselves in terms of who they can hate, who they can look down on, who they can hurt. And it is a cancer of the modern world. We fight it on its most flagrant basis when we stand against terrorism. But we have to also recommit ourselves to purging every vestige of it in the United States.

The United States military has done a better job than any other organization in our society, I believe, in opening up opportunities for people based on merit, 250,000 new roles for women

in the last 3½ years in the military. I'm proud of that. We not only have in General Powell an African-American who became Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, we have a record number of officers now reaching the general rank who are African-American, Hispanic-American, Asian-American, Arab-American, Jewish-American, coming from all kinds of backgrounds, in an organization that runs strictly on merit and depends upon performance for our very survival. And yet even there—the other day at Fort Bragg, one of the centers of our patriotism, the home of the Special Forces, African-American soldiers had swastikas painted on their doors. We have to work to purge this.

All of these church burnings—I just learned that over the weekend a church in my home State was burned—African-American churches, synagogues defaced, three Islamic centers burned—that is the opposite of what America is all about.

When Hillary and I visited our Olympic team and I looked at them, I can't help telling you, first of all, I was just bursting with pride. And I told them, I said, "You know, just the fact that you made this team should give you great pride and great joy. And you should go out among the people of the world here and relish the spirit of peace and freedom and equality that exists here."

And it was a magical moment. One of the young people said that they'd been to lunch the day before and the athletes from South Korea and North Korea were sitting at tables next to each other and talking. And I thought, shoot, I've been trying for 3½ years to get them to talk, and I couldn't do it. It was a magic moment. I couldn't do it.

But what struck me about the American team was this. If the American team broke up and was just walking in the Olympic Village, you could see them and think, well, that athlete is from Africa; that athlete's from Latin America; that athlete's from the Caribbean; that athlete's from Scandinavia; that athlete's from the Middle East. But they could all be Americans, because we are bound together not by our race but by our fidelity to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, and our belief that we can all live here in peace and harmony and mutual respect.

So I leave you with that thought. If we meet our responsibilities to each other and to our children and to our future, our responsibilities to the world, and if we meet our fundamental responsibility to go forward together in mutual respect, then our days are going to get better and our best days are still to come. You can have an enormous influence wherever you live and whatever you do because of your service to America in uniform and because of the sacrifice of that service, if you will remind your fellow Americans of those fundamental lessons.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE. The President spoke at 1:52 p.m. at the Riverside Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Thomas A. McMasters III, national commander, Disabled American Veterans; and actor Christopher Reeve.

Remarks at the Children's Television Conference
July 29, 1996

The President. Good morning. We're delighted to see all of you here for this historic meeting. A lot of you have come a long way, some of you on the red-eye, and I appreciate the efforts you've made to be here.

We're here for a clear purpose: to improve and expand educational television for our children. The ability of the United States to make the 21st century the age of greatest possibility in our Nation's history depends in no small measure on our ability to build strong families today; to help our parents to succeed not only in the workplace but in their most important job, raising good, well-educated, well-balanced, successful children.

That is why we have worked so hard to give our families more control over one of the most influential forces in our Nation, television. As all of you know better than I, it is now a major part of our national landscape. A typical child watches 25,000 hours of television before his or her 18th birthday. Preschoolers watch 28

hours of television a week, and at least during the Olympics, so do Presidents. [*Laughter*]

We have dedicated ourselves to giving parents the power to screen out television they believe their children should not see. That's what the V-chip was all about. I was proud to sign the telecommunications law with the V-chip requirement to give parents the ability to stop programming that they think is inappropriate for their young children to see.

You in the entertainment industry have certainly been doing your part. Meeting here in the White House 5 months ago, you volunteered to rate shows for content. You came together as responsible corporate citizens to give America's families an early-warning system. Parents who use the V-chip will now be able to block objectionable shows before it's too late.

Together these initiatives constitute an invaluable arsenal for America's parents. And I'd also like to point out that this is a challenge being met in the appropriate way by people working together and coming together, not fighting and drifting apart.

But that is only half the battle. As Americans we have to define ourselves not simply by what we stand against, but more importantly by what we stand for. Now we have the opportunity to use the airwaves for something positive, educational programming as great as our kids. Television can be a strong and positive force. It can help children to learn. It can reinforce rather than undermine the values we work so hard to teach our children, showing children every day what it means to share, to respect themselves and others, to take responsibility for their actions, to have sympathy with others who have difficulties, even to recognize that "it's not easy being green."

This morning I would like to hear from you about what we can do to broaden the range of quality educational programming for children. I hope we can focus on three specific issues. First, I'd like to talk about the new research that shows how kids can learn valuable lessons from TV over the course of their young lifetimes. Second, I'd like to find out more about what good shows look like. Third, I'd like us to talk about how we can break down the barriers to the development and production of quality educational programming for children.

Before we begin, I would like to make an announcement. For the past year I've been calling upon the Federal Communications Commission to require broadcasters to air a minimum of 3 hours of genuine educational programming a week—3 hours a week, 180 minutes a week, about 2½ percent of the entire schedule. Such a requirement would halt a steep and troubling decline.

As recently as the early eighties, the three major networks aired several hours more than that of children's educational and informational shows. But by 1990, they were down to 2 hours a week or less than 2 hours a week. The number is inching up now, but we must do more. The airwaves that broadcasters use, after all, belong to all of us. And in exchange for their use, broadcasters are required to serve the public interest. I cannot imagine anything that serves the public interest more than seeing to it that we give our children at least 3 hours of educational television a week.

That's why it gives me great pleasure to announce that the four major networks, the National Association of Broadcasters, and some of the leading advocates for educational television have come together to join me in supporting a new proposal to require broadcasters to air 3 hours of quality educational programming a week. This proposal fulfills the promise of the Children's Television Act, that television should serve the educational and informational needs of our young people. It gives broadcasters flexibility in how to meet those needs. And it says to America's parents, you are not alone; we are all committed to working with you to see that educational programming for your children makes the grade. I urge the FCC to adopt this proposal to make the 3-hour rule the law of the land. Television can build up young lives rather than tear them down.

I'd like to say a particular word of thanks to Congressman Ed Markey for his work on this issue and a very special word of appreciation to the Vice President for his tireless efforts, along with Greg Simon, to bring about this agreement. I thank them very, very much. Today we can work to imagine television as a force for good, to imagine what television for children would look like if it resembled what we imagined it was when we were children or when you first got started in this business.

In recent days, as families have gathered to watch the Olympics, we have all been reminded about the good that television can bring into our homes, how it can bring us together, how

it can inspire and educate us. This should be our standard. I'm anxious now to get to work.

And I'd like to invite three people to come up here for some comments of their own about the agreement that has been reached: Eddie Fritts, the president of the National Association of Broadcasters; Les Moonves, the president of CBS Entertainment; Peggy Charren, the founder of Action for Children's Television.

Peggy, Les, Eddie, would you come up.

[*At this point, Mr. Fritts, Mr. Moonves, and Ms. Charren made brief remarks.*]

The President. The first subject we're going to talk about is the influence of television on children. We have some good presentations here. I would like to call on the First Lady to begin.

[*Hillary Clinton introduced conference participants and moderated a panel discussion on the influence of television on children.*]

The President. Thank you very much. I think, to stay on schedule, we need to move to the next topic. It's clear that there's a consensus here and that the evidence supports the fact that television can be, has been, and is in many cases a positive force in children's lives. So I think we ought to discuss a little bit about what makes a successful children's television program. And I'd like to ask Mrs. Gore to lead the discussion, and I'll turn it over to her now.

[*Tipper Gore introduced additional conference participants and moderated a panel discussion on developing children's programming.*]

Mrs. Gore. Now, Mr. President, we've finished with this particular part of the program and would like your comments.

The President. First of all, I love this. I wish we had all day to listen to you all talk about this.

We want to talk now about whether there are barriers to more and better children's programs and, if so, what they are. And I guess I would like to begin by welcoming the advertisers that are here and thanking them for their commitment to this announcement we've made today and to this cause generally. I thought what Ms. Laybourne said about being a worrier—a lot of the things she said I thought were quite on point. And I think that the role of advertisers in sort of changing the whole look of how we approach this issue could be quite critical. So I'm delighted that you're here.

And we're now going on to a section about how we should define and recognize and then deliver quality on these programs and what barriers there are and how we would go about taking them down. And so I'm going to call on the Vice President to take over the last section.

[*Vice President Gore introduced additional conference participants and moderated a panel discussion on impediments to developing children's programming.*]

The President. Let me thank all of you, first of all, for coming. And those of you who participated in this historic agreement, I'm very grateful to you. You have done a good thing for your country today.

I do not want to leave us on a down note, but I want to put this in the context of what I think the real stakes are of what we're discussing here. And I leave you with this thought, a challenge to think about another barrier that has nothing to do with the production of the programs or even getting advertising, which is how are you going to get these programs to the kids that need to see them the most, the kids that are most at risk in our society, and how are you going to reach their parents?

And I want to just ask you to think about these two facts. One is, while we are, at least inside our administration, we are very happy that the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row in America—it's a wonderful thing, 4 years in a row of a dropping crime rate—the rate of random violence among people between the ages of 12 and 17 is going up. Cocaine use has dropped by a third, but the rate of random drug use among people between the ages of 12 and 17 has been going up since 1991. Fact one.

Second thing. When school starts this fall, 51.7 million children will enroll in schools. And it's the first time since I, the oldest of the baby boomers—since the baby boomers were fully in school that there has been a class of schoolchildren bigger than the baby boom generation, which means we have a few years to turn these trends around or reap a whirlwind from it.

Basically, if you look at all the aggregate statistics in our country, it seems that most things are moving in the right direction after years of being troubled. But there are just so many

of these kids out here that are either virtually raising themselves; or their parents—almost all of whom, I believe, would like to do a good job—they want to do a good job, but they're not sure how they should do it. So one huge barrier here that we have not discussed because it's sort of beyond our purview—but that a lot of you who are brilliant at marketing things to people and reaching people—is how do you reach the parents?

You know, I had a pretty good education, but I learned a lot because Chelsea was into "Sesame Street" and "Where in the World Is Carmen San Diego?" When I met the co-leaders of San Marino at the Olympics, I knew where it was because Chelsea got me into "Where in the World Is"—[*laughter*]—not because I had a degree from the foreign service school at Georgetown. I'm just saying, how do we reach the parents? This is a serious issue.

And secondly, if you cannot reach the parents, is there some way to reach the kids anyway? We're trying to give schools more funds, for example, to open early and stay open late. Is there some way to redirect the programs in there so that—and work with the schools so that they will show the programs to the kids in the after-school area. You really need to think about this because the kids that need what you're doing the most may have barriers that we haven't even discussed today.

I want to make one last point. I think it would be very good for the adults of this country, including all of us who work in the White House, if Mr. Rogers' poem could be read once a week on primetime television.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Geraldine Laybourne, president, Disney/ABC Cable Network; and Fred Rogers, host, "Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood."

Remarks on Terrorism and an Exchange With Reporters
July 29, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, first let me thank the Members of the congressional leadership who are here to discuss this very important issue. I think when the bomb went off in the Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta, that park literally became our national common ground, a symbol of our common determination to stand against terrorism, domestic or foreign, and to do everything we can to combat it.

We have followed a three-part strategy consistently. First of all, we have worked with our friends around the world to try to increase international cooperation against terrorists and to isolate the states that support terrorism. Just today in Paris, the G–7 conference on terrorism is opening, and I believe after this meeting the Attorney General is going to Paris to represent the United States there.

We have intensified our antiterrorism efforts here at home. And I want to again thank the congressional leadership and the Members of Congress from both parties that strongly supported the antiterrorism bill and other efforts that we have made to strengthen our hand here at home. And we've had some results, preventing terrorism actions, catching people who commit terrorist acts. We intend to do more.

The third thing we have done is to increase airport security. And we will be looking at what else we can do through the commission that I've asked the Vice President to head to intensify airport security in the weeks and months ahead.

Again, let me say, if you look around this room—the Speaker, Senator Lott, Senator Daschle, Mr. Gephardt, Senators Hatch and Biden, Congressman Hyde and Congressman Conyers, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the representatives of our law enforcement and intelligence agencies—you can see that when we are attacked, whether it's from within or without, we come together. And that's what we're doing here.

I hope we'll be able to discuss some specific things that we might be able to do to strengthen our hand against terrorism, some things that we proposed before, maybe some other new ideas

people have, including some very specific and limited use of wiretaps, perhaps discussion of the taggants issue again and some other issues that will come before us. The main thing is we need to get the very best ideas we can, and we need to move as quickly as we can to do everything we can to try to strengthen this country's hand against terrorism.

And the Speaker made a point the other day which I think is very important, which is that the people who do this thing are always trying to stay ahead of the curve. Whatever we do, they'll try to find some other way to get around it. That means that this has got to be a long, disciplined, concerted, united effort by the United States. And I think we ought to take every tool we can and take every possible advantage we can because this is not going to be easy. But we have shown that we can get results when we work together and do the right thing and the smart thing.

So I'm glad that the leaders are here. I'm looking forward to the conversation. And I'd like to give the Speaker a chance to say a word and Senator Lott and perhaps the minority leaders.

[*At this point, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Senate majority leader Trent Lott, House minority leader Richard A. Gephardt, and Senate minority leader Thomas A. Daschle made brief remarks.*]

Q. Mr. President, what more do you need in the way of wiretaps? What about those constitutional bounds?

The President. Well, first of all, we shouldn't do anything that violates the Constitution. I think the question is whether—if you have someone that you have a strong suspicion and strong evidence is involved in terrorism who is moving around all the time and the traditional laws governing wiretaps which tie to residence and place of business don't operate. We'll discuss that, and we'll be able to talk more about it later.

I think we need to start our meeting now. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:22 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with congressional leaders.

Statement on Signing the Mollie Beattie Wilderness Area Act
July 29, 1996

I have today signed into law S. 1899, the "Mollie Beattie Wilderness Area Act". While not everyone had the pleasure of knowing and working with Mollie Beattie, her lifelong dedication to conservation has enriched every American. This legislation names one of Alaska's most imposing wilderness areas in her honor. It ensures that future generations will recall the lasting contributions Mollie made to conserving our Nation's priceless natural heritage.

Mollie stands out in my memory as the person releasing a bald eagle named Hope back into the wild to celebrate the improving condition of our national symbol. I also remember her as one of the people carrying the gray wolf back into the Yellowstone ecosystem in a vital effort to help restore nature's balance. Yet these two events, unforgettable as they are, represent only symbols of Mollie's many achievements as the first female Director of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Although her tenure as director was tragically cut short, Mollie left an enduring legacy to the American people. She was determined to conserve the world's wild creatures and their habitat, and to do so effectively. As a direct result of her efforts to make the Endangered Species Act work better, Americans everywhere have voluntarily joined in conserving and restoring the landscapes and open spaces that surround them.

Mollie strove throughout her life to help people understand the connections that linked the quality of their daily lives to the health and well-being of America's wildlife. Anyone who ever worked with Mollie recognized that her caring, compassion, and wisdom extended to all living creatures. She truly understood the need to actively engage people in wildlife conservation efforts.

Under this legislation, Mollie Beattie's name will be forever associated with one of the most wild and beautiful places on this planet, the Brooks Range of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. It is entirely appropriate that we honor Mollie in this way. She was a passionate defender of our 508 National Wildlife Refuges, the largest system of lands in the world dedicated to wildlife conservation. She saw them as places that must be appreciated and honored, as places where we could begin to fulfill our sacred trust as stewards of God's creation. Mollie worked tirelessly, even as her health was failing, to keep these places wild for the benefit of Americans today and for those who will follow us.

I am deeply grateful to the Alaska delegation for their leadership in introducing this legislation. I appreciate their willingness to commemorate this wild and beautiful place forever to the memory of Mollie Beattie.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 29, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1899, approved July 29, was assigned Public Law No. 104–167.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development

July 29, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the requirements of 42 U.S.C. 3536, I transmit herewith the 30th Annual Report of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which covers calendar year 1994.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 29, 1996.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt

July 30, 1996

The President. Good morning.

Q. Mr. President, what do you think of the Israeli plan now to build new highways and bridges into the occupied territories, the West Bank and Golan Heights, consolidating their control?

The President. The President just walked in the door, and we're going to start talking, and I think that I'd rather wait to answer those questions until the press conference. We're going to have a press conference after lunch, and we'll—I'll be glad to answer your questions.

Welfare Reform

Q. [*Inaudible*]—the welfare reform bill that's coming out of conference, is it something you can sign, Mr. President?

The President. I don't know. I don't know what's going to happen in the conference yet. They're working on the conference now, and I'm going to wait and see what happens, what comes out.

Q. I think you're going to sign it because you have used all the language of the opponents: failed system, broken system.

The President. We have actually done something about it. Keep in mind that 75 percent of the people on welfare today are under welfare-to-work experiments. There are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I took office. Child support is up 40 percent. There are a lot of things in the bill I'd like to sign. I like the child care money. I like the increased child support enforcement.

I like the fact that we get out of the waiver business on a State-by-State basis. But I don't want to see harm come to the children of this country. And so we'll just wait and see.

Q. Mr. President, the Democrats really want to know, they want some guidance from you about whether you'd accept this from this conference.

The President. Well, we're talking to them all. But I don't want to make comments about a bill I haven't seen yet. Let's see what comes out of the conference. We're working with them, and obviously I hope I can sign a bill. We're working hard, but it depends on what that bill does.

The Vice President. Did you get Helen's [Helen Thomas, United Press International] comments down? Did you get those down? [*Laughter*] You'll have to go with her analysis. She's going from questions to making comments now that she's got a microphone.

Ms. Thomas. It's my day in the sun. Where's my crew? [*Laughter*] Anonymity is better.

The President. Oh, I don't know. I think you lost your anonymity a long time ago, Helen.

Ms. Thomas. Hell. [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President Clinton, when will see the photo number six of a Middle East treaty signing hang on the wall of the Oval Office, probably the Syrian track?

The President. The next one out there? I hope it won't be too long. We are—the President just arrived, and we're looking forward to a conversation. And of course, we're going to have a press conference afterward, and we'll try to answer all your questions.

Q. What is the agenda of the meeting today, Mr. President?

The President. Excuse me?

Q. What is the agenda of the meeting?

The President. We're going to discuss a whole range of things, our bilateral relationship, issues in the Middle East. I've been very impressed with the leadership that President Mubarak has continued to show in the last several months. And I'm looking forward to listening, asking him a lot of questions and listening, and then having a chance to share some ideas. And then we'll have the press conference and do our best to answer your questions.

Q. I have only one question, please, President Clinton. Will the United States try to convince Prime Minister Netanyahu to respect agreements that the Israel Government—not the Labor Party, but the Israel Government—have signed and redeploy the Israel troops from Hebron. The second point, also, to negotiate about Jerusalem and also to try to stop sealing off every time, and every now and then, the Gaza Strip.

The President. Well, let me say, first of all, he reaffirmed to me when he was here, and he has met with President Mubarak as well, that he would honor the Oslo accords in every way. So I think we have to give him a chance to do that and work on that assumption. I believe that the—I think that the government is bound to honor commitments that it has made, and I believe that it will and I certainly believe it should. And so we'll just have to—we'll see. But we're going to discuss that today, and again, we'll be able to answer more questions at the press conference, after we have our meeting.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:15 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's News Conference With President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt
July 30, 1996

President Clinton. I am delighted to welcome my friend President Mubarak and his delegation from Egypt back to the White House to reaffirm the close partnership between the United States and Egypt. Under the wise and courageous leadership of President Mubarak, Egypt has been a key partner with the United States in working to build both regional security and global peace.

I commend him for his vision and his dedication. Nowhere has that been more crucial than in Egypt's own region.

The peace between Israel and Egypt is the bedrock upon which all other progress has been made. President Mubarak and I discussed our joint efforts to bring about a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace in the Middle East. The United States will continue to do all we can with our friends in Israel and in the Arab nations to preserve what we have achieved for peace and to move forward.

The President and I agreed on the need for continued progress on the Palestinian track, as we both had discussed in our recent and quite productive meetings with Prime Minister Netanyahu. We share a determination to help find a path to peace between Israel, Syria, and Lebanon.

We also spoke at length about terrorism, a threat that both our nations know all too well. As the host of the unprecedented Summit of the Peacemakers at Sharm al-Sheikh, President Mubarak helped show the world the deep desire for peace and security that prevails throughout the Middle East.

We know, too, that we have to fight terrorism on three fronts: first, through closer cooperation with our friends and allies abroad; second, here at home, by giving law enforcement the tools they need, the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and third, in our airports and on our airplanes, by increasing security. This will be a long, hard struggle. But when we work together against terrorism, abroad, at home, and in all the places that link us, we can obtain results.

At last month's G–7 summit in Lyon, I proposed a series of concrete measures to intensify our fight against terror and ask our allies to do more. Today in Paris, Attorney General Reno and other top officials from the G–7 nations and Russia followed through on our call for action. These 8 nations announced 25 specific areas of intensified cooperation, including working together to better protect mass transportation through strict international standards for airport bomb detection, screening, and security; cooperation on vehicle and explosive identifications; and standardization of passenger and cargo manifests.

We will adopt laws controlling the manufacture and export of explosives and firearms to keep them from falling into terrorists' hands. We will work to outlaw personal possession of biological weapons and to make all terrorist bombings an international crime. We will collaborate in stopping terrorists from using coded computer communications to conceal their plans.

We also pledged to our allies the help that America is uniquely in a position to give. The FBI will explore the creation of a forensic science database, an international clearinghouse for evidence on terrorist crimes. We will share with others our research on explosive taggants, the chemical markers that help us track down bombmakers, as well as taggant regulations our Nation is now developing.

I want to do everything we can. And I am determined to do everything we can to also give American law enforcement the tools they need to fight terrorism. Today, Chief of Staff Panetta is following up on the meeting I held yesterday with our congressional leadership to discuss how we can immediately strengthen our own antiterrorism laws, including the use of taggants, wiretaps, and other means. They had a productive session this morning. They will be meeting again this evening.

Finally, the President and I renewed our efforts—renewed our commitment, excuse me—to economic growth in the region and in Israel and Egypt in particular in their new partnerships, including one that was announced just last week. We reviewed our efforts to the Joint Partnership for Economic Growth and Development, led on our side by the Vice President. We believe that working together we can help to bring more prosperity to the Egyptian people and to ensure that Egypt remains a source of regional strength, security, and leadership, something that is very important. Later today, President Mubarak and Vice President Gore will discuss these issues in more detail as we look forward to the Cairo economic summit in November and work to make it a success.

Mr. President, you were one of the very first world leaders to visit me here shortly after I took office. In all the meetings since, we have worked to be partners for peace. We are proud to stand with you, and I am proud to stand with you as we work together in the future. I thank you for your wise counsel, your strong leadership, and your iron determination. And we're glad to have you here.

President Mubarak. President Clinton, once again we meet here in the White House in

an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality. The warmth of our reception was matched by the spirit of mutual understanding and good will which prevailed during our talks.

We dealt with a wide range of issues of common interest. Our views were similar on many of these issues. We are very pleased with the level of cooperation we have reached in the various fields. Our relationship has never been more solid and stable. Much of the credit goes to you, Mr. President, and your administration.

At the heart of our discussions was our joint quest for a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, a region so crucial to countries all over the world, particularly the United States. As in the past, we were in agreement on the essential requirements for this peace. First and foremost, a just and fair peace must be based on a formula which was proposed by the cosponsors of the Madrid peace conference of October 1991 and accepted by all parties. The core of this formula is Security Council Resolution 242, 338, and 425, and the principle of land for peace and the joint political rights of the Palestinian people.

These terms of reference constitute the solid foundation of the peace process. Hence, all the parties must abide by them. Activities which are inconsistent with the requirements and spirit of peace, such as settlement activities and the confiscation of lands, should be terminated.

What is needed now is to continue the strict implementation of the signed agreement. Negotiations should also be resumed on the various tracks without delay. All the Arab leaders meeting in Cairo last month have reaffirmed their unequivocal support for the cause of peace. Their strategic decision was to uphold and to continue the peace process. This didn't happen since 50 years ago.

We know that the question of Jerusalem is a sensitive and a complicated one that does not lend itself to simple solutions. It is charged with emotions for all the parties. However, it is not impossible, in our view, to work out an imaginative solution that will be acceptable to all sides in the course of the negotiations.

As I told President Clinton, I discussed these and other questions at length with Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Netanyahu. I hope that he will move forward during the coming crucial months by taking practical steps necessary in order to maintain the momentum for peace. We are all quite aware of the risks involved if the peace process is terminated or set back. No party would benefit from this prospect. Although we differed during our discussions on certain issues, I felt that we could continue our dialog in order to promote peace.

The continuation of an active American role is essential to the success of our endeavors. President Clinton has assured me of the continuation of that role. He attaches top priority to the achievement of a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace. He has also assured me that the policy of the United States with respect to both terms of the reference of the negotiations and substantive aspect involved remains unchanged. The United States firmly supports the principle of land for peace. This is central to the coronation of our efforts and the success of the strategy.

In this context, the Middle East economic conference to be held in Cairo takes on a special significance. The conference will build on the momentum of political and economic transformation taking place in the Middle East. The United States shares with us a keen interest in the maintenance of security and stability in the Middle East. In our opinion, the best means to guarantee this is the establishment of a just, lasting peace that meets with the genuine acceptance and approval of the peoples concerned.

As we achieve this goal, our ability to combat violence and the terrorism in the region would be greatly reinforced. This would also strengthen the world fight against terrorism everywhere. We are together in this fight. We sympathize with the suffering of the American people as a result of terroristic actions. We extend our heartfelt condolences to the aggrieved families of the victims and to all Americans.

Mr. President, under your vigorous leadership, the United States has steadily continued to support our efforts to achieve progress and development. We immensely appreciate your help. Your steady backing has contributed to the success of our economic reform program. The partnership program, in which Vice President Gore plays a major role, is certain to cement the bonds between our two nations. Our meeting today gave us a good opportunity to deepen our cooperation even further and solidify our friendship in all fields.

Thank you very much.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. President Clinton, President Mubarak, a new plan by Israel to build new roads into the occupied areas and new bridges seems to signal a return to a hard line by Israel. My question very simply to both of you is, can there be peace in the Middle East if the new Israeli Prime Minister carries out his campaign promises to his own people?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, I have—like you, I've seen the reports of the proposed road building campaign. I don't know whether they're new roads, expansions of existing roads, nor do we know for sure that the Government of Israel has adopted that policy. We know that—the report is that a member of the government has proposed that. So until the Government of Israel adopts that as policy, it is—I don't want to blame them for something they haven't done yet.

We are concerned about anything that could affect the peace process adversely. And we expect and believe that Israel will adhere to the agreements it has already made, including the Oslo accords, the agreements that were signed here. And the Prime Minister assured me that that was so. So until I have evidence that that is not so, I don't think I should go further.

I'm concerned about the reports I've read, but I don't know precisely what the plan is. And my understanding is it has not yet been adopted by the government. And the government's commitment is to continue the peace process and not to do anything inconsistent with the commitments made by the Israeli Government before it. So we'll have to see what happens.

President Mubarak. Only I could tell you, very frankly, I don't know exactly where this road is going to be built, but I hope it shouldn't be built in the land where the Palestinians are making argument, otherwise it's going to complicate the whole process. This is my fear. We would like to maintain stability. We don't like to make new things in the occupied territory unless it's agreed upon between the two parties so as to help the process to move forward.

Q. President Mubarak, President Clinton, after negotiation, are you optimistic about progress of peace process in the Middle East?

President Mubarak. Me? [*Laughter*]

President Clinton. You go first.

President Mubarak. Anyway, I would like to say that since I met Prime Minister Netanyahu and to continue to have contact with President Clinton, he assured me that he's going to implement all the agreement, all the commitments which had been signed by the State of Israel with the Palestinians. And although they have not yet enough time for that, but I hope that he could continue implementing this agreement because it's very important, at least to give the people a good signal that Israel respects and honors its commitment.

President Clinton. My answer to you, sir, would be that if the meetings that President Mubarak and I had with Prime Minister Netanyahu are an indication, then I am optimistic because if Israel is able to keep the commitments that it has already made I think that will form the basis of going forward. And I do believe that they have some idea—they have a different approach to going forward, but I think they want to go forward. I think that there is a broad understanding in Israel that this is a process that can't simply be stopped or reversed. You have to go forward with it. And I believe that that's what they will do.

Yes, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]?

Antiterrorism Legislation

Q. Mr. President, you said that today's meeting on antiterrorism legislation was productive. Yet Senator Hatch, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said that the White House was asking for some very controversial provisions and that some of them you're not going to get. He went on to say that your proposed study on chemical markers in explosives was a phony issue. Have things hit a snag behind the scenes? Where do they stand?

President Clinton. Well, it doesn't sound like it's behind the scenes to me. [*Laughter*] Let me say, yesterday in our meeting the Republican leadership was quite candid. You know we had the Attorney General there, we had the FBI Director there, we had the CIA Director there, we had—you saw them all. We had our whole frontline team there. And they were—the leadership—the Democrats were willing to put in everything that had been in the previous bill. The Republicans were open to including a lot of things that were taken out of the previous bill, but they said they still had a problem with the taggants in the black powder. That's all I know.

What I've urged them to do—keep in mind, we're trying to do something very quickly here; we're talking about trying to pass a bill before the August recess, which is upon us. And they want to go home Friday or Saturday. And we're looking for some immediate help. So what I urge them to do now—I think everyone knows that we had a difference of opinion on the taggants issue. We still do. We believe the FBI's right, and we'd like to stick with them on this issue.

But the most important thing right now is that they get the best, strongest bill they can out, that they give us as much help as they can that would be of assistance particularly in tracking terrorists that move from place to place, that don't have—we at least ought to be able to do the same thing with terrorists we can with members of the Mafia.

And so we've asked for some other things. And if I want them to—I presume they may have a floor vote on the taggants issue and people can decide one way or the other where they stand. But what I urge them to do is to be explicit about their disagreement here but don't let it overcome the areas of agreement, because there were far more areas of agreement than disagreement yesterday in our private meeting.

And what we really have got to do now is move as quickly as we can on what we can agree on; then there will be another several weeks of this congressional session after the August recess where more might be done. But we need to keep this country together right now. We need to focus on this terrorism issue. The people are together; they're united on it. And we need to quickly identify the areas we can agree on, move as quickly as possible, have a vote if there's an area of significant disagreement, accept the result, and then look forward to the future. There will be other opportunities to pass laws.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. My question is for President Clinton. It was reported yesterday that the Israeli Government is considering lifting the ban on the settlement activity. So if this happened, what will be the U.S. position with regard to this issue? And is this going to change its longstanding stand with regard to this issue?

President Clinton. Well, first of all, we haven't changed our positions on any issues as a result of the election in Israel. Our positions are just what they were. So we haven't changed. The settlement issue under the Oslo accords is a matter for determination between the parties as we move to the end of the negotiations. And we have encouraged everyone not to do anything which would weaken the chances of peace.

And so, again, we need to know exactly what it is they're thinking about doing, because in the previous administrations, Prime Minister Rabin and Prime Minister Peres, the existing settlements expanded more or less with population growth in the State of Israel. And that was not considered to be a serious violation of the understandings that were existing at that time.

Again I say, before I say anything I would need to know exactly what it is they intend to do. But my position on these issues is the same today as it was the day before the election in Israel. None of our positions have changed, and they won't change.

Yes, go ahead.

Q. A question actually for President Mubarak.

President Clinton. I knew it. That's why I called on you. [*Laughter*]

Terrorism

Q. Your part of the world has had to deal with the fears and the consequences of terrorism much longer than—we now in this country, of course, are suddenly facing terrorism, whether homegrown or abroad. What advice would you give to the American people, and what advice, perhaps, did you give to President Clinton today?

President Mubarak. President Clinton has very little experience in that sense, anyway, but I could tell you very frankly the main problem of terrorism started from the Middle East. I don't mean that what happened in the United States is coming from the Middle East. But the kind of imitation through the revolution in the media these days—everything is on the television; even how to make a bomb has been mentioned on the television—so the people everywhere in the world are imitating what's going on the televisions.

The Middle East problem is vital and very important. If we could maintain peace, if we could reach a comprehensive settlement in this critical part of the world, which affects Europe and America and everywhere, I think we could

put an end to at least 95 percent of the terroristic actions in the world.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. Clinton, Mr. President, it is taking Israel a really long time to honor its commitments on the peace process. If it weren't for Egyptian mediation all the time, things could have gone out of hand. Any assurances from the United States to guarantee an acceleration of the peace process?

President Clinton. Well, I think that the record of my administration is clear. I've worked very hard to hammer out these peace agreements and to accelerate the process of peace. I think you have to accept the fact that there was an election in Israel; that the question of how to pursue peace and maintain security was the central issue in the election; that by a narrow margin, but still a clear one, the voters voted to change government. Then the new Prime Minister had to constitute his own government, had to put together his own cabinet, and had to then develop a certain policy. He's just been to see President Mubarak, and I think they had a pretty good meeting. I certainly thought our meeting was a good one here in the United States.

And so I know it's frustrating for the public in Israel, for the people—I mean, excuse me, for the people in Egypt and for the people, indeed, in all Arab States throughout the Middle East, but a sort of a hiatus, a slowdown period, was inevitable because of the election. And what I have urged everyone to do and, frankly, what President Mubarak did with his Arab summit—I thought it was terrific, bringing the people together, getting a common position from all the Arab States on the peace process and then making that clear and giving a little bit of time to the Israeli Government to constitute itself and then to make contacts with the other people in the region and decide how to proceed.

I know it's frustrating, but we just have to have—let a little of that time elapse. When you change governments like that, you can't expect people just to go on as if nothing has happened. A little of this was inevitable. So I would ask the people of Egypt to be just a little patient here and give us a chance to put this back on track.

Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, how can you effectively fight international terrorism when it seems that the U.S. and the allies cannot agree on how to isolate those nations that are considered responsible for state-sponsored terrorism?

And if I could, to President Mubarak, understanding your delicate position as a recognized leader of the Arab world, is it possible for you, sir, to condemn and isolate those countries that are identified as being responsible for state-sponsored terrorism?

President Clinton. Let me answer first. First of all, there are some differences between ourselves and our allies in the G–7, for example, and other places about the extent to which we should impose economic sanctions to isolate countries we know are supporting terrorism. I'll come back to that.

But let's look at what we do agree on. We have agreed today in Paris on a sweeping set of common measures to prevent terrorist activity from occurring in the first place and to catch terrorists when they do successfully carry out their schemes.

Now, this is the most important thing you can do. In the United States, since I have been here, we have dramatically intensified our efforts. We have succeeded in thwarting schemes designed to bomb the United Nations, bomb the Lincoln Tunnel, go after airplanes leaving from the west coast, the Arizona operation which was uncovered just a few weeks ago. And then, of course, we had the World Trade Center tragedy, but there were people arrested and tried and convicted. And we have a trial going on involving Oklahoma City now.

So there are things that can be done here. Just because we have a disagreement in some areas doesn't mean we don't have wide areas of agreement. I believe sooner or later other countries will come to our understanding that you simply cannot continue to do ordinary business with people who believe that they have a right to practice commerce with you in the daytime and fund terrorists to kill your innocent civilians at night. I believe in the end that these countries will come around to our position. But in the meanwhile, I think we ought to cooperate with them where we can, because no civilized nation of any culture or religion or region wishes to see its people exposed to terrorism.

President Mubarak. I could tell you very frankly we are the first country who have declared several times since 1986, warning the whole world that terrorism is going to spread out all over the world. And starting from the nineties I have been stressing on that in every speech delivered in my country. But so many countries in the world said, oh, Egypt's just saying this because they had some incidents. We had at that time very few incidents. And these incidents are coming from abroad. Nowadays, with the existing situation of terrorism, we condemn the terrorism wherever it is, if in a neighboring country or an Arab country or a Muslim country, we are against it.

But I have another thinking concerning terrorism. We would like to form a committee—and I think the President is doing such a thing like that—to find out how could we punish not the whole people of a country but to punish the group who's responsible for terrorism in any country in the world. Because if we are going to punish the whole country in any place because of terrorism, the people will get upset, get furious. So we'd like to select—see who is responsible about that. This is a new formula; I'm thinking about it because just punishing the whole people creates terrible problems.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. President Mubarak, Jerusalem is an important issue in the peace process, and without discussing it in the upcoming talks between Israel and the Palestinians, peace will not prevail in the Middle East. What is your opinion, Mr. President, of a solution for Jerusalem, knowing that the Palestinians want their God-given share in the holy city of Jerusalem without dividing it but creating a Palestinian autonomous section of greater Jerusalem?

And Mr. President Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu——

President Mubarak. Was the first question for me?

Q. Yes, one for you, and if you both want to answer it, it will be very nice.

Mr. Netanyahu announced that he is setting the teams to discuss the peace process with the Palestinians, which is a good omen this morning. What are your both guidelines to Mr. Netanyahu in light of the fact that the peace was put on hold? And when do you think that the funds will arrive to the Palestinian Authority to supplement the losses that reach about $6 million a day for the Palestinians who have been under siege for over 4 months now? Thank you.

President Mubarak. Look, I have already, in my word, mentioned Jerusalem and the problem of Jerusalem. I remember since the Camp David accord, since late President Sadat started his initiative for peace, the man who opened the gate for peace—he was speaking about Jerusalem, and he was trying to find out a formula to be convenient to both sides. And I think nowadays, the Israelis say our capital is not divided. I heard the representative from the Palestinian Authority saying, we are not asking for dividing Israel, we are not going to put a fence dividing Jerusalem, we are not intending to put up a fence. Then I think in the process, they could, in negotiations, find a formula which would be convenient to both sides, to the Israelis and the Palestinians. I cannot foretell what's the formula. We will leave it to both sides. We could help whenever it is needed.

President Clinton. I can say that what I have urged to be done is what is being done. I have urged the Prime Minister to do whatever he can to accelerate the pace of the negotiations. I hope the talks will start again between Syria and Israel. I hope there will be a resolution of the issue between Syria and Lebanon and Israel. I feel very strongly about it.

So you ask what instructions or advice I have given. I have urged them to start these talks again and then to find one or two or three things that can show concrete evidence of progress. The Palestinians need to be able to work again. We need to be able to see economic opportunity flowing back into Gaza and the West Bank. People need to be able to make a living.

If we can find a way to secure the areas from terrorism and Israel from terrorism and keep the borders open, then we will be able to attract more investment into Gaza and into the West Bank. We will be able to—you know, we had 600—600—Arab- and Jewish-American business people here when we signed the first Israel-PLO accord, 600, people that really want to invest there, that want to give an opportunity to people. But we have to find a way to keep the borders open and to maintain security. So I'm encouraged by these talks, and I hope that they'll have some concrete results. I think it's likely that they will.

Arab Summit and U.S. Aid to Egypt

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned the Arab summit in Cairo. At that summit was Muammar Qadhafi of Libya, Colonel Qadhafi. Did you express your concern to President Mubarak about Colonel Qadhafi's attendance at the summit in which he apparently flew in in violation of U.N. sanctions? And are you concerned about Egypt's support for Libya?

And for President Mubarak I have an unrelated question. Are you worried in these days of budget cutting, in terms of U.S. foreign aid, about the $2 billion of U.S. aid to Egypt annually? And are you also considering, as Prime Minister Netanyahu mentioned when he was here, the idea of eventually weaning Egypt from some of that aid?

President Clinton. The specific answer to your question is, we did not discuss it today because my position had previously been made clear. We can't have any accommodation with Mr. Qadhafi until we have the people that we believe blew up Pan Am 103 and they stand trial. So that's the position of the United States. And yes, I did make it clear.

You asked President Mubarak a related question; I'll let him answer that.

President Mubarak. Your question concerning aid—I didn't discuss this issue at all. I know very well that the aid is not going to stay forever. We are arranging ourselves; at any time it may be reduced. So there is no worry about that. There is good cooperation with the United States, so we don't worry about that. If Mr. Netanyahu wants to reduce it, we are not against that. [*Laughter*]

Middle East Peace Process

Q. The question is for President Clinton. Mr. President, the U.S. has declared its firm stand regarding the peace process. But in the months ahead, will the U.S. administration be willing to influence Israel to take more tangible steps towards the peace process?

President Clinton. We'll do whatever we can to be a positive influence on them. But you have—let me say that it's very important that we do the best we can to exercise influence, that is, to affect the outcome of events. And sometimes what may seem most satisfying in a public statement is not what is most likely to affect the outcome of events.

I believe that one of the reasons that we made as much progress as we did in the last 3 years is that the United States was able to make Israel feel secure in taking risks for peace. And I believe one of the reasons there's been a slowdown in it is because there was a limit to how much security we could provide and the voters had a reaction to the violence that they experienced.

So what I will continue to do is to do everything I can to push them to take risks for peace and to minimize those risks for peace. But I want to do it in a way that recognizes what I think is the fundamental truth, which is that in the end, the United States and Egypt won't make this agreement; these agreements will have to be made between Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, and Lebanon. And the Jordanian agreement, of course, is in good shape and I think will be maintained.

So we all have to remember this fundamental reality. Yes, I will do what I can. But I believe the greatest influence the United States has had in this peace process is to be able to bring the concerns of the Arab States to Israel in a forthright way, to be able to bring—the Secretary of State has virtually worn himself out going the other way as well, bringing the Israeli position to the Arab parties and then to make the people feel secure that we would stand behind the integrity of the peace process and try to protect people who take those risks. I still believe that is the best strategy, and that's what we will continue to do.

NOTE: The President's 128th news conference began at 1:40 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Remarks on Signing the Taxpayer Bill of Rights 2 and an Exchange With Reporters

July 30, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Mr. Secretary, Commissioner Richardson, Congresswoman Johnson, thank you for all your hard work on this. Senator Baucus, Senator Reid, Congressman Matsui, former Congressman Jake Pickle. You look like you're right where you belong, standing up here with everybody else today, Jake. [*Laughter*] We are glad to see you.

I would like to say a special word of thanks to Senator Grassley, who was not able to come at the last moment, for his hard work on this, and a special word of thanks to my longtime friend David Pryor, who has been on this mission to improve the IRS and make it work better for taxpayers for more than 10 years now. I'm glad to say that we are, I hope, nearly finishing the work that he started out on before he leaves the Senate. And I thank you for all you've done, sir.

I want to applaud the leadership of the Republicans and the Democrats in the House and the Senate who worked so hard for this bill. If my memory is right, the bill passed unanimously in the House and by voice vote in the Senate. And it happened because we all worked together in a good spirit of bipartisanship toward a common goal.

Nobody likes to pay taxes anyway, but it's also a fact that the taxes pay for our national defense, our schools, our roads, our transportation systems, our police, and so much more that we depend upon every day. Still, the taxpayers have a right to feel that every one of their hard-earned dollars they give up actually works for them, and we have to make sure that the IRS doesn't tangle the American people up in redtape, that it is not arbitrary, and that taxpayers are treated with the respect to which they are entitled. We're getting there.

More than 70 percent of our taxpayers already pay at the 15 percent rate. Many of them use a form that finally lives up to its name. The 1040EZ form is really now easy to understand and to follow. It's one page long, and you don't even need to do that. If you're eligible to file the EZ form, you now have the option of filing without any paperwork at all; all you have to do is pick up the phone. Of the more than 20 million people eligible to file the EZ form, more than 2.8 million file by phone in under 10 minutes. Now, that would be the ultimate in tax simplification if we could do it for everyone.

Many other taxpayers file on-line. This year, more than 12 percent of all our filers, nearly 15 million Americans, filed their individual returns electronically and got their refunds as soon as 3 weeks. People who file the old-fashioned way, on paper and in the mail, got their refunds in about 40 days, longer than I would like but just half the time it took just a few years ago. Eight and a half million electronic filers took advantage of a new direct deposit of refunds, and their refunds went directly to their bank accounts in as little as 10 days. So filing taxes is getting simpler, quicker, and clearly that's better for the American people.

We're trying to inject more common sense and fairness into the process. As the Secretary said, the legislation passed 8 years ago, the first taxpayer bill of rights, set the groundwork. But with this legislation today we take the next step in the right direction. The least we can do for consumers is to see that they're treated professionally, fairly, and judiciously.

As the Secretary said, this bill has 41 recommendations. When the bill was formed, we looked at it, and we decided we could implement something over a third of them by administrative order, which we have done. The rest of them do require legislation, and now every subsequent administration will be bound by all of them because it is becoming the law of the land.

This taxpayer bill of rights applies to almost every situation in which the IRS and taxpayers deal with each other. Here are some examples of what it does: First, it truly empowers the taxpayer advocate office at the IRS with increased authority to help taxpayers to resolve disputes, get refunds for people facing hardships, and to stop collection actions. Second, the bill requires the IRS to inform divorced or separated spouses when it attempts to collect joint taxes from the other spouse. Third, it will make it easier to appeal tax liens. Fourth, it

makes it easier for taxpayers to recover attorney fees if improper action has been taken against them. And fifth, a taxpayer would have a longer grace period to make a tax payment without owing any interest. These are just some of the things that this good bill does.

The legislation is truly a leap forward. With the taxpayer bill of rights we say to America's taxpayers, when you deal with the IRS, you also have privileges, and we respect them. You have protection, and we will help to provide it. You have rights, and we will shield them. Your rights as a taxpayer, plain and simple, your rights will be protected; your privacy will be honored; you will be treated with courtesy; you are entitled to representation; you pay only what you owe by law, no more and no less; you're entitled to get help with special problems; you have the right to appeal your case, even to court; and you can be relieved of penalties if you acted in good faith, even if you made an honest mistake. The IRS Commissioner is putting this declaration at the very front of the main publication that goes to every taxpayer the IRS contacts.

This legislation represents an important step in our ongoing efforts to improve the system from the point of view of the taxpayer. After all, they not only pay the bills, they are ultimately the bosses of this country, and they're entitled to be treated with respect and fairness. Our people work hard for what they have. Our goal is to let them know that their Government is working hard, too, to give them the best service it can and the fairest tax treatment it can.

It's an honor to sign the taxpayer bill of rights. And once again, I ask that we all join in giving these Members of Congress a round of applause for the work they did. Thank you. [*Applause*]

[*At this point, the President signed the legislation.*]

Q. Mr. President, do you think taxpayers have not been treated with respect in this country?

The President. I think that we haven't done as good a job as we should have done, and I think that this bill will help us to do a better job. I think that the taxpayer bill of rights 8 years ago was an important step. And I think these 41 or so steps embodied in this bill will say to the American people, look, you're legally bound to pay the taxes you owe and collecting them is never going to be a perfect process, but we're going to bend over backwards to treat you fairly and treat you with respect. And I think that's a pretty good message. And I do think that there are too many Americans that have some example where they think that was not the case at sometime in the past. And we're just trying to get better at what we do, and this will help.

Welfare Reform

Q. Mr. President, we know you're waiting to see the final conference report on welfare reform, but can you tell us based on what you know now about what the committee's done on legal immigrants, food stamps, and vouchers? Is this bill getting more signable, or is there still a chance you'll veto it?

The President. From what I understand, they've made some good progress today. And I've been, you know, meeting with President Mubarak so I haven't gotten a report in the last hour or so. But I understand they're making good progress. And I hope that they will—we just need to keep the kids in mind. We need to keep the children in mind. The children need to come out ahead. What we want for poor families, I'll say again, is what we want for middle class families and for upper income families. We want people to be able to succeed at raising their kids and at work. It's the biggest dilemma middle class people have in America today, how can they succeed at work and in raising their kids. And that's what we want for poor families.

So whatever system we adopt to reform welfare, the budgetary considerations in the nonwelfare items in the bill shouldn't swamp our objective of ultimately uplifting the children of the country. That's what we're working for. It's getting better, and I hope that we can work it out. I really do.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:40 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to former Representative James Jarrell (Jake) Pickle of Texas. H.R. 2337, approved July 30, was assigned Public Law No. 104–168.

Statement on the Settlement of Railroad Contract Disputes
July 30, 1996

These agreements represent a triumph of the collective bargaining process. I commend the parties for their hard work in reaching these settlements. I also commend our Presidential Emergency Boards for developing recommendations that helped to bring about these resolutions.

In the past 25 years, Congress has had to step in no fewer than 10 times to prevent national rail stoppages. Such stoppages can cost American businesses and consumers billions of dollars. The voluntary contract agreements achieved this year broke that pattern and represent a milestone for labor-management relations.

Letter to Members of Congress on Proposed Safe Drinking Water Legislation
July 30, 1996

Dear :

I urge the Congress to pass strong legislation that protects our nation's drinking water. Although the conferees have made considerable progress, it is imperative that I sign this legislation into law by August 1. If the House and Senate fail to act, $725 million in federal funding will cease to be available for this important health and safety initiative.

All Americans have the right to know that their drinking water is safe. This legislation should solidify that right by strengthening health and safety standards in addition to protecting the public from significant threats to our drinking water. It is critical that the Congress approve legislation that provides both a reasonable framework to improve our nation's water supply in addition to the funding and flexibility necessary for communities to make these improvements a reality.

A compromise bill containing these priorities is clearly within reach. I hope that we seize this opportunity and pass this important piece of legislation.

Sincerely,

BILL

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to congressional conferees meeting to consider S. 1316.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval Legislation on Labor-Management Relations
July 30, 1996

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval, H.R. 743, the "Teamwork for Employees and Managers Act of 1995." This act would undermine crucial employee protections.

I strongly support workplace practices that promote cooperative labor-management relations. In order for the United States to remain globally competitive into the next century, employees must recognize their stake in their employer's business, employers must value their employees' labor, and each must work in partnership with the other. Cooperative efforts, by promoting mutual trust and respect, can encourage innovation, improve productivity, and enhance the efficiency and performance of American workplaces.

Current law provides for a wide variety of cooperative workplace efforts. It permits employers to work with employees in quality circles

to improve quality, efficiency, and productivity. Current law also allows employers to delegate significant managerial responsibilities to employee work teams, sponsor brainstorming sessions, and solicit employee suggestions and criticisms. Today, 30,000 workplaces across the country have employee involvement plans. According to one recent survey, 96 percent of large employers already have established such programs.

I strongly support further labor-management cooperation within the broad parameters allowed under current law. To the extent that recent National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) decisions have created uncertainty as to the scope of permissible cooperation, the NLRB, in the exercise of its independent authority, should provide guidance to clarify the broad legal boundaries of labor-management teamwork. The Congress rejected a more narrowly defined proposal designed to accomplish that objective.

Instead, this legislation, rather than promoting genuine teamwork, would undermine the system of collective bargaining that has served this country so well for many decades. It would do this by allowing employers to establish company unions where no union currently exists and permitting company-dominated unions where employees are in the process of determining whether to be represented by a union. Rather than encouraging true workplace cooperation, this bill would abolish protections that ensure independent and democratic representation in the workplace.

True cooperative efforts must be based on true partnerships. A context of mutual trust and respect encourages the prospect for achieving workplace innovation, improved productivity, and enhanced efficiency and workplace performance. Any ambiguities in this situation should be resolved, but without weakening or eliminating the fundamental rights of employees to collective bargaining.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
July 30, 1996.

Remarks on Welfare Reform Legislation and an Exchange With Reporters
July 31, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I pledged to end welfare as we know it. I have worked very hard for 4 years to do just that. Today the Congress will vote on legislation that gives us a chance to live up to that promise: to transform a broken system that traps too many people in a cycle of dependence to one that emphasizes work and independence, to give people on welfare a chance to draw a paycheck, not a welfare check. It gives us a better chance to give those on welfare what we want for all families in America, the opportunity to succeed at home and at work. For those reasons I will sign it into law. The legislation is, however, far from perfect. There are parts of it that are wrong, and I will address those parts in a moment. But on balance, this bill is a real step forward for our country, our values, and for people who are on welfare.

For 15 years, I have worked on this problem, as Governor and as a President. I've spent time in welfare offices. I have talked to mothers on welfare who desperately want the chance to work and support their families independently. A long time ago I concluded that the current welfare system undermines the basic values of work, responsibility, and family, trapping generation after generation in dependency and hurting the very people it was designed to help.

Today we have an historic opportunity to make welfare what it was meant to be, a second chance, not a way of life. And even though the bill has serious flaws that are unrelated to welfare reform, I believe we have a duty to seize the opportunity it gives us to end welfare as we know it.

Over the past 3½ years, I have done everything in my power as President to promote work and responsibility, working with 41 States to give them 69 welfare reform experiments. We have also required teen mothers to stay in school, required Federal employees to pay their child support, cracked down on people who owe child support and crossed State lines. As a result,

child support collections are up 40 percent, to $11 billion, and there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were when I took office.

From the outset, however, I have also worked with Members of both parties in Congress to achieve a national welfare reform bill that will make work and responsibility the law of the land. I made my principles for real welfare reform very clear from the beginning. First and foremost, it should be about moving people from welfare to work. It should impose time limits on welfare. It should give people the child care and the health care they need to move from welfare to work without hurting their children. It should crack down on child support enforcement, and it should protect our children.

This legislation meets these principles. It gives us a chance we haven't had before to break the cycle of dependency that has existed for millions and millions of our fellow citizens, exiling them from the world of work that gives structure, meaning, and dignity to most of our lives.

We've come a long way in this debate. It's important to remember that not so very long ago, at the beginning of this very Congress, some wanted to put poor children in orphanages and take away all help for mothers simply because they were poor, young, and unmarried. Last year the Republican majority in Congress sent me legislation that had its priorities backward. It was soft on work and tough on children. It failed to provide child care and health care. It imposed deep and unacceptable cuts in school lunches, child welfare, and help for disabled children. The bill came to me twice, and I vetoed it twice.

The bipartisan legislation before the Congress today is significantly better than the bills I vetoed. Many of the worst elements I objected to are out of it, and many of the improvements I asked for are included. First, the new bill is strong on work. It provides $4 billion more for child care so that mothers can move from welfare to work and protects their children by maintaining health and safety standards for day care. These things are very important. You cannot ask somebody on welfare to go to work if they're going to neglect their children in doing it.

It gives States powerful performance incentives to place people in jobs. It requires States to hold up their end of the bargain by maintaining their own spending on welfare. And it gives States the capacity to create jobs by taking money now used for welfare checks and giving it to employers as income subsidies as an incentive to hire people or being used to create community service jobs.

Second, this new bill is better for children than the two I vetoed. It keeps the national nutritional safety net intact by eliminating the food stamp cap and the optional block grant. It drops the deep cuts and devastating changes in school lunch, child welfare, and help for disabled children. It allows States to use Federal money to provide vouchers to children whose parents can't find work after the time limits expire. And it preserves the national guarantee of health care for poor children, the disabled, pregnant women, the elderly, and people on welfare.

Just as important, this bill continues to include the child support enforcement measures I proposed 2 years ago, the most sweeping crackdown on deadbeat parents in history. If every parent paid the child support they should, we could move 800,000 women and children off welfare immediately. With this bill we say to parents, if you don't pay the child support you owe, we will garnish your wages, take away your driver's license, track you across State lines and, as necessary, make you work off what you owe. It is a very important advance that could only be achieved in legislation. I did not have the executive authority to do this without a bill.

So I will sign this bill, first and foremost because the current system is broken; second, because Congress has made many of the changes I sought; and third, because even though serious problems remain in the non-welfare-reform provisions of the bill, this is the best chance we will have for a long, long time to complete the work of ending welfare as we know it by moving people from welfare to work, demanding responsibility, and doing better by children.

However, I want to be very clear. Some parts of this bill still go too far, and I am determined to see that those areas are corrected. First, I am concerned that although we have made great strides to maintain the national nutritional safety net, this bill still cuts deeper than it should in nutritional assistance, mostly for working families with children. In the budget talks, we reached a tentative agreement on $21 billion in food stamp savings over the next several years. They are included in this bill.

However, the congressional majority insisted on another cut we did not agree to, repealing a reform adopted 4 years ago in Congress which was to go into effect next year. It's called the excess shelter reduction, which helps some of our hardest pressed working families. Finally we were going to treat working families with children the same way we treat senior citizens who draw food stamps today. Now, blocking this change, I believe—I know—will make it harder for some of our hardest pressed working families with children. This provision is a mistake, and I will work to correct it.

Second, I am deeply disappointed that the congressional leadership insisted on attaching to this extraordinarily important bill a provision that will hurt legal immigrants in America, people who work hard for their families, pay taxes, serve in our military. This provision has nothing to do with welfare reform. It is simply a budget-saving measure, and it is not right.

These immigrant families with children who fall on hard times through no fault of their own—for example, because they face the same risks the rest of us do from accidents, from criminal assaults, from serious illnesses—they should be eligible for medical and other help when they need it. The Republican majority could never have passed such a provision standing alone. You see that in the debate in the immigration bill, for example, over the Gallegly amendment, and the question of education of undocumented and illegal immigrant children.

This provision will cause great stress for States, for localities, for medical facilities that have to serve large numbers of legal immigrants. It is just wrong to say to people, we'll let you work here, you're helping our country, you'll pay taxes, you serve in our military, you may get killed defending America, but if somebody mugs you on a street corner or you get cancer or you get hit by a car or the same thing happens to your children, we're not going to give you assistance anymore. I am convinced this would never have passed alone, and I am convinced when we send legislation to Congress to correct it, it will be corrected.

In the meantime, let me also say that I intend to take further executive action directing the INS to continue to work to remove the bureaucratic roadblocks to citizenship to all eligible legal immigrants. I will do everything in my power, in other words, to make sure that this bill lifts people up and does not become an excuse for anyone to turn their backs on this problem or on people who are generally in need through no fault of their own. This bill must also not let anyone off the hook. The States asked for this responsibility; now they have to shoulder it and not run away from it. We have to make sure that in the coming years reform and change actually result in moving people from welfare to work.

The business community must provide greater private-sector jobs that people on welfare need to build good lives and strong families. I challenge every State to adopt the reforms that Wisconsin, Oregon, Missouri, and other States are proposing to do, to take the money that used to be available for welfare checks and offer it to the private sector as wage subsidies to begin to hire these people, to give them a chance to build their families and build their lives. All of us have to rise to this challenge and see that—this reform not as a chance to demonize or demean anyone but instead as an opportunity to bring everyone fully into the mainstream of American life, to give them a chance to share in the prosperity and the promise that most of our people are enjoying today.

And we here in Washington must continue to do everything in our power to reward work and to expand opportunity for all people. The earned-income tax credit, which we expanded in 1993 dramatically, is now rewarding the work of 15 million working families. I am pleased that congressional efforts to gut this tax cut for the hardest pressed working people have been blocked. This legislation preserves the EITC and its benefits for working families. Now we must increase the minimum wage, which also will benefit millions of working people with families and help them to offset the impact of some of the nutritional cuts in this bill. Through these efforts, we all have to recognize, as I said in 1992, the best antipoverty program is still a job.

I want to congratulate the Members of Congress in both parties who worked together on this welfare reform legislation. I want to challenge them to put politics aside and continue to work together to meet our other challenges and to correct the problems that are still there with this legislation. I am convinced that it does present an historic opportunity to finish the work of ending welfare as we know it, and that is why I have decided to sign it.

Q. Mr. President, some civil rights groups and children's advocacy groups still say that they be-

lieve that this is going to hurt children. I wonder what your response is to that. And also, it took you a little while to decide whether you would go along with this bill or not. Can you give us some sense of what you and your advisers kind of talked about and the mood in the White House over this?

The President. Sure. Well, first of all, the conference was not completed until late last evening, and there were changes being made in the bill right up to the very end. So when I went to bed last night, I didn't know what the bill said. And this was supposed to be a day off for me, and when I got up and I realized that the conference had completed its work late last night and that the bill was scheduled for a vote late this afternoon, after I did a little work around the house this morning, I came in and we went to work, I think, about 11 o'clock.

And we simply—we got everybody in who had an interest in this, and we went through every provision of the bill, line by line, so that I made sure that I understood exactly what had come out of the conference. And then I gave everybody in the administration who was there a chance to voice their opinion on it and to explore what their views were and what our options were. And as soon as we finished the meeting, I went in and had a brief talk with the Vice President and with Mr. Panetta, and I told them that I had decided that, on balance, I should sign the bill. And then we called this press conference.

Q. And what about the civil rights groups—[*inaudible*].

The President. I would say to them that there are some groups who basically have never agreed with me on this, who never agreed that we should do anything to give the States much greater flexibility on this if it meant doing away with the individual entitlement to the welfare check. And that is still, I think, the central objection to most of the groups.

My view about that is that for a very long time it's hard to say that we've had anything that approaches a uniform AFDC system when the benefits range from a low of $187 a month to a high of $655 a month for a family of 3 or 4. And I think that the system we have is not working. It works for half the people who just use it for a little while and get off. It will continue to work for them. I think the States will continue to provide for them.

For the other half of the people who are trapped on it, it is not working. And I believe that the child support provisions here, the child care provisions here, the protection of the medical benefits, indeed, the expansion of the medical guarantee now from 1998 to 2002, mean that on balance these families will be better off. I think the problems in this bill are in the non-welfare-reform provisions, in the nutritional provisions that I mentioned, and especially in the legal immigrant provisions that I mentioned.

Q. Mr. President, it seems likely there will be a kind of political contest to see who gets the credit or the blame on this measure. Senator Dole is out with a statement saying that you've been brought along to sign his bill. Are you concerned at all that you will be seen as having been kind of dragged into going along with something that you originally promised to do and that this will look like you signing onto a Republican initiative?

The President. No. First of all, because I don't—you know, if we're doing the right thing there will be enough credit to go around. And if we're doing the wrong thing there will be enough blame to go around. I'm not worried about that. I've always wanted to work with Senator Dole and others. And before he left the Senate, I asked him not to leave the budget negotiations. So I'm not worried about that.

But that's a pretty hard case to make, since I vetoed their previous bills twice and since while they were talking about it we were doing it. It's now generally accepted by everybody who has looked at the evidence that we effected what the New York Times called a quiet revolution in welfare. There are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were when I took office.

But there are limits to what we can do with these waivers. We couldn't get the child support enforcement. We couldn't get the extra child care. Those are two things that we had to have legislation to do. And the third thing is we needed to put all the States in a position where they had to move right now to try to create more jobs. So far—I know that we had Wisconsin and, earlier, Oregon and I believe Missouri. And I think those are the only three States, for example, that had taken up the challenge that I gave to the Governors in Vermont a couple of years ago to start taking the welfare payments and use it for wage subsidies to the pri-

vate sector to actually create jobs. You can't tell people to go to work if there is no job out there.

So now they all have the power, and they have financial incentives to create jobs, plus we've got the child care locked in and the medical care locked in and the child support enforcement locked in. None of this could have happened without legislation. That's why I thought this legislation was important.

Q. Mr. President, some of the critics of this bill say that the flaws will be very hard to fix because that will involve adding to the budget and in the current political climate adding to the expenditures is politically impossible. How would you respond to that?

The President. Well, it just depends on what your priorities are. For one thing, it will be somewhat easier to balance the budget now in the time period because the deficit this year is $23 billion less than it was the last time we did our budget calculations. So we've lowered that base $23 billion this year. Now, in the out years it still comes up, but there's some savings there that we could turn around and put back into this.

Next, if you look at—my budget corrects it right now. I had $42 billion in savings; this bill has about $57 billion in savings. You could correct all these problems that I mentioned with money to spare in the gap there. So when we get down to the budget negotiations either at the end of this year or at the beginning of next year, I think the American people will say, we can stand marginally smaller tax cuts, for example, or cut somewhere else to cure this problem of immigrants and children, to cure the nutritional problems. We're not talking about vast amounts of money over a 6-year period. It's not a big budget number, and I think it can easily be fixed given where we are in the budget negotiations.

Q. The last couple days in these meetings among your staff and this morning, would you say there was no disagreement among people in the administration about what you should do? Some disagreement? A lot of disagreement?

The President. No, I would say that there was—first of all, I have rarely been as impressed with the people who work in this administration on any issue as I have been on this. There was significant disagreement among my advisers about whether this bill should be signed or vetoed, but 100 percent of them recognized the power of the arguments on the other side. It was a very moving thing. Today the conversation was almost 100 percent about the merits of the bill and not the political implications of it, because I think those things are very hard to calculate anyway. I think they're virtually impossible.

I have tried to thank all of them personally, including those who are here in the room and those who are not here, because they did have differences of opinion about whether we should sign or veto, but each side recognized the power of the arguments on the other side. And 100 percent of them, just like 100 percent of the Congress, recognized that we needed to change fundamentally the framework within which welfare operates in this country. The only question was whether the problems in the non-welfare-reform provisions were so great that they would justify a veto and giving up what might be—what I'm convinced is our last best chance to fundamentally change the system.

Q. Mr. President, even in spite of all the details of this, you as a Democrat are actually helping to dismantle something that was put in place by Democrats 60 years ago. Did that give you pause, that overarching question?

The President. No. No, because it was put in place 60 years ago when the poverty population of America was fundamentally different than it is now. As Senator Moynihan—you know, Senator Moynihan strongly disagrees with me on this, but as he has pointed out repeatedly, when welfare was created the typical welfare recipient was a miner's widow with no education, small children, husband dies in the mine, no expectation that there was a job for the widow to do or that she ever could do it—very few out-of-wedlock pregnancies and births. The whole dynamics were different then.

So I have always thought that the Democratic Party should be on the side of creating opportunity and promoting empowerment and responsibility for people, and a system that was in place 60 years ago that worked for the poverty population then is not the one we need now. But that's why I have worked so hard, too, to veto previous bills. That does not mean I think we can walk away from the guarantee that our party gave on Medicaid, the guarantee our party gave on nutrition, the guarantee our party gave in school lunches, because that has not changed. But the nature of the poverty population is so different now that I am convinced we have got

to be willing to experiment, to try to work to find ways to break the cycle of dependency that keeps dragging folks down.

And I think the States are going to find out pretty quickly that they're going to have to be willing to invest something in these people to make sure that they can go to work in the ways that I suggested.

Yes, one last question.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned Senator Moynihan. Have you spoken to him or other congressional leaders, especially congressional Democrats? And what was the conversation and the reaction to your indication?

The President. Well, I talked to him as recently, I think, as about a week ago. When we went up to meet with the TWA families, we talked about it again. And you know, I have an enormous amount of respect for him. And he has been a powerful and cogent critic of this whole move. I'll just have to hope that in this one case I'm right and he's wrong, because I have an enormous regard for him. And I've spoken to a number of other Democrats, and some think I'm right and some don't.

This is a case where, you know, I have been working with this issue for such a long time, a long time before it became—to go back to Mr. Hume's [Brit Hume, ABC News] question—a long time before it became a cause celebre in Washington or anyone tried to make it a partisan political issue. It wasn't much of a political hot potato when I first started working on it. I just was concerned that the system didn't seem to be working. And I was most concerned about those who were trapped on it and their children and the prospect that their children would be trapped on it.

I think we all have to admit here—we all need a certain level of humility today. We are trying to continue a process that I've been pushing for 3½ years. We're trying to get the legal changes we need in Federal law that will work to move these folks to a position of independence where they can support their children and their lives as workers and in families will be stronger.

But if this were an easy question, we wouldn't have had the 2½-hour discussion with my advisers today and we'd all have a lot more answers than we do. But I'm convinced that we're moving in the right direction. I'm convinced it's an opportunity we should seize. I'm convinced that we have to change the two problems in this bill that are not related to welfare reform, that were just sort of put under the big shade of the tree here, that are part of this budget strategy with which I disagree. And I'm convinced when we bring those things out into the light of day we will be able to do it. And I think some Republicans will agree with us, and we'll be able to get what we need to do to change it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:27 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Statement on Health Care Legislation

July 31, 1996

Today we have apparently achieved a long overdue victory for the millions of Americans who live in fear of losing their health insurance when they change or lose their jobs or because of preexisting conditions. I hope all Democrats and Republicans will work together to pass this important legislation before the Congress begins its August recess.

Remarks on the Economy and an Exchange With Reporters

August 1, 1996

The President. Good morning. A strong and growing economy is the best way to offer opportunity to every American who is willing to work for it. Today we received fresh news that our economy grew at a strong 4.2 percent rate in the last quarter. This robust growth, 4.2 percent, is touching the lives of all our people with 10 million new jobs, low unemployment, and inflation in check. This is good news for America and more evidence that our economy continues to surge ahead and that our economic strategy is working.

Four years ago today, the economy was drifting, unemployment was nearly 8 percent, job growth was weak, the deficit was at an all-time high, great American industries were falling behind. For the last 3 years, we have had in place a comprehensive plan to put our economic house in order and to create opportunity for the American people. My economic team, which has joined me here today, has worked day and night to put this strategy in place over stiff partisan opposition who said our plan wouldn't work and would actually make things worse. But today's good news shows that the plan we put in place is the right plan to move us forward into the 21st century.

This strong growth is reflected in other ways as well. American industry is on the rebound. We have 900,000 new construction jobs; once again we lead the world in autos and semiconductors; 4.4 million people have become new homeowners; and 10 million Americans have refinanced their existing home loans to get lower mortgage rates. We now have a record number of women-owned businesses; exports are at an all-time high.

We learned this week that consumer confidence is at its highest level in 6 years, and real wages, which had fallen for a decade, are on the rise again. The deficit has been cut by more than half so that it is now the smallest since 1981. This plan has been based on investing in our people, developing new technologies, selling our products overseas, and getting the deficit down to get interest rates down—growth without inflation. Without fiscal responsibility, this dramatic move forward could not have been achieved—strong growth, low inflation, new jobs, higher wages, the strongest American economy in a generation.

But even as we celebrate this good economic news, we must remember that there is more to do to make sure all Americans can benefit from this growing economy. Yesterday we took a step forward by giving the American people a welfare reform bill. Though not perfect, it offers the best chance we've had to move people from dependence to independence, from welfare to work, giving them a real opportunity to succeed at home and at work.

I'm pleased that Congress has made progress toward the passage of other critical measures which also will give our people the capacity to make the most of the growing economy. An increase in the minimum wage will honor work and family. The small-business provisions in that bill will help small businesses, the engine of economic job growth, to invest more in their businesses and will help small-business owners and their employees to take out and maintain retirement plans over their careers.

The Kassebaum-Kennedy bill will give millions of Americans access to health care. I must say in passing, I was disappointed that the mental health provision was taken out, and I certainly hope we can get it as soon as possible in the future. It should remain a high priority.

These two bills, when they pass, will also make a real difference to millions and millions of Americans. And I call upon Congress to finish the work on both these bills before leaving for the August recess.

Again, let me say that this economic news shows that our strategy is working, the economy is growing, our Nation is moving in the right direction. This is not the time to make dramatic changes that reverse our discipline on the deficit. It is the time to bear down and improve upon the strategy we have been following for 3½ years that has reversed the previous course and brought us such good results. We cannot turn our backs on that progress. The American people do not want to go back to where we were 4 years ago. This plan is working, and we have to press forward.

Taxes

Q. Mr. President, if the Republicans come forward with an across-the-board tax cut, what do you think that would do in the light of the economic statistics today?

The President. Well, if it calls for a big increase in the deficit, I think it would have a very adverse impact on the economy. And I think the—I would be surprised if the private sector didn't have a very adverse reaction to it. We know that historically you may get a little bump from a tax cut in the short run that increases the deficit, but if it's a huge structural problem, in the long run the price is enormous.

Look what happened in the last 12 years. We had a couple of good years because the economy was in a deep recession. When it came out of the recession, which would have happened anyway, the huge tax cuts pumped more money into the economy in the short run, but we wound up quadrupling the debt in 12 years. The crushing burden of the debt kept interest rates high, weakened our economy, weakened our position in the global economy, and had us in a virtual straitjacket when I took office. I think it would be a mistake to go back to that strategy.

No one I know of who has participated in real, stable, sustained long-term growth, not only in the United States but elsewhere, believes this is a very good way to proceed. And I think it would be a mistake.

Yes, Bill [Bill Plante, CBS News]?

White House Travel Office

Q. Mr. President, will you call on the Senate to resurrect the bill to pay the legal expenses of the people who were fired from the Travel Office? Democrats seem to have blocked it. And will you call on them to pass it? And will you sign it if it gets here?

The President. Well I told you before, there are a lot of people who were never even charged with anything, much less offering to plead guilty to anything, who have been dragooned and pulled up and had thousands and tens of thousands of dollars of legal expenses, who were completely innocent but have been subject to abject harassment. And I said before when you asked me that question, are we going to pay their legal expenses, too? Are we going to pay the legal expenses of every person in America who is ever acquitted of an offense?

So, no, I'm not going to call upon them to bring it up again. If they send it to my desk, it depends—whether I sign it or not depends upon whose legal expenses are included and whether it's a fair and balanced bill.

Q. Sir, does that mean you're going back on your promise? Your White House said earlier, in fact this morning, Mr. Toiv said that if it came here, you would sign it.

The President. Well, he didn't talk to me before he said that.

Q. So you wouldn't sign it?

The President. I didn't say that. I said, I don't know what's going to be in it. But I don't believe that we should give special preference to one group of people over others. Do you? Do you?

Q. You said you would do this earlier, sir.

The President. Do you think we should—do you think that Congress should pay for the legal expenses for all these middle class people that they harassed and brought up there and cost them tens of thousands of dollars in legal expenses when they never even accused them of doing anything and they certainly never offered to plead guilty to anything? Do you believe that?

Q. I just wanted to know if you were going to keep your word, sir.

The President. I didn't—I never gave my word on that. You go back and see what I said when I was asked that question. I asked, are they going to pay the expenses of anybody else? That's what I said. Don't talk to me—go back and see what I said. What did I say? What word did I give, sir?

Q. Your spokesman, sir, was asked——

The President. Well, my spokesman—they do a very good job, but I have made clear to Mr. McCurry what my position is on this. And if an error was made by my spokesman, I'm sorry. But I have not broken my word to anybody. I have been asked about this one time, and I asked whether we were going to provide for other people's legal expenses who were never accused of anything and who did not offer to plead guilty to anything. And I have heard nothing about that. So the answer to your question is, I do not know what I will do if such a bill comes to my desk, but I have no intention of asking Congress to interrupt its work on Kennedy-Kassebaum, on the minimum wage, on

antiterrorism, to get involved in this. No, I do not.

Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, on the subject of terrorism, some critics are saying that the measures that you're working on now with lawmakers really aren't going to make that much of a difference. And I know Republicans have been critical of the administration for not spending all the funds that it had earmarked for terrorism.

The President. Well, all I can tell you is, what we're doing here is what our law enforcement agencies have asked us to do. And I would remind you that our law enforcement agencies succeeded in cracking the World Trade Center case, that there is a trial going on in the Oklahoma City case, that they thwarted what was apparently and allegedly a big operation in Arizona recently. And we know they have prevented other incidents from occurring. So all I'm trying to do is to work with the law enforcement agencies of our country and the people that we have brought together to work on this antiterrorism initiative. And we followed their recommendations, and we're doing our best to get the job done.

White House Employee Drug Policy

Q. Mr. President, would you discuss the rationale for allowing individuals with a background of more than casual drug use to serve on the White House staff? Doesn't that send a poor signal to parents and children who want to avoid drugs, and one argument for it is that it will return to haunt you later in life?

The President. Well, if that were the whole story it might be. That is not the whole story. Compare the difference in the White House drug policy and the Congress drug policy. We are the branch of Government, the White House, that has a zero-tolerance policy. A complete—everybody was tested. Then people are subject—everybody who works here is subject to random testing. And people that have any kind of recent drug problem who were hired because they were felt to be drug-free at the time are subject to regular drug testing.

So the truth is we know that the people here, insofar as we can possibly determine it, are drug-free and that we have had a zero-tolerance policy. And I think the question is if people have put their lives in order and are prepared to be tested and are prepared to be held accountable and are judged as best as possible not to present a threat in any way, shape, or form and are doing a good job and are clearly drug-free, should they be denied the right to work because of some problem they have in their past?

Now, at the time these decisions were made in '93, the people who made them concluded no, as long as we had a system for regular testing. And I find it interesting that we get criticism from the Congress, from people who can't make that same assertion about their own staffs because they don't have anything like the testing program we do to hold people accountable.

So we have done our best to tell you what I think you want to know, which is, do we have a strict zero-tolerance policy here, and do we have a means for knowing whether we're right or not?

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Remarks Prior to a Meeting With Democratic Congressional Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters

August 2, 1996

The President. I'd like to make some brief remarks and then ask Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt to speak. And then we'll be glad to answer a few questions.

On this last day before Congress goes home, I wanted to invite the Democratic leadership down to the White House to thank them for their hard work and eventual successes on behalf of the working families of this country. The Congress is going to send me two measures that this caucus has worked hard on for a long time, the minimum wage bill, which also has

some important help for small businesses, incentives to invest more in the business and to make it easier to take out retirement plans, and of course, the Kennedy-Kassebaum health bill, which will help millions of Americans have access to health care.

And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Senator Kennedy who has worked on both these issues for years and years and who was absolutely superb in the debates in the Senate and he would not let these issues die when—[*applause*].

These issues have been very key to our party, our caucus, and to me and my administration for a long time now. And I'm very, very happy about it. We're in a lot better shape than we were a year ago. We have basically, thanks to the American people standing up and standing with us, we have been able to do some positive things here, which are very, very important. In addition to that, we're going to have two major environmental legislative victories, the safe drinking water act and one on pesticides, which I think are very, very important.

And I'm very pleased that we've been able to move away from some of the extremism of the last 2 years into a position where we can get some things done for the American people. So I think the American people have a lot to be proud of. I think the progressive, mainstream achievements of this caucus are some things that they can go home and be proud of in August. I have to say that this has been, on balance, a very good week for the American people.

I must say I'm deeply disappointed that the antiterrorism package which had been agreed to by our caucus and our leadership and the leadership of the Republican Party apparently is not going to pass because the same folks who opposed the crime bill in '94 and the Brady bill are not going to permit it to pass in the House. And I am disappointed about that. I'm disappointed that we can't pass anything on the taggants yet, the explosives, because that's a big problem in domestic terrorist incidents. But I think we have to keep working on it because this problem will not go away.

But in terms of these economic issues that are going to create more opportunity for the American people, I think it's a very, very happy day.

And I'd like to ask Senator Daschle and Mr. Gephardt to say few words, and then we'll answer your questions.

[*At this point, Senator Thomas A. Daschle made brief remarks, followed by Representative Richard A. Gephardt, who concluded by stating that the legislation passed by Congress was a victory for the American people.*]

The President. You bet it is.

Terrorism Legislation and the Whitewater Trials

Q. Mr. President, would a failure to pass a terrorism bill now be a Democratic—a legitimate Democratic campaign issue? And would you like to react to the verdict yesterday in Little Rock?

The President. Well, I believe that this ought to pass. And you know, I have done my best not to make this a partisan issue, this terrorism issue. This is a national security issue. Just as much as devising a defense in the cold war was a national security issue, that we tried to develop a bipartisan position on, dealing with terrorism, dealing with the proliferation of weapons, dealing with the consequences for freedom-loving people everywhere of all the racial and ethnic and religious and tribal and political hatred in the world today, these are the national security issues of the 21st century. And so I can tell you that I think it is legitimate for those of us who believe more should be done to continue to press for more to be done.

But I am going to do my best to try to fashion a bipartisan majority in America for this. This is national security. We've always in the past been able to hammer out a bipartisan posture on national security, and I hope we can. I know the leadership of the Republican Party must be disappointed that they could not deliver the Members here and that their caucus is, I believe, out of step with what the American people want. But I hope we can make this a bipartisan issue because it's a security issue.

As to the verdict, I'm very pleased, close to home here, that Bruce Lindsey was completely exonerated, as I felt certain he would be. And I'm happy for the people involved. And I have nothing to add to what has been coming out of the stories in Little Rock.

TWA Flight 800 and Terrorism

Q. [*Inaudible*]—in East Moriches, New York, for the past week and a half—I've talked to a lot of FBI agents who work for you who are convinced that terrorists are responsible for that. There's a story in the paper today that says the United States has proof that there are

11 terrorist training camps in Iran right now and that somebody trained in one of those camps was probably responsible for what happened in Saudi Arabia. What are you able to do without this terrorism bill to solve problems like that?

The President. Well, keep in mind we've been doing quite a lot. We just had a meeting in—let me back up and say—let me remind you of what our strategy is. The first strategy is to get the other nations of the world to take as hard a line on terrorism as we have already taken—and is manifest in this Congress which did pass in a bipartisan way a tougher sanctions bill, for example, against Iran and Libya—and to get other countries to work with us. And we agree on 25 separate things that we would do together with the G–7 countries in that regard. And last year—or earlier this year, several months ago at the United Nations—the last time I spoke to the United Nations, I asked them to adopt an international compact against terrorism. So we're moving on that.

The second thing we're trying to do is to increase our capacity to deal with terrorist activities here at home. And we have increased our capacity in the last 3 years. And this Congress did pass in a bipartisan way an antiterrorism bill which helped us to do more. The third thing we have to do, because they're targeted, is to dramatically increase airport security. Now, in addition to that, we're taking further measures to increase the security of our troops overseas, as you know, and General Downing is going to make a report to me sometime in the next couple of weeks about that. And we have had success in thwarting several planned terrorist activities in the United States against America. So there are things that we can do.

As to the TWA flight and the evidence you mentioned, I can tell you this. I will do what is appropriate once we know what the evidence is. But there are a lot of people who have a lot of opinions now. But as President, I have to wait until the FBI investigators and the other team members tell me what they believe to have happened and until we have a chain of established proof. You can't say, particularly when the consequences are as horrible as this, what you think happened in the absence of conclusive evidence. So I have to wait until I get that.

Employment Figures

Q. Mr. President, what's your reaction to the jobs figures this morning, and do you see any inflationary consequences to them?

The President. Well, you know, I can't comment on the job figures officially until 9:30, so I'll have something to say about it later. But I can tell you this, there is no—there is now no substantial evidence of inflation pressures in this economy. The best thing about the recovery of the last 3 years—although a lot of us would like to see the growth rate a little higher—but the best thing about it is that we have proved that this economy, together—not just our administration—the American people have proved that they could create over 10 million jobs and that wages could actually start rising again after a decade without any inflation in the economy. I believe it's because of the productivity of the American workers and the competition of the global market working together.

What I was worried about was that we wouldn't be able to get wages going up again even though jobs were being created. Now, wages are finally beginning to rise, and there's at this point no evidence that there's an inflationary problem. And that's a very good thing for the American people in terms of their household budgets and a very good thing for the American economy. If we can keep growing and raise wages and keep inflation in check, then we will have done something that we've not been able to do for 30 years. And that's a very, very good sign for the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Wayne A. Downing, USA (Ret.), Director, Downing Assessment Task Force.

Remarks Announcing Measures To Improve Working Conditions in the Apparel Industry and an Exchange With Reporters

August 2, 1996

The President. Good morning. To Secretary Reich, Phil Knight of Nike, the other business leaders who are here, and the labor leaders, leaders of other organizations who are concerned about this issue; to Kathie Lee Gifford and Congressman George Miller, who was just here and had to leave. I want to say a special word of thanks to my friend Senator Tom Harkin, who is the very first person who ever discussed the issue we'll be talking about today with me.

Before I begin, I'd like to say just a brief word about the new job figures. It was reported this morning that our economy produced nearly 200,000 more new jobs in July, further good news for the American people that our economy is growing and creating good jobs. Thanks to the hard work of employees and businesses here in our country, we now have the economic equivalent of our dream team: strong growth, millions of jobs, low inflation, low unemployment, and growing incomes. That's the lineup we want for America.

I just had a very productive meeting with representatives of some of our Nation's largest apparel and footwear companies as well as representatives of labor, consumer, human rights, and religious groups. They all accepted my invitation to meet here today to deal with an issue that is rightly on the minds of millions of American consumers.

Just a year ago today, the discovery of more than 70 people working in virtual slavery behind barbed wire in a garment factory in El Monte, California, awakened Americans to the fact that some of the clothes and shoes they buy are manufactured by people who work under deplorable conditions. The well-documented episode involving Kathie Lee Gifford also awakened many people to this problem.

We all are outraged by these awful revelations, but as leaders we have a responsibility to do something about them. When Kathie Lee learned that some of the garments with her name on them were being produced under terrible working conditions, she didn't bury her head in the sand. Instead, she reacted quickly, decisively, and responsibly. That's what all the rest of us must do as well.

Our Nation has always stood for human dignity and the fundamental rights of working people. We believe everyone should work, but no one should have to put their lives or health in jeopardy to put food on the table for their families. That's why I am pleased to announce that the companies gathered here today have agreed to begin working together to put an end to this terrible problem.

They have agreed to do two things. First, they will take additional steps to ensure that the products they make and sell are manufactured under decent and humane working conditions. Second, they will develop options to inform consumers that the products they buy are not produced under those exploitative conditions. They have agreed to report back to me within a maximum of 6 months about their progress.

Human and labor rights are not brand names. They are the most basic products of our democracy. I want to compliment the companies that are here: Phillips-Van Heusen, L.L. Bean, Patagonia, Nicole Miller, Karen Kane, Warnaco, Tweeds, and of course, Frank and Kathie Lee Gifford, Liz Claiborne, and Nike, companies that have pledged to live up to their responsibilities. And I want to see the results they produce.

The ultimate test of their commitment will be for them to produce tough criteria to make sure that sweatshops are not used and to make sure consumers know it. And then what we want to do is to persuade others in this country to follow their lead and to find ways to make sure, again, that consumers know it.

I don't know what final strategies they will come up with. I do hope they'll develop measures that might include labels, clear signs in stores, or other means of getting the information directly involved to consumers so that consumers at the point of sale have an opportunity themselves to be responsible citizens in their purchases.

This is a good start. As I said before, we know that the first job of business is to produce a profit. That is the foundation of our free en-

terprise system. But for the system to succeed, good corporations must also be good citizens. Our success in the 21st century depends more than ever on the right kind of partnership between all of us to make America the place it ought to be and to set a standard for the entire world.

We're already working with the high-tech community to put computers in schools, with the media and entertainment industry to rate television programs. Today we are embarking on a new partnership. I hope that it will become a vital part of the battle against sweatshops here in the United States and against abusive working conditions and particularly child labor everywhere in the world.

Thank you.

[*At this point, Secretary of Labor Robert Reich; Phil Knight, president and chief executive officer, Nike, Inc.; and television talk show host Kathie Lee Gifford made brief remarks.*]

Health Care Reform

Q. Mr. President, now that Kennedy-Kassebaum appears to be about to become the law of the land, I wondered if you think that is enough for health care or if there are some goals that you have should you get reelected, possibly specific programs that you would try to get through—[*inaudible*].

The President. Well, first of all, I'm very gratified that it is law. And I think that it's going to be the law of the land in no small measure because we have had this health care issue on the agenda now for 3½ years, and, frankly, because Senator Kennedy has been fighting for it for 20 years, ever since his own son was taken ill as a young boy.

And I was talking with Senator Rockefeller, who is also one of our longtime leaders, about this this morning. As you know, I also recommended in my budget that we take steps to provide for the possibility of coverage for people who suffer long periods of unemployment and when they're in between jobs and when the insurance that they have associated with their previous jobs expires. And so I think that is the next step.

And I think what we should do—I still believe the goal that I had to have a system that provides everybody with the opportunity to have health insurance coverage, that emphasizes preventive health, that keeps inflation in health care at about the general rate of inflation—that these are good and honorable goals, and I think we're going to have to meet them in a sort of a step-by-step basis. And I think when we get Kennedy-Kassebaum in place and see how it works, the new changes may tell us what the next steps are. But I think we should begin to focus on the problems of unemployed families. And as I said, I've already tried to address this to some extent in my budget.

Q. Mr. President, when do you plan to sign——

Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, what can you tell us about these reports of terrorist training camps in Iran, and what, if anything, do you plan to do about it?

The President. Well, first of all, there are terrorist training camps in more than one country in the world, and we are aware of many of them in many countries. The question here is whether—who was responsible for the killing of the America servicemen in Saudi Arabia? And keep in mind, we cannot confirm—I was asked a question by a young man this morning—we cannot confirm yet what the cause of the TWA crash was, and until we can we shouldn't speculate. But we know that our servicemen in Saudi Arabia were killed by a terrorist attack. Who was responsible for that? Who supported them in that? And was any nation involved in that? These are the questions we have to ask and answer. The speculation or even the existence of actual terrorist training camps do not answer those specific questions.

And so until I'm in a position to tell the American people the answer to those questions, I think I should tell you what I have said all along. Our country has taken a tough line against terrorism. We want our allies to help us. We want to have the tools we need here at home to prevent as many attacks as possible and to punish people who carry them out. We want to make airline safety as safe as we possibly can. And that's what we're working on. And then when we find people who have done things that are wrong, we will do our best to bring them to justice, as you have seen in the successful trials and convictions in the World Trade Center bombing and the trial going on involving the Oklahoma City bombing.

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, are you concerned that your Trade Representative was unable to get an agreement on insurance with Japan despite your Wednesday deadline?

The President. Well, frankly, I'm elated that we got a semiconductor agreement. That is a very, very big issue, and very important for us because of the enormous comeback American industry's had in that area. I thought we would get an insurance agreement. I still think we can. We're really not all that far away, and I think we need to keep working at it.

But I want to congratulate Ambassador Barshefsky on getting the semiconductor agreement. And I know that the people in that industry in America—there are many, many thousands of good jobs involved in this—are very happy today.

Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service]?

Terrorism

Q. Yes, sir. Aren't we doing some of this training in the use of bombs in our own Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps? And we're doing it with people who are not treated or tested for psychiatric conditions? And isn't some of this coming out from after they get out of the services and they are unhappy about things, then they create bombs? Our research shows that that's happening.

The President. Well, for one thing, it is necessary that people in our military understand fundamentals—the people in the appropriate units in the military understand the fundamentals of how bombs are made and how they can be defused and the technology of it. And of course, I think the people in the military do the best they can to make sure that the rigorous training program that people go through would sort out those who are unsuited.

It is true that some of the people who have the knowledge necessary to cause problems for us domestically, in instances of domestic terrorism, have been in the military. But I don't know that we can compellingly say that there's any higher percentage of people who are mentally unbalanced who have been in the military than in any other group. And I don't know that there's any sort of screening process that the military could adopt that would protect against that. That is something that—I think that's one of the ongoing questions they're always asking themselves whenever we have an incident not just involving a bomb, but if there's something else that a soldier does or a veteran does that may seem tied to his or her military service, they look at that. But I don't know that there's an easy answer to that.

Mara [Mara Liasson, National Public Radio]?

Q. Senator Moynihan yesterday——

Legislative Accomplishments

Q. [*Inaudible*]—with this Congress—welfare reform, minimum wage, Kassebaum-Kennedy. Isn't this an argument to keep things the way they are, with you in the White House, Republicans in the majority, and Democrats in the minority of Congress?

The President. Well, first of all, it's come like pulling teeth right here before the election. And it's only come after the American people showed that they were bitterly opposed to the extremism that was the wont of the Congress. So if—the American people, of course, will have to make up their minds, but basically, what we did with the health initiative and the minimum wage were plainly Democratic initiatives, as well as the major environmental initiatives. In welfare, the two parties essentially came together finally. Otherwise, we would have had a totally unacceptable bill. So the American people can make up their minds.

I think what they've seen is that all the things that were said about the Democrats aren't true. The Democrats have turned out to be fiscally responsible, strong on defense, strong on foreign policy, strong on welfare, strong on crime, strong on management of the economy, and good for health care and education and working families.

So it seems to me that our party in Congress ought to feel good about going out and presenting an image of a modern 21st century progressive party and then let the American people make up their mind whether they agree with their philosophy or the philosophy of the other party. That's what the election will be about.

Thank you.

Health Care Reform Legislation

Q. Mr. President, will you sign Kennedy-Kassebaum before going on vacation?

Q. Will Republican leaders be invited to the signing ceremony?

The President. Absolutely. They always are. I don't have any uniparty signing ceremonies where there are bipartisan support.

Q. Do they not deserve some credit?

The President. Absolutely. I'm glad that they voted for it. They absolutely do. Anybody who supported any of these measures deserves credit for it. I was just answering Mara's question in the other context. They absolutely do, and I applaud them for doing it. I'm tickled pink that they did it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:22 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on the Japan-United States Semiconductor Agreement

August 2, 1996

I want to congratulate Ambassador Barshefsky and her entire negotiating team on the agreement reached today on semiconductors. Their tireless efforts to advance our Nation's economic interests around the world have reaped enormous benefits for America's businesses and workers.

This agreement achieves our goals of transparency and monitoring of the semiconductor market to assure market access for our companies. The semiconductor industry serves as an engine for growth and jobs and has regained its position as world leader in semiconductor production.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Canada-United States Protocol for the Protection of Migratory Birds

August 2, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Protocol between the United States and Canada Amending the 1916 Convention for the Protection of Migratory Birds in Canada and the United States, with a related exchange of notes, signed at Washington on December 14, 1995.

The Protocol, which is discussed in more detail in the accompanying report of the Secretary of State, represents a considerable achievement for the United States in conserving migratory birds and balancing the interests of conservationists, sports hunters, and indigenous people. If ratified and properly implemented, the Protocol should further enhance the management and protection of this important resource for the benefit of all users.

The Protocol would replace a protocol with a similar purpose, which was signed January 30, 1979, (Executive W, 96th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1980)), and which I, therefore, desire to withdraw from the Senate.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Protocol, with exchange of notes, and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

August 2, 1996.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the United Nations Convention To Combat Desertification

August 2, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, Particularly in Africa, with Annexes, adopted at Paris, June 17, 1994, and signed by the United States on October 14, 1994. The report of the Department of State is also enclosed for the information of the Senate.

The purpose of the Convention is to combat desertification and mitigate the effects of drought on arid, semi-arid, and dry sub-humid lands through effective action at all levels. In particular, the Convention addresses the fundamental causes of famine and food insecurity in Africa, by stimulating more effective partnership between governments, local communities, non-governmental organizations, and aid donors, and by encouraging the dissemination of information derived from new technology (e.g., early warning of impending drought) to farmers.

The United States has strongly supported the Convention's innovative approach to combatting dryland degradation. I believe it will help Africans and others to make better use of fragile resources without requiring increased development assistance. Ratification by the United States would promote effective implementation of the Convention and is likely to encourage similar action by other countries whose participation would also promote effective implementation.

United States obligations under the Convention would be met under existing law and ongoing assistance programs.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention and its Annexes, with the declaration described in the accompanying report of the Secretary of State, and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 2, 1996.

Letter to Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich on Proposed Legislation on Illegal Immigration Enforcement

August 2, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Reversing decades of neglect, this Administration has dedicated unprecedented resources and enforcement effort to curtailing illegal immigration. Our comprehensive strategy to restore the rule of law to illegal immigration enforcement has done more in three years than was done in thirty years before. It includes:

1) *Gaining control of our borders.* This Administration is deploying more Border Patrol agents than any previous Administration. In FY 1996, we will deploy an additional 1,000 new and reassigned agents. Overall, the Administration has increased the number of Border Patrol agents at the southwest border by 40% since 1993. For the first time, Border Patrol agents are being equipped with the high technology resources needed to do the job, including sensors, night scopes, computers and encrypted radios. Strengthened anti-smuggling efforts have reduced the criminal transport and exploitation of smuggled aliens.

2) *Safeguarding the interests of legal workers.* This Administration is the first to initiate effective enforcement of employer sanctions and worksite standards. In addition, I issued an Executive Order to keep federal contracts from going to businesses that

knowingly hire illegal workers. We are also testing a computer work authorization verification system and are creating more fraud-resistant immigration documents.

3) *Removing criminal and other deportable aliens from the country.* In 1995, this Administration removed a record number of criminal and other illegal aliens from this country—74% more than in FY 1990.

Most of H.R. 2202, the Immigration in the National Interest Act, supports the steps we have taken. I continue to urge Congress to pass these provisions and present me with the additional tools that I need to continue the progress we have made.

However, there is a right way and a wrong way to fight illegal immigration. The Gallegly Amendment and the compromise being considered during the conference process would result in kicking children out of school and onto the streets. The street is no place for children to learn; children should be in school. This proposal is an unacceptable and ineffective way to fight illegal immigration. And the proposed compromise—which will still require states to verify the immigration status of all children, and permit states to exclude those who cannot afford to pay tuition—is as objectionable as the original provision. Congress should reject it.

If the immigration bill contains this provision, I will veto it. We can agree on so much in the legislation that would help what we are already doing. Let us move forward with illegal immigration enforcement legislation without this misguided measure.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

NOTE: This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 3.

The President's Radio Address
August 3, 1996

Good morning. Today I'm pleased to announce a major step for protecting the health and safety of all Americans, especially our children. In a few moments I'll sign into law legislation that will revolutionize the way we protect our food from harmful pesticides. This is a positive and hopeful time, an age of enormous possibility for our people, a chance for us to build a country and a world that is stronger and safer and more full of opportunity than any that has existed before.

The way we will master this moment of change is the way we always have, by meeting our challenges and holding fast to our enduring values. Central among these is the belief that American families are owed some basic security. They should know that the food they eat and the water they drink will not make them sick.

From the day I took office I've worked hard to meet this fundamental promise. We strengthened and expanded the community right-to-know law, which requires industries to tell our citizens exactly what substances are being released into the world around us. Last year we put in place strong new protections to ensure that the seafood we eat is safe, and last month I announced steps to revamp our meat and poultry inspection system for the first time in 90 years.

Today we add the cornerstone to the solid foundation we've built for America's families, the Food Quality Protection Act. Three years ago I proposed reforms to overhaul and strengthen the way we regulate pesticides. This landmark legislation meets the goals I set forth then. I like to think of it as the "peace of mind" act, because it will give parents the peace of mind that comes from knowing that the fruits, vegetables, and grains they set down in front of their children are safe.

This legislation is long overdue. The old safeguards that protected our foods from pesticides were written with the best intentions, but they're simply no longer up to the job. Bad pesticides have stayed on the market too long; good alternatives have been kept out. There are strong protections against cancer but not against other health dangers. There is no uniform standard for what is safe.

Those weaknesses in the present law put us all at risk but especially our children. According to the National Academy of Sciences, infants

and young people are particularly vulnerable to pesticides; chemicals can go a long way in a small body. The Food Quality Protection Act puts the safety of our children first. First, it sets clear, consistent standards for all pesticide use on all foods for all health risks. It also sets that standard high. If a pesticide poses a danger to our children, then it won't be in our food, period.

Second, the act will reform the regulatory process for pesticides. New, safer substitutes will be approved faster. The sooner they get on the market, the sooner farmers will be able to use them to replace older pesticides that may pose greater health risks. All pesticides will be reviewed regularly using the best science available.

Third, this legislation will see to it that consumers get the facts they need. Supermarkets will be required to provide health information to shoppers about the pesticides used on the food they're buying. A family should be able to gather for a summer dinner knowing that the fruits and vegetables before them will provide nothing more than nourishment and joy. Americans have enough on their minds without having to worry about whether or not the food they eat will put them in harm's way. With this legislation, Americans will continue to have the security of knowing that the world's most bountiful food supply is also its safest.

Just as important as what this law does is how it came into being. The Food Quality Protection Act comes to my desk with the support of farmers and environmentalists, consumer groups and agriculture groups, and the medical industry. After more than a decade of work, these diverse groups have come together to say with this bill, we do not have to choose between a strong economy and a safe environment. We can have both.

This bill also comes to the White House with the unanimous backing of all Republicans and all Democrats in Congress. What a difference a year makes. Last August we were fighting off a concerted effort to roll back our most basic safeguards for clean air, clean water, and clean food. Our traditional bipartisan commitment to protecting the public health and our environment was at risk. Today, on this issue, I'm proud to say that we again stand on common ground.

That is how we must meet all the challenges of our time, not by drifting apart but by coming together. In the last week, members of both parties have joined in common cause to do what's best for America, to end welfare as we know it, to raise the minimum wage and aid small businesses, to pass health care reform, and to safeguard our food. Last night Congress passed strong legislation to help keep our drinking water safe. This is truly a season of progress because we're turning away from extremism and coming together around our basic values of opportunity, responsibility, and community. If we keep it up, we surely will make this an age of possibility for all Americans.

Thank for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks on Signing the Food Quality Protection Act of 1996

August 3, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you all for being here today. I'm delighted to see you. I know that a lot of you have come from a very long way away, and I know that was an extreme effort. But I think in some ways the most extreme effort was made by the Members of Congress who are here because they finished an exhaustive and very productive week late last night, and I can't believe they're still around in Washington, and I want to thank them for staying: Chairman Bliley, Chairman Roberts, Congressmen Waxman, Bilirakis, Condit, Dooley, and Richardson. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks not only to Congressman Dingell but to Congressman Fazio, who is not here, who also worked on this bill, and to Senator Heflin and Senator Leahy and Senator Lugar and my friend Senator Pryor, who worked on this bill, who is not here.

And I want to thank the Agriculture Department. Deputy Secretary Rominger is here and the FDA Commissioner Kessler. And I'd like

to thank the members of the administration, especially Carol Browner and Katie McGinty. I'd like to thank the Vice President, who told me that he held the first hearings on dealing with this issue 15 years ago in the Congress. This issue has been around a long time, and it's a great, great day. I'd also like to say that the happiest person in the administration today is Leon Panetta, because in his other life he is a walnut farmer. [*Laughter*] But I assure you this is not special interest legislation. [*Laughter*] There's nothing in here with a disproportionate impact on Italian walnut farmers from northern California—[*laughter*]—that is, to the best of my knowledge there is nothing.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are here today in celebration, and we should be immensely proud of the Food Quality Protection Act that will revolutionize the way we protect food from harmful pesticides. It proves we don't have to choose between a healthy environment and a healthy economy. It shows when we come together across party lines and do the right thing for the American people, we can get real results. This is important not only for what was done but for how it was done, and I want to thank everyone here who has been a part of it.

From the day I took office I have worked hard to meet what I think is a fundamental promise that we should make to our people. People should know the food they eat and the water they drink will not make them sick. We strengthened and expanded the community right-to-know law, which requires industries to tell our citizens what substances are being released into the world around us. Last year we put in place strong new protections to ensure that seafood is safe. Last month we announced steps to revamp our meat and poultry inspection system for the first time in 90 years.

Today we add the cornerstone to this solid foundation with the Food Quality Protection Act. I like to think of it as the "peace of mind act", because it'll give parents the peace of mind that comes from knowing that the fruits, the vegetables, the grains that they put down in front of their children are safe. It's long overdue. The old safeguards that protected our food from pesticides were written with the best of intentions, but they weren't up to the job. And as you can see from the vast array of support here across every specter of American life, nobody liked them very much and no one thought that they really worked as they were supposed to. Bad pesticides stayed on the market too long; good alternatives were kept out. In this new provision we deal with the problem of existing law, which is that there are strong protections against cancer but not against other health dangers. There is simply no uniform standard for what's safe.

These weaknesses in the present law cause real problems for everyone involved in producing and distributing our food and for, most of all, the people who consume it, especially our children. According to the National Academy of Sciences, infants and young people are especially vulnerable to pesticides; chemicals can go a long way in a small body. This act puts the safety of our children first. It sets a clear, consistent standard for all pesticide use on all foods for all health risks. It sets the standard high; if a pesticide poses a danger to our children, it won't be in our food, period.

The act will reform the regulatory process for pesticides so that new and safer substitutes will be approved faster, and this is also very important. The sooner they get on the markets, the sooner farmers will be able to use them to replace older pesticides that may pose greater health risks. The pesticides will be reviewed regularly using the best science available.

Third, this legislation will see to it that consumers get the information they need. Supermarkets will be required to provide health information to shoppers about the pesticides used on food they're buying. A family ought to be able to gather for a summer dinner knowing that the food before them will provide nothing more than nourishment and joy. Americans have enough on their minds without having to worry about that. With this legislation, Americans will continue to know that the world's most bountiful food supply is also its safest.

And as I said before, to me, almost as important as what the law does is how it was done. This act comes to our desk—to my desk and to our administration—with the support of farmers and environmentalists, consumer groups and agribusiness, and the medical community. After more than a decade of work, these groups have come together to say with this bill, "We do not have to choose between a clean environment and a safe food supply and a strong economy. If we do it right, we can have both." It comes with the unanimous backing of every Member of Congress in both parties. And I must say, I am gratified to see this, because I see this

effort to preserve the environment in a way that will permit us to grow the economy as an essential component of our national security in the 21st century.

Last year we were fighting about efforts to weaken our most basic safeguards for clean air, clean water, safe food. Now we see a bipartisan public commitment to the public health. This is an area where we stand on common ground. And as a people, we should continue to stand on common ground.

I want to compliment the Congress for the work that was done in this last week, moving people from welfare to work, raising the minimum wage, helping small businesses, passing health care reform, making this effort to safeguard our food. Last night Congress passed strong legislation to help keep our drinking water safe. This has been a very good season of progress, turning away from extremism toward common ground, around opportunity, responsibility, and community. I am very pleased. I thank the Members of Congress here for their leadership. And I thank the American people, and especially those here represented, for making this day happen.

We're going to do the bill signing now, and I want to invite the children who have come from around the country here to come up and the Members of Congress to come up for the bill signing.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. H.R. 1627, approved August 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–170.

Statement on Signing the Food Quality Protection Act of 1996

August 3, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 1627, the "Food Quality Protection Act of 1996," which brings much needed reform to laws governing pesticides and food safety.

Americans have every right to expect that the world's most bountiful food supply will also be the world's safest. Early in my Administration I set out to strengthen our pesticide and food safety laws. This Act achieves that goal with commonsense regulatory reform based on the best available science.

The Act will replace conflicting and outdated pesticide residue standards with a single, rigorous health-based standard for all food. All pesticides will be required to meet the new standard. Incentives are also provided for swift approval of safe, new pesticide alternatives for farmers.

Most importantly, H.R. 1627 contains special new provisions to protect America's infants and children from pesticide risks. These protections will guarantee that every family in America has the safest food possible on their dinner table.

This Act demonstrates how the Congress and the Administration can work together to help both farmers and consumers, and I am pleased to sign it into law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 3, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 1627, approved August 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–170.

Statement on Signing the National Gambling Impact Study Commission Act

August 3, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 497, the "National Gambling Impact Study Commission Act." This legislation will establish a Commission to conduct a comprehensive study of the social and economic impacts of gambling in the United States.

The Commission will help draw attention to the growth of the gambling industry and its consequences. Too often, public officials view gambling as a quick and easy way to raise revenues, without focusing on gambling's hidden social, economic, and political costs. The Commission will report on all of the effects of gambling to the President and the Congress.

The Commission's study will address various types of betting, whether conducted in a casino, on a riverboat, on the Internet, on an Indian reservation, or anywhere else in the United States. In addition, the study will address gambling sponsored by governmental, commercial, philanthropic, or charitable entities. Such a balanced study will be invaluable to public officials as they make policy decisions concerning this important issue.

The legislation grants the Commission limited subpoena authority to get the information it needs to carry out its purpose, while protecting the privacy of individuals and businesses. The bill also authorizes the Commission to request information from any Federal agency, which may use its discretion and judgment in withholding privileged and sensitive information.

My Administration supported the establishment of this Commission, and I am pleased to sign this bill into law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 3, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 497, approved August 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–169.

Statement on Signing Legislation on Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status for Romania

August 3, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 3161, authorizing the termination of the application of title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 to Romania. Under the provisions of this bill, the President may grant permanent most-favored-nation (MFN) status to Romania.

This is an important milestone in U.S.-Romanian relations. Romania now joins other emerging democracies in Central Europe from which the United States has fully removed trade restrictions that originated in concerns about emigration practices during the Cold War. My approval of this bill reflects the strong U.S. support for the citizens of Romania in their efforts to overcome the legacy of decades of communist repression and to establish a full democracy based on respect for human rights, the rule of law, tolerance, and free market economics.

This legislation enjoys strong bipartisan support in the United States, and I note that the granting of permanent MFN has the support of many Romanian leaders across the political spectrum.

Romania's excellent record in respecting the right of free emigration, its considerable progress in establishing the fundamentals of a free market democracy and its strong cooperation with the United States helped facilitate passage of this bill. I am confident that Romania, as it proceeds toward integration with the Western democratic community, will continue its progress and intensify efforts to make democratic, free market reforms, develope good relations with its democratic neighbors and reach out to Romania's ethnic and religious minorities.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 3, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3161, approved August 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–171.

Remarks on Signing the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996 and an Exchange With Reporters

August 5, 1996

The President. Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It's good to be joined today by Senator D'Amato and Congressmen Cardin, Gejdenson, Gilman, King, and Matsui; family members of the victims of Pan Am Flight 103; and two brave Americans who suffered the nightmare of being taken hostage in the Middle East.

We come together around the common commitment to strengthen our fight against terrorism. Terrorism has many faces, to be sure, but Iran and Libya are two of the most dangerous supporters of terrorism in the world. The Iran and Libya sanctions bill I sign today will help to deny those countries the money they need to finance international terrorism. It will limit the flow of resources necessary to obtain weapons of mass destruction. It will heighten pressure on Libya to extradite the suspects in the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

From the skies over Lockerbie to Khobar Towers, from the World Trade Center to Centennial Park, America has felt the pain of terrorism abroad and at home. From the Tokyo subway to the streets of Tel Aviv, we know that no nation is immune. We have not yet solved all these tragedies. We will not rest until we do so. But one thing is clear: To succeed in this battle we need to wage it together, as one America leading the community of civilized nations.

Our Nation is fighting terrorism on three fronts: first, abroad, through closer cooperation with our allies; second, at home, by giving our law enforcement officials the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and, third, by improving security in our airports and on our airplanes. Last week in Paris, with America's leadership, the G-7 nations and Russia agreed on a sweeping set of measures to prevent terrorists from acting and to catch them when they do. We have seen that when we pool our strength we can obtain results. We will continue to press our allies to join with us in increasing the pressure on Iran and Libya to stop their support of terrorists. We already have acted ourselves, through our own sanctions, and with this legislation we are asking our allies to join with us more effectively.

With this legislation we strike hard where it counts, against those who target innocent lives and our very way of life. It shows we are fully prepared to act to restrict the funds to Iran and Libya that fuel terrorist attacks. America will not rest, and I resolve to hunt down, prosecute, and punish terrorists and to put pressure on states that support them. The survivors of terrorism, the families of its victims who surround me, and all the American people deserve nothing less.

[*At this point, the President signed the legislation.*]

The President. Thank you all very much.

Extraterritorial Impact of Sanctions

Q. Mr. President, France says the Europeans will retaliate if this measure is implemented.

The President. Well, of course that's their decision to make. But every advanced country is going to have to make up its mind whether it can do business with people by day who turn around and fuel attacks on their innocent civilians by night. That's a decision that every country's going to have to make.

I will say this: I am encouraged that we are doing more with our allies than before to fight terrorism and that there is broader agreement than there has been before on specific measures. But in extreme cases where we disagree and where it is obvious that basically turning away from the implications of state support of terrorism has not worked, the United States has to act. And I can only hope that some day soon, all countries will come to realize that you simply can't do business with people by day who are killing your people by night.

Bob Dole's Tax Cut Proposal

Q. Mr. President, what do you think of Senator Dole's apparent plan to cut taxes 15 percent, 50 percent on capital gains, and so forth. Will it hurt you?

The President. Well, the most important thing is, will it hurt the American people? And I favor targeted tax cuts for education that are paid for. I am unalterably opposed to going back to the mistake we made before in having big tax cuts that are not paid for. It will balloon the deficit, raise interest rates, and weaken the economy. That's the only thing that matters: What impact will it have on the American people?

Thank you very much. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:42 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. H.R. 3107, approved August 5, was assigned Public Law No. 104–172.

Remarks on International Security Issues at George Washington University
August 5, 1996

Thank you very much. President Trachtenberg, I was in the neighborhood so I thought I'd drop by. [*Laughter*] Dean Harding, members of the George Washington University community, Congressman Cardin, Congressman King, Congressman Matsui. Senator McGovern, thank you for coming, sir. Delighted to see you. And by the way, thank you for writing your brave book about your daughter and for going around the country and talking about her. Thank you so much. I want to thank the family members of the victims of Pan Am Flight 103 who are here with me today, as well as two of those who were held hostage in Iran back in 1980 who are here today—and '79. Thank you for coming.

I'm pleased to be back here at George Washington, especially as you celebrate your 175th anniversary. President James Monroe signed the congressional charter establishing GW. I can only applaud his wisdom and hope that 175 years from now our administration will be associated with a similarly proud legacy. I think he would be very proud if he could see what GW has become.

Last night the centennial Olympics came to an end. It was a great Olympics for America not only because of the triumphs of our athletes but also because of the magnificent job done by the city of Atlanta and all the other hosts. But in a larger sense, it was a great event not just for Americans but for people everywhere who believe in peace and freedom, who believe in individual achievement and common effort.

I believe we love the Olympics because they work the way we think the world ought to work. They are possible because all different kinds of people come together in mutual respect and mutual acceptance of the rules of the games. No one wins by breaking their opponent's legs or by bad-mouthing their opponents in a public forum. Instead, victory comes from doing well in a good way. And all who strive are honored, as we saw when our volunteers cleared the track for the brave, injured marathon runner who was the very last finisher in the race. Most individuals and teams from the 197 competing nations did not win any medal, but they all had their chance, did their best, and were better for their efforts. That is what we want for our country and the world at the edge of a new century and a new millennium.

In the world of the 21st century, the Olympic way will become possible in the lives of more people than ever before. More people than ever before will have the chance to live their dreams. The explosion of knowledge, communication, travel, and trade will bring us all closer together in the global village. But as we saw in that terrible moment of terror in Centennial Park, this new openness also makes us more vulnerable to the forces of destruction that know no national boundaries. The pipe bomb reminded us, as did the murder of 19 fine American servicemen in Saudi Arabia and the still unresolved crash of TWA 800, that if we want the benefits of this new world we must defeat the forces who would destroy it by killing the innocent to strike fear and burn hatred into the hearts

of the rest of us. This is a lesson and a responsibility every American must accept. As the mayor of Montoursville, a town of just 5,000 people in Pennsylvania that lost 21 of its brightest hopes for the future on TWA Flight 800, said, no matter how secluded and how innocent we are, once we leave our community we're subject to the troubles of the outside world.

America faces three great challenges as we enter the 21st century: keeping the American dream alive for all who are willing to work for it; bringing our own country together, not dividing it; and making sure America remains the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom, security and prosperity. I come to this place of learning and reason, a place so focused on the future, to explain why we cannot meet our own challenges of opportunity and responsibility and community unless we also maintain our indispensable role of leadership for peace and freedom in the world.

The worldwide changes in how people work, live, and relate to each other are the fastest and perhaps the most profound in history. Most of these changes are good: The cold war is over; our country is at peace; our economy is strong; democracy and free markets are taking root on every continent. The blocs, the barriers, the borders that defined the world for our parents and grandparents are giving way, with the help of a new generation of extraordinary technology. Every day millions of people use laptops, modems, CD–ROM's, and satellites to send ideas and products and money all across the planet in seconds. The opportunities to build a safer world and a more prosperous future are enormous.

But for all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril. Fascism and communism may be dead or discredited, but the forces of destruction live on. We see them in the sudden explosions of ethnic, racial, religious, and tribal hatred. We see them in the reckless acts of rogue states. We see them especially in the dangerous webs of new threats of terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, and the continuing threat that weapons of mass destruction might spread across the globe. These forces of destruction find opportunity in the very openness, freedom, and progress we cherish.

We must recognize that modern technologies by themselves will not make for us a new world of peace and freedom. Technology can be used for good or evil. American leadership is necessary to assure that the consequences are good. That is why we have worked so hard to seize the opportunities created by change and to move swiftly and strongly against the new threats that change has produced. To seize the opportunities, we are strengthening our alliances, dramatically reducing the danger of weapons of mass destruction, leading the march for peace and democracy throughout the world, and creating much greater prosperity at home by opening markets to American products abroad.

Our alliances are the bedrock of American leadership. As we saw in the Gulf war, in Haiti, and now in Bosnia, many other nations who share our goals will also share our burdens. In Europe, we have supported the forces of democracy and reform in the former Soviet Union, the removal of Russian troops from the Baltics, and led the way to opening NATO's doors to Europe's new democracies through the Partnership For Peace, as Europe, the main battleground for the bloodiest century in history, is finally coming together peacefully. In Asia, we have revitalized our security alliance with Japan, joined with South Korea to promote lasting peace on the Korean Peninsula, and worked steadily to encourage the emergence of a strong, stable, open China.

The end of the cold war has also allowed us to lift the dark cloud of nuclear fear that had hung over our heads for 50 years. Today not a single Russian missile is pointed at our citizens or cities. We are cutting Russian and American arsenals by two-thirds from their cold war height. We helped Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakstan to give up their nuclear weapons which were left on their land when the Soviet Union dissolved. We are working with Japan and Korea, and we have persuaded North Korea to freeze the dangerous nuclear program it had been developing for over a decade.

We have advanced the struggle for peace and freedom. When people live free and at peace, we are more secure because they are less likely to resort to violence or to abuse human rights, and more likely to be better trading partners and partners in our common struggle against terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, environmental degradation.

Because America is taking those risks for peace and democracy, the dictators are gone from Haiti. Democracy is back and the flow of desperate refugees has stopped. In Bosnia the snipers' killing fields have become children's

playing fields once again. In Northern Ireland and the Middle East, though difficulties remain, conflicts that once seemed unsolvable are moving closer to resolution. None of these struggles is easy. There is no guarantee of success. But we will continue to work for success, and we will make a difference.

Finally, we have seized the opportunity to better our people's lives at home by opening markets abroad. The true measure of our security includes not only physical safety but economic well-being as well. Decades from now people will look back on this period and see the most far-reaching changes in the world trading system in generations, changes that are good for the American people, changes that include 200 new trade agreements, including GATT and NAFTA; the Summit of the Americas; the Asian-Pacific leaders' commitment to bring down trade barriers. Because of these changes America is the world's number one exporter again, and we have a million new high-paid jobs as a result.

Now, none of these achievements just happened. They came about because we worked with others to share the risk and cost of engagement, because we used the power of our example and, where necessary, the example of our power. They happened because we were willing to make tough choices today knowing they would pay off for you tomorrow. Above all, they happened because we refused to listen to those who said that with the cold war over America could choose escapism over engagement. Had we done so we would have weakened the world's reach for freedom and tolerance and prosperity and undermined our own security and prosperity.

The fact is America remains the indispensable nation. There are times when America and only America can make a difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between hope and fear. Of course, we can't take on all the world's burden. We cannot become its policemen. But where our interests and values demand it and where we can make a difference, America must act and lead.

Nowhere is that responsibility more clear or more urgent than in the struggle against terrorism. No one is immune, whether you're riding a subway in Tokyo or a bus in Tel Aviv, whether you're window shopping in London or walking the streets in Moscow, whether you're doing your duty in Saudi Arabia or going to work in Oklahoma City. Terrorism has become an equal opportunity destroyer, with no respect for borders.

Whether we like it or not, in ways both good and bad we are living in an interdependent world. That's why we must break down the walls in our mind between foreign and domestic policy. And I might say, Mr. President, on this 175th anniversary, that is one of the intellectual objectives that I hope our great universities will commit themselves to.

The reality is our personal, community, and national prosperity depend upon our policies on economics in trade at home and abroad. Our personal, community, and national well-being depends upon our policies on the environment at home and abroad. Most dramatically, our personal, community, and national security depend upon our policies on terrorism at home and abroad. We cannot advance the common good at home without also advancing the common good around the world. We cannot reduce the threats to our people without reducing threats to the world beyond our borders. That's why the fight against terrorism must be both a national priority and a national security priority.

We have pursued a concerted national and international strategy against terrorism on three fronts: First, beyond our borders, by working more closely than ever with our friends and allies; second, here at home, by giving law enforcement the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and third, in our airports and airplanes by increasing aviation security.

This will be a long, hard struggle. There will be setbacks along the way. But just as no enemy could drive us from the fight to meet our challenges and protect our values in World War II and the cold war, we will not be driven from the tough fight against terrorism today. Terrorism is the enemy of our generation, and we must prevail.

First, on the international front, stopping the spread of terrorism clearly requires common action. The United States has a special responsibility to lead in this effort. Over the past 4 years, our intelligence services have been sharing more information than ever with other nations. We've opened up a law enforcement academy in Budapest which is training people from 23 nations, an FBI office in Moscow, and just last Friday, Congress gave us the funding for FBI offices in Cairo, Islamabad, Tel Aviv, and Beijing.

We've requested more money for intelligence in 1997. This focus is making a difference. As

the Senate intelligence committee concluded in its 1996 report on the intelligence authorization bill, the work of U.S. intelligence agencies against terrorism has been an example of effective coordination and information sharing.

I've also worked to rally other nations to the fight against terrorism: last year at the U.N. General Assembly; this spring at the historic Summit of Peacemakers at Sharm al-Sheikh, where 29 nations, including 13 Arab nations, for the first time condemned terrorism in Israel and anywhere else it occurs in the Middle East and throughout the world; at the G–7 summit in Lyons and the recently held follow-on conference we called for in Paris, where we were represented ably by the Attorney General.

Now, the point of all these efforts with other countries is not to talk but to act. More countries are acting with us. More countries are taking the "no sanctuary" pledge and living up to their extradition laws so that terrorists have no place to run or hide. More countries are helping us to shut down the gray markets that outfit terrorists with weapons and false documents.

Last week in Paris, the G–7 nations and Russia agreed to pursue a sweeping set of measures to prevent terrorists from acting and to catch them if they do. And we set timetables with specific dates by which progress must be made. We're also working with Saudi Arabia to improve the security of our forces stationed there, so that we can continue to deter aggression by rogue states and stand against terrorism in the Middle East.

After Khobar Towers, I immediately ordered investigations by the FBI and a commission headed by General Wayne Downing, which is to report to me later this month. While it's too early to reach conclusions, these investigations are moving aggressively in cooperation with our host. And we are working with the Saudi Government to move almost all our troops to other bases to better protect them from terrorist attacks.

Even though we're working more closely with our allies than ever and there is more agreement on what needs to be done than ever, we do not always agree. Where we don't agree, the United States cannot and will not refuse to do what we believe is right. That's why we have maintained or strengthened sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism: Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Sudan. You cannot do business with countries that practice commerce with you by day while funding or protecting the terrorists who kill you and your innocent civilians by night. That is wrong. I hope and expect that before long our allies will come around to accepting this fundamental truth.

This morning I signed into law the Iran-Libya sanctions act. It builds on what we've already done to isolate those regimes by imposing tough penalties on foreign companies that go forward with new investments in key sectors. The act will help to deny them the money they need to finance international terrorism or to acquire weapons of mass destruction. It will increase the pressure on Libya to extradite the suspects in the bombing of Pan Am 103.

With us today, as I said before, are some of those families and the loved ones of other victims of terrorism sponsored by Iran and Libya. Let me repeat the pledge I made to them earlier. We will not rest in our efforts to track down, prosecute, and punish terrorists and to keep the heat on those who support them. And we must not rest in that effort.

The second part of our strategy is to give American law enforcement officials the most powerful tools available to fight terrorism without undermining our civil liberties. In the wake of Oklahoma City, I strengthened the terrorism bill I had previously sent to Congress but which had not then been passed. Despite the vow of Congress to act quickly, it took a year before that bill came to my desk to be signed.

The bill had some very good points. It made terrorism a Federal offense, expanded the role of the FBI, imposed the death penalty for terrorism. As strong as it was, however, it did not give our law enforcement officials other tools they needed and that they had asked for, including increased wiretap authority for terrorists to parallel that which we have for people involved in organized crime now, and chemical markers for the most common explosives so that we can more easily track down bombmakers.

After the bombing in Atlanta, Congress said it would reconsider these and other measures. I immediately called the congressional leadership to the White House and urged them to put together a package and vote it into law before they left for the August recess last Friday. I am disappointed, and more importantly, the America people are disappointed that that job was not done. These additional measures would save lives. They would make us all more secure. When the Congress returns from the

August recess, we will take them up again, and we must get the job done.

There is more I will ask Congress to do. Next month I will submit to Congress the "International Crime Control Act" that our Justice, State, and Treasury Departments drafted at my request, because more and more, terrorism, international organized crime, and drug trafficking are going hand in hand. This bill expands our fight against money laundering, so criminals and terrorists will have a tougher time financing their activities. It strengthens our extradition powers and border controls to keep more criminals and terrorists out of America. It increases the ability of American law enforcement to prosecute those who commit violent crimes against Americans abroad. Congress should pass it.

And once again, I urge the Senate to ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention, so that we can eliminate chemical weapons stockpiles and give our law enforcement new powers to investigate and prosecute people planning attacks with such weapons. We have seen the terrible, destructive impact of sarin gas in the Tokyo subway. Within a month of that attack, Japan's Diet ratified the Chemical Weapons Convention, but we still have not done so. If the Chemical Weapons Convention were in force today, it would be much more difficult for terrorists to acquire chemical weapons. They are not waiting, and we shouldn't either.

Finally, the third front of our struggle against terrorism is the airports and airplanes that bring us all closer together. Air travel remains the safest form of transportation. And our airlines have the best safety record and security record in the business. But that's a small consolation when a single attack can take so many lives.

Last year we began field testing new high-tech explosive detection machines in Atlanta and San Francisco. We significantly increased security at our airports, and the FAA created a new Government and industry panel to review airline security.

After the TWA crash, I ordered new measures to increase the security of air travel. As any of you who have flown in recent days will have noticed, we're doing more hand searches and machine screening of luggage. We're requiring preflight inspections for every plane flying to or from the United States—every plane, every cabin, every cargo hold, every time. The Vice President is leading a commission on aviation security that is to report back to me within 45 days with an action plan to deploy machines that can detect the most sophisticated explosives and other needed changes.

Now, I know all this has led to some extra inconvenience for air travelers, and it may lead eventually to a modest increase in the cost of air travel. But the increased safety and peace of mind will be worth it.

So, greater international cooperation, stronger American law enforcement, safer air travel, these are the fronts of our concerted strategy against terrorism. Much of this work by law enforcement, intelligence, and military professionals goes unheralded, but we are getting results. For example, we prevented attacks on the United Nations and the Holland Tunnel in New York. We thwarted an attempt to bomb American passenger planes from the skies over the Pacific. We convicted those responsible for the World Trade Center bombing and arrested suspects in the Oklahoma City and Unabomber cases. We've tracked down terrorists around the world and extradited more terrorists in 4 years than in the previous 12.

But I want to make it clear to the American people that while we can defeat terrorists, it will be a long time before we defeat terrorism. America will remain a target because we are uniquely present in the world, because we act to advance peace and democracy, because we have taken a tougher stand against terrorism, and because we are the most open society on Earth. But to change any of that, to pull our troops back from the world's trouble spots, to turn our backs on those taking risks for peace, to weaken our opposition against terrorism, to curtail the freedom that is our birthright would be to give terrorism a victory it must not and will not have.

In this fight, as in so many other challenges around the world, American leadership is indispensable. In assuming our leadership in the struggle against terrorism we must be neither reluctant nor arrogant but realistic, determined, and confident. And we must understand that in this battle we must deploy more than police and military resources. Every one of you counts; every American counts.

Our greatest strength is our confidence. And that is the target of the terrorists. Make no mistake about it: The bombs that kill and maim innocent people are not really aimed at them but at the spirit of our whole country and the spirit of freedom. Therefore, the struggle against

terrorism involves more than the new security measures I have ordered and the others I am seeking. Ultimately, it requires the confident will of the American people to retain our convictions for freedom and peace and to remain the indispensable force in creating a better world at the dawn of a new century.

Everywhere I travel on behalf of our country I encounter people who look up to us because of what we stand for and what we're willing to stand against. I have said this before, but when Hillary and I visited the Olympic Village, I was so moved by the athletes who came up to me and talked about what America had meant to their country: a young Croatian athlete who thanked me for our efforts there, not long after Secretary Brown's plane crashed and Secretary Kantor had finished the mission; an Irish athlete who thanked me for our efforts to bring peace in Northern Ireland; a Palestinian athlete who said that he came from a very old people, but they never had an Olympic team until they made peace with Israel, and that many people wanted to keep that peace.

This responsibility is great, and I know it weighs heavily on many Americans. But we should embrace this responsibility because at this point in time no one else can do what we can do to advance peace and freedom and democracy and because it is necessary at this point in time for our own peace and freedom and prosperity.

As we remember the centennial Olympics, the weeks of courage and triumph, the wonder of the world's youth bound together by the rules of the game in genuine mutual respect, let us resolve to work for a world that looks more like that in the 21st century, to stand strong against the moments of terror that would destroy our spirit, to stand for the values that have brought us so many blessings, values that have made us at this pivotal moment the indispensable nation.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:26 a.m. in the Lisner Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Stephen J. Trachtenberg, president, and Harry Harding, dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University; former Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota; and Mayor John Dorin of Montoursville, PA.

Remarks at a Ceremony Beginning the Paralympic Torch Relay

August 6, 1996

Thank you so much. First of all, welcome to the White House. Welcome to the lawn. Welcome to summertime.

I want to thank Al Mead and Andy Fleming for being here today, and Randy Snow and all the members of the 1996 U.S. Paralympic Team. We are so delighted to have you here, so excited that this is the beginning of the torch relay. We know that the torch that we launch here today will ignite the world's second largest sporting event and the first Paralympic Games ever to be held here in the United States.

I want to echo what has just been said. It is very fitting that the torch was lit yesterday by the eternal flame at the tomb of Dr. Martin Luther King. His life has come to symbolize the struggle and the promise, the opportunity and the responsibility of our Nation. This is the first time his flame has been shared for any other purpose. And I'd like to thank Coretta Scott King and Dexter King, the entire King family, for sharing it with these games. It is a remarkable statement and an altogether fitting one. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I know that our American team, many of whom are gathered here today, and the other teams around the world will thrill people all around the world with their courage and their achievements. And we will be reminded everywhere, but especially here in the United States, how much more we can accomplish when all people everywhere are given the chance to participate fully in our national life.

The people in these Olympics got here because they believed in themselves and worked hard to achieve their goals. The organizing committee of the Atlanta Paralympic Games, under the leadership of Andy Fleming and Al Mead and many others here today, have also worked very hard to make these games the best ever.

This year's games are the result of an unprecedented partnership between the committee, the corporate community, and the Federal Government. And APOC has done an outstanding job of educating corporate America about the value of being associated with these games. For the first time there will be network television coverage.

The dedication to these games for the members of my own administration I can tell you has been very heartfelt, and I want to thank them. Education Secretary Riley himself is now down on The Mall waiting to receive the torch. The Vice President will have the great honor of declaring the games open on August 15th, and as all of you know, there will now be more than 3,500 athletes there from 120 different nations.

Our American team includes some of the finest athletes and some of the finest individuals in the world. Aimee Mullins, a student at Georgetown, my alma mater, who is here with us today, is the only disabled member of an NCAA Division I track team. And I thank her for being here and for her contribution. She's a world record holder in the 100- and 200-meter dashes and in the long jump, and she'll be competing in all three of those events in Atlanta. Trischa Zorn is a swimmer from Indiana who's been competing since the age of 7 and has won more than 30 gold medals in her career. Fourteen-year-old LeAnn Shannon from Orange Park, Florida, is the youngest member of our team and the youngest member ever. At this year's trials, she finished first in the 100-, 200-, 400-, and 800-meter races. The joys of youth. She also volunteers in a rehabilitation hospital in her community, helping other people.

In addition to being a world stage for some of the greatest athletes, the Paralympic Games will also give us an opportunity to reflect on where the disability movement is heading worldwide, in the areas of equal opportunity, economic opportunity, and access to sports for all people with disabilities. I'm determined to press on with meeting the challenge to our Nation that I put forward in 1992, a national disability policy based on inclusion, independence, and empowerment. The Paralympic Games are a powerful demonstration of what can happen when inclusion, independence, and empowerment become realities in individuals' lives with great abilities and great hearts. In Atlanta, experts from around the world will be discussing these issues in the Third Paralympic Congress, chaired by our good friend Justin Dart who's also here with us today and who in his own way has the most Olympian spirit I believe I've ever come across. We thank you for being here, sir. My domestic policy adviser, Carol Rasco, will cochair a session on how to make the athletic experience available to children with disabilities around the world. And we know this will be a very successful Congress.

In a few minutes, the Paralympic torch, representing the triumph of the human spirit, will be formally presented to me on behalf of the 1996 Paralympic team by Paralympic swimmer Diane Straub. I want to thank her not only for bringing the flame to the White House but also for her selflessness, her determination, and her achievement. The flame of her life burns just as brightly as the flame of these games and is lighting the way to others. Even with her demanding medical school studies and her training schedule, she still finds time to help disadvantaged children. She is truly a Paralympic champion and an American hero.

I'd also like to thank the Cochair of the President's Commission on Physical Fitness, Tom McMillen, for being with me here today and for supporting the concept that physical fitness is every bit as important, if not more important, for Americans with disabilities than for other Americans. We are committed to that. And I thank you, Tom, for being here.

Now, this torch is beginning its journey home to Atlanta carried by one of America's best. Randy Snow has been a member of six United States National Wheelchair Basketball teams. An accident when he was 16 left him a paraplegic. His enthusiasm and excellence in sports, however, did not diminish. He's gone on to have an outstanding career in both basketball and tennis. He devotes a lot of his time to extolling the value of recreation and wellness to people with disabilities. And in 1994 the National Council on Disability presented him with its Outstanding Citizenship Award. In 1989 he won the coveted Jack Gerhardt Award as the Wheelchair Athlete of the Year.

He will hand the torch off to Georgia Congressman John Lewis, who was, as many of you know, an associate of Dr. King, who will take it off the White House grounds. One thousand people will participate in the relay that will cover 1,000 miles. When the torch reaches Atlanta on August 15th, it will take its place in

the Olympic Stadium, the most accessible arena of its kind in the world. I am proud that we have worked hard to make this a reality.

Dr. King once said, "Everybody can be great because everybody can serve." That is a great lesson of these games. In their dedication to excellence, equality, and community, APOC, the athletes, their families, their coaches are the best examples of what is right with our country. May this torch serve as an inspiration to all Americans to give their best in every endeavor, to make the most of their God-given abilities, and to recognize that we are all stronger and more vibrant when we develop, recognize, and support the talents of all of our people. May that be the lasting legacy of the 1996 Paralympics.

It is now my honor to invite Diane Straub, a member of the 1996 Paralympic team, to bring the torch to the stage.

Diane.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:11 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Al Mead, member, board of directors, and G. Andrew Fleming, president and chief executive officer, Atlanta Paralympic Organizing Committee (APOC); and Justin Dart, former Chair, President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities.

Remarks on Signing the Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1996

August 6, 1996

The President. Thank you. I'd like to begin by thanking Diana Neidle for her years of work in this cause and all the other environmental and community workers who are here who have also labored in this vineyard. I want to thank Secretary Browner and the others at the EPA who have done such good work on this legislation, and the Members of Congress who are here and those who are not here who were active. Senator Warner and Senator Kempthorne, thank you especially for your efforts in this. I know how long and hard you worked on it. Representatives Boehlert and Borski and Oberstar and Waxman and Norton who did such good work, and the others who were mentioned by Carol Browner who are not here.

I thank Governor Voinovich and the mayors and the commissioner and the State senator who have come here today because their constituents will be affected by it, and the way they govern will be, I believe, eased and improved as a result of this legislation.

This legislation represents a real triumph because it demonstrates what we can achieve here in Washington and in our country when we turn away from partisanship and embrace shared values. Last week I was proud to sign the Food Quality Protection Act, which passed with full bipartisan support. I said then and I'd like to repeat today that I think a fundamental promise we must make to our people is that the food they eat and the water they drink are safe. American families, after all, have enough to worry about without having to worry about whether that glass of water Diana talked about that you might offer to a child or a grandchild will be contaminated.

Today we come together in that same spirit of bipartisanship to celebrate another cornerstone in the foundation of security for American families. The Safe Drinking Water Act is terribly important. I know that many of us take safe drinking water for granted. Unfortunately, it's not always so. I came into office determined to change this. In 1993, I asked Congress to strengthen our drinking water laws to meet the challenges we face today and the ones we will face in the future. I am proud to say that the proposals I made then were at the heart of the law I will sign today.

Americans do have a right to know what's in their drinking water and where it comes from before they turn on their taps. Under the new law, water authorities will be required to tell them. Americans have a right to trust that every precaution is being taken to protect their families from dangerous and sometimes even deadly contaminants like cryptosporidium. The new law sets high standards that consider the special needs of children, the elderly, people living with AIDS and weak immune systems. Americans have the right to believe that Government is

doing everything it can to keep water systems safe. The new law requires it to act. It protects the sources of our drinking water from pollution. Even more important, it authorizes nearly $10 billion in loan funds to help communities all across our Nation upgrade their drinking water systems.

I hope that Congress, and I believe that Congress, will now take the steps necessary to release all of the available monies to communities as quickly as possible. As some of you know, just by chance, the law passed a few hours too late to access money that had been set aside. But the law passed with such strong and passionate support I believe it will be forthcoming.

Today we help to ensure that every family in America will have safe, clean drinking water to drink every time they turn on a faucet or stop at a public water fountain. From now on our water will be safer, and our country will be healthier for it.

Again, let me say there are environmental and consumer and public health groups represented here who worked so hard to make this happen, and it wouldn't have happened without you. Again, let me say that Congress performed so very well in this endeavor, coming together, working together, securing our future together.

This has been a good couple of weeks for positive achievement: these environmental laws, a higher minimum wage, incentives for small businesses, health reform, meaningful welfare reform. This is what Government should do and how we should work together.

Now, let me just say one other thing in passing. You know the First Lady's had the chance to represent our country around the world on a couple of occasions, talking to women and mothers and grandmothers around the world. The absence of safe drinking water is the single biggest health threat to poor children all over the world, to tens of millions of them. The number of children that die in other countries from the absence of safe drinking water is absolutely staggering. I have always hoped that our country would be able to do more to help to alleviate this problem, which can be done without great expense compared to the conditions which exist in other nations. But when I became President and I realized how much more we had to do here, I thought at the time that before we can attempt to do all we might do for poor children everywhere else in the world, we ought to take care of all the children in this country who are entitled to safe drinking water so we can set the proper example. That's what we're doing today. I am very grateful to every one of you who had a role in this.

And now I'd like to ask the children to come up and stand around me as I sign this law, because, after all, they're what the law's all about. I'd like to invite the Members of Congress who are here. And Governor, I'd like to ask you to come up as well to represent the State and local officials that are here and what they have at stake. So if you all come up, we'll sign the law.

[*At this point, the President signed the legislation.*]

The President. Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:20 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to safe drinking water advocate Diana Neidle and Gov. George V. Voinovich of Ohio. S. 1316, approved August 6, was assigned Public Law No. 104–182.

Statement on Signing the Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1996

August 6, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law S. 1316, the "Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1996." This Act will provide the American people with much greater protection for the drinking water on which we all rely every day of our lives.

Safe drinking water is the American people's first line of defense for public health. In 1993, my Administration called for reinvention of safe drinking water law to improve public health protection. This Act achieves this objective by following the basic principles we articulated. It balances responsible regulatory improvements with

common-sense measures to help States and water systems prevent drinking water contamination problems in the first place. It also authorizes for the first time the Drinking Water State Revolving Funds that I first proposed in 1993. These Funds will provide the resources for drinking water infrastructure that will help hundreds of communities to protect their people from harmful contaminants.

Regrettably, the Congress failed to pass this legislation prior to the August 1 deadline, so the $725 million of previously appropriated funds are no longer available for the Drinking Water State Revolving Funds and have been transferred to the Clean Water Program. I urge the Congress to act promptly to correct this problem and to restore these monies to the Drinking Water State Revolving Funds as soon as possible.

The Act is in several respects a model for responsible reinvention of regulations. It replaces an inflexible approach with the authority to act on contaminants of greatest risk and to analyze costs and benefits, while retaining public health as the paramount value. It embraces principles of pollution prevention and a cost-effective, community-based approach for ensuring drinking water safety. It affirms the right of all Americans to know about the quality of their drinking water and the potential threats to its safety.

The consensus that has been achieved on this Act shows how strong protection of the health and environment of the American people can be achieved through partnerships with State and local governments and affected communities. The result achieved today by the Administration and Congress will give the American people confidence for years to come in the safety of their drinking water.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 6, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1316, approved August 6, was assigned Public Law No. 104–182.

Statement on Signing the Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997

August 6, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3603, the "Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997."

For the upcoming fiscal year, the Act provides $13.1 billion in discretionary budget authority for important nutrition, food safety, and rural development programs, and $40.3 billion for mandatory programs such as the Food Stamp program, the Child Nutrition program and the Commodity Credit Corporation. In addition, the Act provides urgently needed supplemental funds for the current fiscal year in two vital areas.

First, the Act provides $12 million in FY 1996 funds to support and enhance the ability of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to investigate the appalling incidents of church burning that have disturbed and angered Americans across the Nation. As I said when I spoke to this issue in Greeleyville, South Carolina in June, we will do everything we can to bring those responsible for these acts to justice. And so I appreciate the timely action by the Congress in providing this funding in the first available appropriations bill.

Second, the Act includes $32 million in FY 1996 emergency funds for farmers who have been hurt by natural disasters, particularly those in the Southwest suffering from the prolonged drought and those in the Southeast affected by Hurricane Bertha. These funds will support $100 million in low-interest direct loans. I hereby designate all of these funds as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(D)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended.

For fiscal year 1997, I am particularly pleased that the Act includes my request for increased funds for the Food Safety Inspection Service. On July 6, I announced a sweeping reform of the meat and poultry inspection system, which

has not been upgraded in 90 years. This investment will revolutionize the way we ensure the safety of American meat and poultry.

The Act also provides significant increases in rural development programs, to improve the quality of life in rural America and to help diversify the rural economy. In addition, the Act includes much of my proposal to create a Rural Development Performance Partnership, which will provide greater flexibility to tailor Federal assistance to local needs, reflecting my Administration's belief that there is no "one-size-fits-all" solution to the challenges facing rural areas.

I am concerned, however, that the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program is funded at $150 million below my request. I am disappointed that the Congress failed to provide my requested increase for the WIC program in order to reach a full participation level of 7.5 million women, infants, and children.

Finally, I note that $69.1 million of valuable agricultural research funding has been earmarked for unrequested buildings and facilities. In the Statement of Managers accompanying the Bill, the conferees have, however, expressed their intent to make FY 1997 the last year in which they earmark research funds for such purposes. It is my hope and expectation that the Congress will hold to that intent.

On balance, this is a good bill that will provide funding for important nutrition, food safety, and rural development needs as well as providing a strong boost for two immediate priorities.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 6, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3603, approved August 6, was assigned Public Law No. 104–180.

Statement on Signing the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act Amendments of 1996

August 6, 1996

Today, I am pleased to sign into law S. 1757, the "Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act Amendments of 1996." This legislation would extend for 3 years the authorization of appropriations under the Act.

During the 25 years since its enactment, the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act has made a crucial difference in the lives and futures of Americans with developmental disabilities and their families. Through this Act, Federal funds support the development and operation of developmental disabilities councils, protection and advocacy activities, university-affiliated programs, and projects of national significance. This crucial investment has provided the structure to assist people with developmental disabilities to reach their maximum potential.

When first conceived by President Kennedy, Dr. Elizabeth Boggs, and others, the primary emphasis of developmental disabilities programs was on access to institutional facilities. Today, the focus is on helping people to obtain the support they need to make choices about how to live, particularly in family or community settings. The developmental disabilities programs emphasize fundamental system change, including legal services and advocacy and capacity building at the State and local levels. They also continue to spur progress and create opportunities in the everyday lives of children and adults with developmental and other significant disabilities in ways unimaginable a generation ago.

Beginning in the mid-seventies, individuals with disabilities and their families began to work for, and gain passage of, key Federal and State legislation regarding educational access, barrier-free design, and employment. The resulting legislation has helped to open doors that had been slammed shut for decades. It was once common for people with disabilities to be denied access to community schools, swimming pools, banks, restaurants, and even to the voting booth. Today, these actions are not only illegal, but would be considered beyond the pale by the American people.

Americans with disabilities are helping to redefine what it means to have a disability in America and what it means to be a full, contributing citizen. I am pleased to support continu-

ation of the developmental disabilities programs that have meant so much to Americans with disabilities.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 6, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1757, approved August 6, was assigned Public Law No. 104–183.

Remarks Honoring the 1996 United States Olympic Team
August 7, 1996

Thank you very much. I want to welcome Dr. Walker here and Dick Schultz and Maynard Jackson and others who come from the Olympic committee and from Atlanta. I want to say also a special word of thanks to the Vice President, who worked so hard on America's contribution to the Olympic games, who can't be here today, and to my good friend Mack McLarty for all the work they did to help the Olympics succeed.

And I want to welcome the coaches and the family members who are here. But most of all, I want to welcome you here. I want you to know you've caused us two problems. One is, none of us got any sleep for the last 2 weeks, and I don't think we hurt the public interest—[*laughter*]—but we enjoyed watching you, sometimes until 1 o'clock in the morning. The second thing you have done is good in a way; we've all intensified our training schedule around here—[*laughter*]—since we watched the Olympics. But I asked my staff if there were any special requests that I should make of you, and an enormous number of people asked if we could get the women's soccer team to teach us that belly slide. [*Laughter*]

As all of you know, this was a very great thing for the United States. When Hillary and I had a chance to come and meet with you at the beginning before the Olympics began, I said that we would cheer when you won and cry when you lost, but that your efforts and what you symbolized for America would be the most important thing. And I really very much believe that today.

This was a remarkable Olympic experience. And I think in many ways it was fitting that the centennial Olympics were held in the United States because we do represent so many nations. When I leave you, I'm going out to California. There were 197 teams in the Olympics. In one county in California, there are people from the same places as over 150 of those teams. That's what's special about our country. And you gave that to the world when we saw you, when we saw you compete, when we saw you win. And we're very grateful to you. I'm also very grateful to the people in Atlanta who did a magnificent job in organizing the games and for the community spirit there after the bombing. I thought it was magnificent.

There may have been some discussion about this, but I believe that since more people saw these games than any games in history, both in person and on television, because they were so well organized, because there were so many countries represented, because you were so magnificent, and because of the way people reacted to the tragedy, as far as I'm concerned, these Atlanta games were the best. They were the greatest games in the history of the Olympics.

I also would like to say a special word of appreciation to all the athletes who competed and all those who won. But let me say, when I looked at our team, I couldn't help—as the father of a daughter of whom I'm very proud, I couldn't help but note that over 20 years ago, in a complete bipartisan commitment here in Washington, the United States Congress passed something called title IX which made it possible for a lot of the women athletes to be here today. There were 77,000 spectators at the women's soccer finals. There were a lot of men basketball players watching the women's basketball finals thanking God they weren't on the court that day. [*Laughter*]

We should be on the forefront always of bringing more people into the world of sport, more people into competition, more people having a chance to live out their dreams whatever they are. And yesterday we saw off the torch for the Paralympics which will be starting in

Atlanta soon. And I know every one of you support that. One of our runners in the Paralympics actually is on an NCAA Division I track team at my alma mater Georgetown University. So we ought to be for more and more and more people having a chance to participate.

And let me finally say that I had very high hopes for all of you and for our country. They were exceeded not only by the medals you won but by the way you won them. And you gave something very special to the American people. I'm glad you can be here today. And we'd like to just have a chance to give a small portion back to you through your tour of your house that you gave to all of us for those wonderful 17 days.

Thank you all. God bless you, and good luck.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to LeRoy T. Walker, president, and Richard D. Schultz, executive director, United States Olympic Committee; and Maynard Jackson, former mayor of Atlanta, GA.

Remarks on the Possible Discovery of Life on Mars and an Exchange With Reporters

August 7, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. I'm glad to be joined by my science and technology adviser, Dr. Jack Gibbons, to make a few comments about today's announcement by NASA.

This is the product of years of exploration and months of intensive study by some of the world's most distinguished scientists. Like all discoveries, this one will and should continue to be reviewed, examined, and scrutinized. It must be confirmed by other scientists. But clearly, the fact that something of this magnitude is being explored is another vindication of America's space program and our continuing support for it, even in these tough financial times. I am determined that the American space program will put its full intellectual power and technological prowess behind the search for further evidence of life on Mars.

First, I have asked Administrator Goldin to ensure that this finding is subject to a methodical process of further peer review and validation. Second, I have asked the Vice President to convene at the White House before the end of the year a bipartisan space summit on the future of America's space program. A significant purpose of this summit will be to discuss how America should pursue answers to the scientific questions raised by this finding. Third, we are committed to the aggressive plan we have put in place for robotic exploration of Mars. America's next unmanned mission to Mars is scheduled to lift off from the Kennedy Space Center in November. It will be followed by a second mission in December. I should tell you that the first mission is scheduled to land on Mars on July 4th, 1997, Independence Day.

It is well worth contemplating how we reached this moment of discovery. More than 4 billion years ago, this piece of rock was formed as a part of the original crust of Mars. After billions of years it broke from the surface and began a 16-million-year journey through space that would end here on Earth. It arrived in a meteor shower 13,000 years ago. And in 1984 an American scientist on an annual U.S. Government mission to search for meteors on Antarctica picked it up and took it to be studied. Appropriately, it was the first rock to be picked up that year, rock number 84001.

Today, rock 84001 speaks to us across all those billions of years and millions of miles. It speaks of the possibility of life. If this discovery is confirmed, it will surely be one of the most stunning insights into our universe that science has ever uncovered. Its implications are as far reaching and awe inspiring as can be imagined. Even as it promises answers to some of our oldest questions, it poses still others even more fundamental. We will continue to listen closely to what it has to say as we continue the search for answers and for knowledge that is as old as humanity itself but essential to our people's future.

Thank you.

Abortion

Q. Mr. President, Republicans right now are going through a wrenching abortion debate. At the same time, pro-choice advocates have created the pro-choice public education project, they're calling it. They say abortion rights are under a very grave danger. Would you agree with that assessment? And what do you think of the Republicans' troubles?

The President. Well, they are only under grave danger if the election results in a change in the occupant of the White House. But what I think about the—I'd like to just compare it with what we did in the Democratic Party. Some of our pro-life members asked for a conscience clause in the Democratic platform. And I thought it was a good idea; I recommended it. The platform committee unanimously embraced it. And the Democratic Party was proud to do it. We believe this is a matter which should be left to private conscience. And we believe that people who have pro-life convictions should be respected.

What you see here in the Republican Party is more of the extremism that we saw manifested in their budget proposals, their environmental proposals, their opposition to sensible crime proposals in the previous 2 years. And it's lamentable. It's not good for the country. And I would just say that in this convention season, we would welcome thoughtful, moderate, concerned Republicans, independents, to join our party this year and to help keep moving America forward and bringing America together.

Q. You do not feel the rights are under grave danger at this point?

The President. Well, right now we have a Supreme Court decision and an administration committed to the pro-choice position and committing to doing whatever we can to keep the Government out of that decision but to take initiatives that would reduce the number of abortions in America, including the recent tax credit for adoption that we strongly supported that will be part of the minimum wage bill when it comes to me for signature. So I'm determined to protect those rights and to keep the Government out of it. But it is fair to say that in this election that is one of the matters at issue. Yes, it is fair to say that.

Thank you.

President's Olympic Tie

Q. Where did you get that tie?

The President. It's an Olympic tie. I got it down at the Olympics. Do you want to trade? [*Laughter*]

Thanks.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, prior to his departure for San Jose, CA.

Remarks in San Jose, California
August 7, 1996

Thank you. Thank you so much. First of all, I think we ought to give David Aupperle another hand. I thought he did very well, didn't you? [*Applause*] When he said he gave his eighth-grade graduation speech just a few feet from here and the only difference was I wasn't there then, I thought to myself, if I'd known you were this good a speaker, I might have been there. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank Glen Toney for being here today and for his work for Joint Venture Silicon Valley. It's good to see you again, Glen. Larry Kubo, thank you for what you said, for your work as a parent and as a business leader. Carol Summers, thank you for your remarks today and for devoting your life to teaching.

I'm delighted to be here with so many of my friends from Silicon Valley and throughout California. I thank Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis and Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren for being here, and Mayor Susan Hammer, thank you. I know there are a lot of people here from the school and the school district: your principal, Mike Carr; your superintendent, Linda Murray; Dr. Bill Erlendson; and Victor Freitas, the board president of San Jose Unified School District. Thank you for being here. We also have Joe Simidian, who is from Palo Alto, a Palo Alto City Council member. [*Applause*]

Somebody must be here from Palo Alto besides Joe.

I want to thank the students who spoke in the pre-program, Sarah Sandower and Marianna Dominguez. Thank you for doing that.

I want to tell you, it's wonderful to look out here and see a crowd like this during summer vacation in a school. [*Laughter*] And I thank the students especially for being here; it shows you really are concerned about your future. And it's a great honor for me as President to be here and to hear a little about this program.

I'd like to explain to you why I'm here at this moment to talk about this issue. First, and maybe most important, I hope that my presence here will give your efforts greater publicity throughout the United States, because I believe this is the sort of thing that school districts all over America should be doing to give our children the kind of opportunities they need.

Secondly, I want to explain why that is so, and I'd like to take just a few minutes—I know it's warm, and I nearly went blind in the sun; I can only imagine how much trouble you're having—but I want to take a few minutes to explain why that is so, what the national significance of efforts like this are at the grassroots level, at local schools throughout our country in terms of what I am trying to achieve for America as your President.

First of all, let me say that I started off today in a very happy way. Hillary and our daughter, Chelsea, and I were able to welcome the United States Olympic team to the White House to congratulate them on their remarkable accomplishments. I think in many ways, at least from my point of view—and I realize I'm prejudiced, being an American and being the President—but these were the greatest games that I have ever seen because of the quality of the competition, because of the numbers of nations involved—people from 197 different countries were there—because so many people were able to watch around the world, and because there were more people who actually came and personally participated in Atlanta. There were 77,000 people watching the women's soccer final, for example, a remarkable thing in the United States.

And I was thinking to myself, why is it that we love the Olympics so much, apart from the thrill of seeing these magnificent athletic achievements. And I think the reason is that they work the way we think the world ought to work. That is, you have all these people who come from all over the world, from different races and cultures and religions and ethnic and tribal backgrounds, with all kind of differences. Very often their countries are fighting or at least not getting along very well. And they come together in mutual respect, which often grows into genuine admiration and affection because they play by the rules of the game and they honor each other and because nobody gets ahead by breaking somebody else's bones or bad-mouthing someone else in a public forum. You only get ahead by reaching down inside and doing well, individually and as a team. And I think that's the way we think the world ought to work.

I was also terribly impressed by the way the athletes, the coaches, and the fans, all the spectators, responded to the terrible bombing incident. They all showed up the next day and said, "We hate that this happened, but we're going on with our lives. We're not going to be terrorized by fear. We're not going to be cowered into walking away from the Olympics because of a terrible act of terror and violence."

And so we feel good about that. But we want the world to work more that way. Keep in mind, one of the reasons it works that way is that all those people really were prepared to do what they did. And they didn't all win medals, but they all won because they sacrificed, they worked, they performed to the best of their ability, they had a fair chance and they were better for the effort. And that's what we want for all Americans.

Really, it applies more to America than any other nation in the world. Your largest county in California, for example, Los Angeles County, has people living in it from over 150 of the 197 groups that were represented at the Olympics. That's a stunning thing. No other country can say that. When Hillary and Chelsea and I went down to meet with the Olympic team before the games started, I looked out in that team and I said, "You know, this is amazing. If you all broke up and just started walking in the Olympic Village, no one would know where you were from. You could be from Scandinavia or Africa, from Latin America or the Middle East, from India or Pakistan or the Asian-Pacific region. No one would have a clue where you're from. You're bound together not because of your race but because you're Americans."

And that is a very important thing to understand at this moment. We're moving into this explosive information age that Silicon Valley has done so much to create, in a global village after the cold war, where no nation on Earth is as well prepared as the United States to reap the rewards of the 21st century, if we will simply determine that we are going to create opportunity for every person who is responsible enough to work for it and that we're going to grow together instead of allow ourselves to be torn apart by the differences in this country. If we decide we're going forward together and everybody is going to have a chance, we're going to do fine.

That's what I want to talk about today in terms of education. I devoted a great deal of time the last 3½ years to trying to get the economy going again. We cut the deficit, increased investment. We've got record numbers of new small businesses and exports, a lot of it coming out of this area. We have a record number of new businesses owned by women and minorities. We have almost 4½ million new homeowners in America, and we've got 10 million Americans who refinanced their homes at lower mortgage rates because we've been able to drive the interest rates down. And the economy has produced 10¼ million new jobs. And that is good news for the United States.

But I think we also have to recognize that not everybody has yet benefited from that economic improvement, and those who have not principally have not either because they live in areas where there's been no new investment or because they themselves do not have the education and skills they need to prosper in a world in which education is rewarded and the lack of it is punished.

It is one thing to say, well, everybody has got an opportunity who wants it, but an opportunity only exists if you're capable of taking advantage of it. The first time I ever heard this expressed was when I was a student myself about David's age, when I read the great French writer Anatole France say that the poor and rich are equally free to sleep under the bridge at night and beg for bread. And it's obvious what he meant. He might have said it another way: The poor and rich are equally free to walk into the nearest Mercedes dealership and buy the most expensive car. That is, there is a difference in saying you have a right to do something and the reality being there. Education closes the gap in America between opportunity and the reality of being able to access it.

In his book "The Road Ahead," Bill Gates says that the microchip is the greatest advancement in human communications in 500 years, since Gutenberg printed the first Bible in Europe—in 500 years. The young people in this audience today within 10 years will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of you will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet.

This morning I had the privilege of making a few comments about the United States space program, which I have strongly supported. And you may have seen the news reports that two of our NASA scientists discovered way back in 1984 a piece of rock which they believe was blasted off Mars by meteors millions of years ago and took 16 million years to find its way to Earth. The rock is about so big. But they have analyzed it and concluded that it is about 4 billion years old. At the time, Earth and Mars were very similar in their composition and makeup, and they believe they have found evidence of a petrified microorganism, or an elemental form of life.

Now, no one knows for sure whether this is so or not, and this finding will have to be subject to rigorous review by their peers in the scientific community. But on the 15th of this month you can read all about it in Science magazine, if you want to get a copy of it. But just think of that. Think what that could mean. We're sending two more robotic missions to Mars later this year as part of a renewed emphasis on our exploration of Mars that we have been working on for about 3 years. One leaves in November; the other leaves in December. I should tell you, for those of you who are interested in life in outer space, that the one that leaves in November will land on July 4th, 1997, Independence Day. [*Laughter*]

Now, we can laugh about this, but what it says is that there is a fair chance that if we can nurture scientific interest and capacity in our young people, that they will be able to do work and discover things that we have not imagined yet. And it means also that we have a heavy responsibility to make sure that no child is denied that opportunity because they happen to be poor or they happen to be born in an area that hasn't had a lot of economic opportunity or they happen to be a member of a racial minority or they happen to be otherwise

left behind, because we don't have a person to waste. This is a highly competitive world and it runs on people power, and we need all the people we can get. The motto of this school district, "All students can learn, all students can succeed," is very important. That's what you're here to celebrate today. Believe it or not, not everyone believes that. A lot of people don't believe that. But everybody should believe that. And this joint venture can prove that motto true.

If I have learned anything in the years I served as a Governor and the years I've been your President, it is that people are capable of extraordinary things if there are high expectations of them and if they have high expectations of themselves. Education begins with high expectations, high standards, high levels of accountability, empowering teachers and principals and parents and students, and then with community involvement. The riches, the vast resources, the intellectual resources of this community are a treasure that you have decided to share with this school district, and it is a very great thing.

We are trying to do more of that everywhere. Just last September the Vice President and I announced that we wanted to challenge California's schools to lead America in hooking our classrooms up to the Internet. And then we came back a few months later, in March, on NetDay, to work with 20,000 California citizens to hook up over 20 percent of the classrooms in the State in one day. This idea is now spreading like wildfire across the country.

We tried to support it, and like all technological change, it outran our capacity to support. They didn't need our support after a while in a lot of places. People saw that it was going on. They wanted to do it, and they copied it. And it's a wonderful thing. Our national goal is to have every classroom and every library in America hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000—every single one. And we can do it.

But we also know that if we want to do it right, it's not simply a matter of hooking up to the Internet. You have to have enough hardware. You have to have high-quality software, and you must have very well-trained teachers and people in the community who can understand how to maximize the use of this in the educational process. We have put aside $2 billion to help States achieve these goals.

The telecommunications law that I signed will create hundreds of thousands of jobs in telecommunications, a lot of them right here in California. It will also guarantee equal access to people to the technology of the future, whether they live in Silicon Valley or the remotest rural areas of the Appalachians, the Ozarks, or the high plains. And that is also very, very important.

I signed an Executive order saying that we were going to do a lot more to get computers no longer needed by the Federal Government out into America's classrooms, and that project is now being supervised by a man who came from Silicon Valley to join the administration, David Barram, the head of the General Services Administration. He's doing a terrific job, and I want all of you to know that.

This summer we've got a group of—a kind of a joint venture, like what you do here—of national parent and teacher and school board and teacher organizations who are mobilizing 100,000 teachers to teach 500,000 more teachers how to use technology for educational purposes. We do not have enough teachers who can even keep up with their students in high technology now in many places to do the job that needs to be done. So training the teachers is a very, very important part of this.

But in the end it all comes down to the magic of what goes on in the classroom and what goes on in the school and what goes on in the community and what goes on in the home. And that's why I wanted to come here. I want every person in the country to understand that we can do all these national initiatives, but unless we have true joint ventures like the one you have here in Silicon Valley, we will never maximize opportunities for our children. And you have assets here a lot of communities don't have, but every community has assets that can be brought to bear for positive educational impact and high technology learning in the classrooms of every community in America. And I hope everybody will follow the lead you have established here.

I want to thank all of your partners, the San Jose State University College of Engineering. I want to thank all those who work in the other school districts in the area. I want to thank IBM for investing $2 million in the San Jose school district for the development of a new curriculum to help teachers get the training they need.

And I want to tell you, too, that, believe it or not—and I think you do—the truth of your motto "All children can learn" applies everywhere. I'll tell you about a school district that I visited that's not in Silicon Valley but in the city of Union City, New Jersey. It's a community, not a very large community, in New Jersey, one of our most heavily urbanized States. New Jersey has the second highest per capita income in America, but Union City is one of the poorest school districts in New Jersey, with a very, very high immigrant population. Just a couple of years ago they had a dropout rate that was way above the State average and test scores that were way below the State average in a State that has a lot of school districts like the ones in Silicon Valley.

But the teachers and the students and the parents decided that they were not going to let their school district go down. It was so bad that under New Jersey law the State was about to declare it bankrupt and take it over and start running it. But the first-generation immigrant parents knew they could do better. With the help of their joint venture partner, Bell Atlantic, who went in and put computers in the classrooms and even in the homes of a lot of first-generation immigrant parents, who had difficulty speaking English but could learn to use computers, they developed the capacity of parents who were working all day to E-mail their kids' teachers and their principals and get student reports, get the homework assignments, and get involved in their classrooms.

People that hardly had a high school education were being trained to use computers at least to the point where they could be good parents. And the children were able to access a lot of the science programs and other things that were then available only to the wealthiest school districts. And the good news is, 2½ years later, that immigrant American school district has a dropout rate below and test scores above the average in the second wealthiest State in the United States. We can do this, folks. If more people will follow your lead, we can do this. We can do this.

So I will say again, we all love the Olympics, and we know the American way of life ought to be more like that every day. Every one of those kids had a chance to prepare to do what they were doing. Every one of them worked hard, they were immensely responsible, but they were also given a chance to live out their dreams.

The 21st century will give more people more chances to live out their dreams than any time in human history. If we use technology wisely it will be able to lift more people out of poverty more quickly than we have ever been able to do. But technology is not inherently good or bad. You can get on the Internet and learn how to make the bomb that blew up the Federal building in Oklahoma City. There are terrible things you can learn with technology, and technology can be abused. A major portion of my time as your President is spent trying to contain the spread of technologically advanced weapons of mass destruction—biological, chemical, and conventional weapons.

I know we have to do these things, but technology can be the greatest force for good we have ever known if it is properly applied. You are doing that here, with people power, with basic human concern, and with a fundamental belief in the capacity of your children to learn and grow and have good lives, and to do it together, across the lines that divide us all too often. That is what we want for America. We must do our part in Washington, but you—you—you make all the difference here. And I want everyone in America to see what you're doing and to say, if they can do it we can, too.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:40 p.m. at the John Muir Middle School. In his remarks, he referred to David Aupperle, student who introduced the President; Glen Toney, vice president for corporate affairs, Applied Materials; Larry Kubo, director of business development, Xyratex; Carol Summers, a teacher at John Muir Middle School; and William J. Erlendson, director of external programs and community development, San Jose Unified School District. The Executive order on educational technology of April 17, 1996, was published in the *Federal Register* at 61 FR 17227.

Remarks to the United Steel Workers Convention

August 8, 1996

Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for the introduction. Thank you for the warm welcome. I want to thank Senator Chris Dodd for his leadership for our party and for what he said. I want to thank you, George, for your invaluable contribution to the Democratic platform drafting committee. I know the committee has worked very hard. I know you played a big part in their work. And I am very, very proud of the products we've produced without the kind of bloodletting, division, and difficulties that we see our Republican counterparts going through.

I also want to congratulate Jack Sheehan upon his retirement. Jack, you joined the United Steel Workers in 1951, and in the years that followed you've been a tireless force for the labor movement. Thank you. Your commitment is an inspiration to all of us. And I wish you well as you move on to new challenges.

I wish I could be there to thank each and every one of you for your endorsement. Your support is crucial. You've been there with me and with Al Gore all the way, and you've made a real difference. I'm glad this satellite broadcast lets me see and hear all of you out there in Pittsburgh, a city that has come to symbolize the heart and soul of the steel industry and the workers who built America from the ground up, the city that never gives up and represents the best in our country.

On Monday you came together to celebrate plans to unify the United Steel Workers, the United Auto Workers, and the International Association of Machinists. I salute you as you go forward together as strong as the steel you transform. Soon you will be the largest union in North America. With leaders like George Becker, Steve Yokich, and George Kourpias, I've got no doubt that you'll become the largest in the world. [*Applause*] Thank you. I heard a rumor that at the rate you're going, you may have to change your name to "Heavy Metal" soon. Then you can get a lot more young people in.

I'm glad to have the chance to talk to you about issues that you and I care about so much and about the choice our country is facing in November. You know what it is. You know what the choice is. But as Senator Dodd said, in the next 88 days we need your help to make sure that every American knows what the choice is.

Almost 4 years ago, we began a journey together, a journey to restore America's working families, to give them a sense of economic security and well-being that was then being lost. We worked hard to make Government reflect the values working people have long struggled for, values your movement continues to represent: opportunity, responsibility, community, fair treatment on the job, the chance to make a decent living and to support your families.

We've made real progress in the past 4 years. There are 900,000 new construction jobs, 4.4 million Americans have become new homeowners, 10 million more have refinanced their home mortgages at lower rates. Exports are at record levels. We have record numbers of new small businesses. The combined rate of unemployment, inflation, and mortgages is now the lowest in three decades. We've cut the deficit by 60 percent; now it's the smallest it's been since 1981. And our economy has created over 10 million new jobs. And real wages, which had been falling for a decade, have finally begun to rise again. Our economy is the soundest it has been in a generation.

Now, we all know that's a record to build on, not to sit on. We have to make sure America works for working families. That's why I vetoed the Republican budget that undermined Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment, and the sanctities of working people's pensions. That's why I fought for the Family and Medical Leave Act, against the Republican congressional opposition. That's why I worked to expand the earned-income tax credit, to give a tax cut to more than 15 million of our hardest pressed working families. That's why I fought so hard, with your help, to make Congress do the right thing and increase the minimum wage. And in a matter of days, it will be the law of the land, thanks to you and so many like you throughout this country. That's why you and I together fought and won the battle to make sure that you don't lose your health insurance if you lose your job or if someone in your family gets sick, why we fought and won the battle to make

sure you can keep saving for your retirement when you change jobs, why I'll continue to oppose efforts to let corporations raid workers' pension funds. We must not do that under the guise of balancing the budget.

Soon after I took office, I got rid of my predecessor's anti-worker, anti-union Executive orders. Our administration is pro-family, pro-worker, and pro-union. I strongly support collective bargaining for all employees. It's not a privilege, it's the right of all workers.

This Congress tried to make replacement workers the law of the land; I wouldn't let them. I supported legislation banning permanent replacement workers. I signed an Executive order to prevent companies who do business with the Federal Government from hiring permanent replacement workers. When a court blocked my order, I directed the Justice Department to take all appropriate steps to overturn the decision.

This Congress tried to make unsafe workplaces the law of the land, and I wouldn't let them do that either. I vetoed their budget that would have strangled OSHA's ability to enforce the safety laws that protect our workers. We can have a strong economy without sacrificing worker safety, and I'll keep fighting for both.

This Congress tried to make company unions the law of the land, and I wouldn't let them do that either. I vetoed the TEAM Act. When they tried to gut the National Labor Relations Board by slashing its budget, I said no. When they tried to undermine the prevailing wage laws, I said no. And I will continue to use that veto pen to stop Republicans in Congress from attacking our working families and the unions that represent them until we can turn this around and get everybody on the side of building a better America together.

You and your families and the millions of working families just like you are the heart and soul of the American dream. We have to keep working together not just to preserve what's been won but to continue to fight for better jobs, higher wages, more growth, and more justice. America's unequaled progress throughout the 20th century would not have been possible without the unions that helped to make it happen. Your history is America's history; your struggle is America's struggle. Now, as we prepare to enter the 21st century, we have to continue to work together to prepare our workers for the challenges of the future, together.

This is a moment of remarkable promise for our Nation. I believe that our children will have more opportunities to live out their dreams than any generation before them if we continue to hold to our most basic values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a stronger American community reaching out across all our diversities. Then we can make sure that the next century will truly be an American century. You're more than doing your part. And I'm determined to be your partner.

Remember now, 88 days. Go out and tell your fellow Americans, number one, compared to 4 years ago, the economy is in better shape. The crime rate is down. We've taken strong action to move people from welfare to work, to help the poorest working families, to lift up our children. Number two, we have a big contest here about the future. You remember what they tried to do, how they shut the Government down twice, what they tried to do to Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. Unless we win the Presidential race and change the composition of the Congress, they'll keep trying it over and over and over again. I'm determined to stop them, and you are, too, and it's not necessary to balance the budget.

And finally, as we look toward the future, we have to do more to create more good jobs, to give our people the educational opportunities they need, to make sure we go forward together into the next century. This is not the time to change the course we're on, it's the time to build on the course we're on and bring in more folks to fight the good fight.

That's what you're trying to do. I'm grateful to you. We're going to be partners, and we're going to be successful with your efforts.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke by satellite at 9:40 a.m. from the Fairmont Hotel in San Jose, CA, to the convention meeting in Pittsburgh, PA. In his remarks, he referred to Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, Democratic National Committee; George F. Becker, international president, and Jack Sheehan, former legislative director, United Steel Workers; Stephen P. Yokich, president, United Auto Workers; and George J. Kourpias, president, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Remarks in Salinas, California
August 8, 1996

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, Leon Panetta did not make me come here, I wanted to be here, and I am glad to be here today. I love looking at this crowd.

Mayor Styles, thank you for your welcome and thank you for that wonderful plaque with the beautiful drawing by a young child on it. Chief Nelson, thank you for what you said and for the leadership you give. Anna Caballero, thank you so much for your wonderful introduction. I was sitting listening to her speak—I thought, you know, she speaks better than most of us do. She ought to run for higher office someday. I think she will. She was very good. Simon Salinas, thank you for being here today.

Congressman Farr, thank you for doing such a fine job. You know, he was talking about all these programs we supported. What you need to know is that Sam Farr voted for every one of them, and every one of them was hard to pass. There were people who were actually trying to keep us from putting 100,000 police on the street and doing those other things, and Sam Farr was there with me every step of the way. And I thank him for that.

Sam Cabral and the International Union of Police Associations, I thank you for your endorsement. I thank you especially this year because it means something. For years and years as a Governor and as attorney general, working with communities like Salinas in my home State when I was struggling to deal with the problems of crime, I always heard the politicians in Washington talk about crime, and I never heard anybody come out for it. I mean, all people in public life are against crime. You never hear somebody stand up and give a speech for crime. But nobody ever did anything about it in Washington. And I was determined that we would change the direction of our Nation in dealing with the crime problem at the grassroots level with local communities. And I thank you for validating that today.

Ladies and gentlemen, there's someone else I want to introduce in the audience—I just saw him sitting out there—a man who has done as much as any individual citizen I can think of in the last few years to try to make our children safer, a man who lives not very far from you and who went through the unimaginable agony of having his own child abducted and killed. Her murderer was just convicted and sentenced. But in all these years he has borne his grief with dignity and worked to help us pass laws and adopt policies that would make other children safer in their homes. And I'd like you to welcome Mr. Marc Klaas. Marc, stand up. [*Applause*] Thank you. God bless you, sir.

I'd also like to say just one more word about Mr. Panetta. We were supposed to come here in a helicopter today and, believe it or not, it was too foggy for us in San Jose to take off, so we had to drive. So we drove over from San Jose, and Leon and Bruce Lindsey and I were sitting in the car together, and the closer we got to Salinas the happier Leon got. [*Laughter*] He was like a kid with a new toy when we drove into town. And he was talking about where he used to have an office here. We got out of the car and the first thing Sam Farr said is, "I got a better office than you did. I got another room." [*Laughter*] And he began to talk about you and about his life as a Congressman and about his friendships here and about what kind of community this was. And as we walked down the streets and people waved to us, this sort of flood of memories came out.

And I don't know that there's a harder job in public life than being Chief of Staff to the President. He's responsible for whatever mistakes he makes and all of mine, too. [*Laughter*] He has to defend me on the bad days as well as brag about the good days. You know, you've got to deal with Congress, run the White House, try to manage what's going on in the Cabinet, deal with the press, and just wait for another tire to go flat on you. [*Laughter*] It is an unimaginably difficult job. He has been magnificent, and you should be very proud of him. But I think the ultimate reason for his success is he never forgets what the purpose of the job is. Washington is a long way from Salinas, and I know a lot of times the debates up there seem very far and almost alien, almost unreal, and excessively political. And Leon Panetta has never forgotten his roots. Every day when he goes to work he imagines what we're doing in

terms of how it will impact people like you and how you will receive it and whether it will help us to raise our children. And other things being equal, he'd just as soon be back home, and we need more folks like that serving the public in our Nation's Capital.

Finally, I would like to congratulate Alvin Harrison and his teammates on their great 1600-meter relay. They were magnificent. [*Applause*] Thank you.

You know, Hillary and Chelsea and I had the privilege of going to the Olympics. Chelsea spent a week there, and Hillary went three times. I went twice. We got to speak to the team before the games began and then welcome all those who could come to the White House there yesterday. And I was trying to think to myself all during this whole thing and especially after the terrible bombing and then wondering how people would respond, and all the athletes showed up the next day, and all the spectators did, too. And people said, "We're going on." And I was thinking to myself, what is it that we really love about the Olympics?

I mean, Americans love all sports, and we're thrilled by sports achievements. But I think that we love the Olympics in part because we think it works the way we want the world to work. I mean, if you think about it, there they are, people from 197 different nations—there's a small, isolated little island like Nauru that sends 4 or 5 people and a large, vast country like Russia or Australia, a country with only 18 million people, had the third biggest delegation—all these countries participating. People that give expression to their national pride, and more than ever before.

But they all come together and play by the same rules in an atmosphere of mutual respect, and they have to win by doing something good, not by doing something bad to their opponents. Nobody wins by breaking their opponent's bones or by standing up in a public forum and saying how terrible their opponents are. They win by doing well. And they win by working together and accepting these rules. And I think that we think the world would be better if it worked that way.

The thing that made me so proud of the America team—as I looked at them I thought to myself, you know, if the American team were to disperse and walk out in the Olympic Village, but for their uniforms nobody would have any idea where they were from. They could be from Africa or Latin America. They could be from Mexico or India or Pakistan. They could be from any number of countries in the Middle East. They could be from China or Japan. They could be from Scandinavia. They could be from anywhere, because we are bound together not by our race but by our common commitment to this country and to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence.

I was gratified that Sam said one of your community groups here had as its motto the title of my wife's book from that old African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child." I want to talk to you about that today because that's really why I came here, because I think Salinas is a wonderful model of what has to be done by people in their communities if we're going to get this country in the shape it needs to be in to move into the 21st century.

Yes, there are things we must do in Washington. Yes, there are things that others must do. But where it matters is where people's lives are changed, in their homes, in their schools, in their communities, in their places of worship, with civic groups, with the local media, with other people who are involved in giving people the chance to make the most of their own lives.

I know, because some other people were telling me before I came out here, of the very moving story of your gold medal winner and his twin brother. That's an American story. And what we need to do is to make sure that there are a thousand stories like that for every child we lose, instead of the other way around. We don't have a child to spare, not a child to—[*inaudible*].

I have worked very hard in the last 3½ years to achieve my vision of what our country would be like when we move into the 21st century, and it's very simple. I want America to be a place where everybody, regardless of their race, their income, their background, their gender, has a chance to live out their dreams if they're responsible enough to work for it.

I want this country to stand as a brilliant rebuke to all the places in the world that are consumed by racial and religious and ethnic and tribal hatred, where people are killing each other around the world because of their differences. I want us to embrace our differences with respect and affection and reach across the lines that divide us and say we are stronger because of our differences, because we share

the same values and we share the same visions of the future.

And I want our country—and this requires me to do some things that everybody doesn't like from time to time, but I want our country to continue to be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world, because increasingly threats to our security that seem a long way away can come right home. Whether it's terrorism or drugs or shipping weapons or organized crime, we have to stand as a force for peace and freedom and prosperity throughout the world, so that we can guarantee that future to our children here at home.

So we worked very hard to do that, first to create opportunity by bringing our economy back. I'm grateful that the deficit has been cut in half, that trade is at an all-time high, that we're selling California agricultural products in markets they were never sold before, that we have over 10 million new jobs, that the California economy is coming back. We've got a lot more to do, but we're moving in the right direction, and I'm grateful for that.

We've tried to expand educational opportunity. One of my goals is to make sure every classroom and every library in America is connected to the information superhighway by the year 2000. And California is leading the way. We're moving to improve performance, to set higher standards, to support our schools, to help our schools support this by being able to stay open later hours, for example, and give children something to say yes to as well as something to say no to. We're working to open up the doors of college education to all Americans so that no young person should ever decline to go to school after high school just because of the cost of it.

I tell you, there's a lot of talk, you'll hear a lot of talk between now and November about tax cuts and how much we should have and whether we can afford them, and they all sound good. It's like going to the candy store, you know, "I'll have some of that and some of that and some of that and some of that." But if you eat it all at once, you might get sick.

So I say to you, it may not be popular, but I will not advocate any cut in taxes in this election that cannot be paid for in our attempts to balance the budget, invest in education, protect Medicare and Medicaid and the environment. But we have to do that.

But we can afford some targeted tax cuts. I'm about to sign one when we raise the minimum wage that will give people a $500 tax credit if they'll adopt children, because we want to encourage more children to be adopted into stable families, to be given a good start in life. That's an important thing.

I want to see tax relief for families when they're rearing their children. And the most important thing we could do and I think the most significant tax cut we could give America's families is a deduction for the cost of college tuition. And I want to make 2 years of education after high school as universal and available as public education through the 12th grade is today by giving people a tax credit for the cost of a community college for 2 years after high school. Everybody should have that, everyone in America. It should be universal.

But all this opportunity will not mean much to children who cannot play and learn and grow in safety. All this activity and opportunity will not mean much if children spend their whole childhood looking over their shoulder when they're walking to and from school to see if somebody is going to shoot them. All this activity and opportunity will not mean much to children who are lost in a fog of drug addiction or captured in a web of crime from which they cannot escape.

And so I say to you, I came here today to honor your efforts in fighting crime and rescuing our children. And I just want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for what you have done. And I want to make a couple of points here——

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. Have we got a doctor here? Is there a doctor in the house? We need a doctor up here. All this hot air is difficult. [*Laughter*] Okay, we're doing a good job. We have one doctor here and one in the crowd coming up. Come on up, sir. That's fine. We've got one already on the site there.

Now, let me ask you to think about something that to me is very important. If I had told you—you heard all these people say all these good things we've done to fight crime. But the truth is that 4 years in a row the crime rate has come down in America, but until this year, it had been going up among juveniles. So we were winning the battle against crime and losing it with our kids. It seems inconceivable. Cocaine

use dropped by a third in America in 3 years, but casual drug use has been going up among people under 18 since 1991.

Now, we all know there are a lot of reasons for that. But the fundamental reason, I think, is that too many of these kids are growing up in chaotic circumstances where they're being left to raise themselves. And Salinas said, we are not going to do that anymore; we're going to rescue every single one of our children.

We can create all the jobs in the world and all the opportunity in the world, but if we go into the 21st century with too many children killing children, too many children having children, too many children raising children, and too many children raising themselves on the street, this country will not be what it ought to be. And the only way we can turn that around is if communities say, we're going to take all the resources we have, and we're going to go after every single child. They're all our children.

So I thank the chief and the mayor for pointing out that we have put funds into this community to hire police officers; we've put funds in this community to help you with your special projects. But if you hadn't used it properly it would not amount to a hill of beans. Nothing we do in Washington to try to rescue the children of America will work unless it is given life in the commitment of people in every community in America. You are doing that in Salinas. That's what I want every community in America to do.

I do have some good news to tell you today. For the first time in 7 years, violent crime arrests of juveniles went down last year—for the first time in 7 years. Arrests for murder by juveniles went down for the second year in a row by over 15 percent. We are moving in the right direction. We have to do more of what we are doing.

All over this country people like you are coming alive to the fact that unless we do some things together we're not going to rescue our children. And I have tried to go around this country, to places where things are working, to highlight them, to urge every other American community to do the same, and to say what we in Washington can and will do to help. We can break the backs of gangs and youth violence, but we cannot do it unless the efforts we make in Washington find expression in the efforts you make on the streets of Salinas. Parents have to work with police; neighbors have to look out for each other; the schools, the community groups, everybody has to do it.

Everyone has a role to play. Everyone has a responsibility to fulfill. But we know if we do it, we can win. You don't have to give up on our kids anymore. You don't have to give up on crime. You don't have to accept unacceptable rates of violence. You don't have to say that we're going to lose a large number of our children every year because they happen to be poor or they happen to be isolated or they happen to have been picked up by a gang. You can say no to all that. And you are proving it in Salinas, and I want you to keep doing it until you eradicate the problem entirely.

Don't forget that not so long ago this community was literally invaded by an army of 20 gangs with 1,500 members. And don't forget that that led to drugs and drive-by murders and that a lot of kids wound up in those gangs just because they didn't have any other thing to belong to. You think about it; we all want to belong to a gang. We just want to be in good gangs. Alvin's relay team is a gang; it's a good gang. Right? Every church, every synagogue, that's a good gang. If you like your school, it's a good gang. People have a need; we are not destined to live isolated lives. And a lot of these kids who wound up in gangs are living in a vacuum alone, raising themselves, and they are drawn to the first magnet that makes them feel like they're more important. We all have that need, every single one of us. We need to know that we are a part of things that are bigger and better than ourselves, that we can find expression and meaning and force and direction in life by joining with other people. And when you have things like Peace Builders and when you tell kids that they matter and you tell them they can belong and that they can amount to something and they can live out their dreams and no matter where they start out they might wind up with a gold medal and at least they can win a gold medal in the race of life if they do the right things, then you can change this.

So you have had these breathtaking reductions in violent crime by juveniles associated with gangs. The numbers are staggering. And what I want to ask everyone in America is, if your community hasn't done what they have done in Salinas, what's your excuse. Get off the dime, go to work, and we'll help you. Every child

counts in every community in America. We need more of this.

I also want to brag on the Alisal Union school district, where an antitruancy initiative is keeping children in school. Every school district in this country that has cracked down on truancy has reduced juvenile crime, reduced the dropout rate, increased learning, and given more kids a better chance. Uniforms for elementary and middle school students keep them focused on what's inside, not what's outside. That also helps. Curfews keep the kids off the street and in a safe and secure place, and that's good.

And finally, let me just say one other thing. The thing I like about what you have done here is that you have not only cracked down on what's going wrong, you've tried to make things go right. You know, it's easy for anybody to stand up at a microphone and tell kids what they ought not to do. That's easy to do, and it's important to do. It's really important what people should not do. But every human being needs something to say yes to, and too many of our children have not had enough things to say yes to. You are also giving them something to say yes to. And I encourage you, as you teach people right from wrong, never to forget you not only need to suppress the wrong, you need to lift up the right and give people something to live for and to shoot for and to strive for.

I believe the most important thing we can do in Washington today, at a time when we have reduced the size of the bureaucracy, we are moving to balance the budget, is to say that we still have to have a Government that is strong enough to help people when they're flat on their back—as you are if you have a flood or a base closing and you need to change the whole direction of your economy or recover from a disaster—and also to help people make the most of their own lives, to build strong families, strong communities, strong workplaces, and a strong Nation.

You are a building block of that. I hope everyone in America will see somewhere tonight on a news report this great, vast sea of faces in this wonderful farming area, from all walks of life and all different backgrounds, who said simply, "We are not giving up on our children. We are lifting up our children."

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:24 p.m. at the Monterey County Courthouse. In his remarks, he referred to Alan Styles, mayor, Daniel T. Nelson, chief of police, and Anna Caballero, city council member, Salinas; Simon Salinas, supervisor, Monterey County; Sam Cabral, president, International Union of Police Associations; and Alvin Harrison, U.S. Olympic athlete.

Statement on Proposed Legislation To Establish a Veterans' Medicare Reimbursement Model Project

August 8, 1996

Today I have directed Secretary of Veterans Affairs Jesse Brown to send to Congress legislation for an innovative pilot that will expand health care options for our Nation's older veterans.

The "Veterans' Medicare Reimbursement Model Project Act of 1996" fulfills a recommendation made by the Vice President's National Performance Review and moves forward an idea proposed during the early days of this administration. The proposal has the potential of multiple benefits: expanding the choice of health care for older veterans; bringing new resources, utilization, and operational experience to the VA health care system; and producing savings for the Medicare Trust Fund by providing health care to Medicare-eligible veterans at a lower cost in the VA system.

This bill would establish a model demonstration project under which the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) would be reimbursed by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) for health care provided to certain Medicare-eligible veterans.

It would open the VA system to Medicare-eligible veterans at a limited number of sites, allowing VA to receive reimbursement from Medicare, and testing whether this is a way of

improving health care access and quality for Medicare-eligible veterans while protecting the integrity of the Medicare program. The proposal incorporates a rigorous evaluation of this demonstration program.

This legislation is particularly important given the increasing number of veterans age 65 and older—by the year 2000, the number of Medicare-eligible veterans will exceed 9.3 million, or 38 percent of the total veteran population. This model project will allow us to learn more about how we can meet the need of veterans.

The Departments of Defense and Health and Human Services have also been working on developing specifications for a model project to allow Medicare-eligible military retirees to use military treatment facilities with Medicare reimbursement and plan to have a proposal ready in the near future.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Terrorists Who Threaten To Disrupt the Middle East Peace Process

August 8, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments concerning the national emergency with respect to organizations that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process that was declared in Executive Order 12947 of January 23, 1995. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

1. On January 23, 1995, I signed Executive Order 12947, "Prohibiting Transactions with Terrorists Who Threaten To Disrupt the Middle East Peace Process" (the "order") (60 *Fed. Reg.* 5079, January 25, 1995). The order blocks all property subject to U.S. jurisdiction in which there is any interest of 12 terrorist organizations that threaten the Middle East peace process as identified in an Annex to the order. The order also blocks the property and interests in property subject to U.S. jurisdiction of persons designated by the Secretary of State, in coordination with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General, who are found (1) to have committed, or to pose a significant risk of committing, acts of violence that have the purpose or effect of disrupting the Middle East peace process, or (2) to assist in, sponsor or provide financial, material, or technological support for, or services in support of, such acts of violence. In addition, the order blocks all property and interests in property subject to U.S. jurisdiction in which there is any interest of persons determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, in coordination with the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, to be owned or controlled by, or to act for or on behalf of, any other person designated pursuant to the order (collectively "Specially Designated Terrorists" or "SDTs").

The order further prohibits any transaction or dealing by a United States person or within the United States in property or interests in property of SDTs, including the making or receiving of any contribution of funds, goods, or services to or for the benefit of such persons. This prohibition includes donations that are intended to relieve human suffering.

Designations of persons blocked pursuant to the order are effective upon the date of determination by the Secretary of State or his delegate, or the Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) acting under authority delegated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Public notice of blocking is effective upon the date of filing with the *Federal Register* or upon prior actual notice.

2. On January 25, 1995, the Department of the Treasury issued a notice listing persons blocked pursuant to Executive Order 12947 who have been designated by the President as terrorist organizations threatening the Middle East peace process or who have been found to be owned or controlled by, or to be acting for or on behalf of, these terrorist organizations (60 *Fed. Reg.* 5084, January 25, 1995). The notice identified 31 entities that act for or on behalf of the 12 Middle East terrorist organizations listed in the Annex to Executive Order 12947,

as well as 18 individuals who are leaders or representatives of these groups. In addition the notice provides 9 name variations or pseudonyms used by the 18 individuals identified. The list identifies blocked persons who have been found to have committed, or to pose a risk of committing, acts of violence that have the purpose of disrupting the Middle East peace process or to have assisted in, sponsored, or provided financial, material or technological support for, or service in support of, such acts of violence, or are owned or controlled by, or to act for or on behalf of other blocked persons. The Department of the Treasury issued three additional notices adding the names of three individuals, as well as their pseudonyms, to the List of SDTs (60 *Fed. Reg.* 41152–53, August 11, 1995; 60 *Fed. Reg.* 44932–33, August 29, 1995; and 60 *Fed. Reg.* 58435–36, November 27, 1995). The OFAC, in coordination with the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, is continuing to expand the list of Specially Designated Terrorists, including both organizations and individuals, as additional information is developed.

3. On February 2, 1996, OFAC issued the Terrorism Sanctions Regulations (the "TSRs") (61 *Fed. Reg.* 3805–13, February 2, 1996). The TSRs implement the President's declaration of a national emergency and imposition of sanctions against certain persons whose acts of violence have the purpose or effect of disrupting the Middle East peace process.

4. During the reporting period, OFAC issued two licenses pursuant to the TSRs. One license authorized the disbursement of funds from a blocked account for the legal defense of an identified terrorist. The second authorized the release of certain funds from the blocked account of the same SDT for maintenance in the United States of his dependents.

5. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from January 23 through July 22, 1996, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the national emergency with respect to organizations that disrupt the Middle East peace process are estimated at approximately $1 million.

6. Executive Order 12947 provides this Administration with a new tool for combating fundraising in this country on behalf of organizations that use terror to undermine the Middle East peace process. The order makes it harder for such groups to finance these criminal activities by cutting off their access to sources of support in the United States and to U.S. financial facilities. It is also intended to reach charitable contributions to designated organizations and individuals to preclude diversion of such donations to terrorist activities.

In addition, comprehensive counterterrorism legislation was enacted on April 24, 1996, that would strengthen our ability to prevent terrorist acts, identify those who carry them out, and bring them to justice. The combination of Executive Order 12947 and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996; Public Law 104–132, demonstrate the United States determination to confront and combat those who would seek to destroy the Middle East peace process, and our commitment to the global fight against terrorism.

I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against extremists seeking to destroy the hopes of peaceful coexistence between Arabs and Israelis as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Remarks in Long Beach, California
August 8, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Kevin. Boy, he did a good job, didn't he? Just like he's been doing it all his life. If he could get a

leave, I'd just take him with me. We'd make an act of it. We'd go on the road. [*Laughter*] Thank you for your work and for your example.

Thank you, mayor. It's great to be here with you again. It's great to be back in Long Beach. Thank you, Leland Wong, for what you said and for your work. Thank you, Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis. Thank you, Kathleen Connell, your State comptroller. Thank you, Long Beach Harbor Commission president George Murchison. And I'm glad to be here with Rick Zbur, who wants to go to Congress. Thank you very much. We're glad to see you, sir.

I'd like to thank the members of the Long Beach Harbor Commission and the Long Beach council and the Los Angeles council who are here. I've been given some names; I'm going to say them. If I miss somebody it's all my fault. [*Laughter*] But I think Nate Holden and Richard Alarcon are here from Los Angeles. And Carmen Perez, who is on the Long Beach Harbor Commission, Long Beach councilman Del Roosevelt, and Long Beach council member Jennie Orapreza are here. Thank you very much. Long Beach city attorney James Hahn. And someone told me—Los Angeles—I'm sorry. [*Laughter*] I don't want to put my glasses on, I'm too vain. I can't read—[*laughter*]. I've also been told that a friend of mine, a former Congresswoman from New York, Shirley Chisholm, is here in the audience. Shirley, are you here somewhere? Somebody told me—I know she's here somewhere. Thank you for being here.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be back here today, glad to be back to celebrate the successes of this port, the success of California in coming back, and to say this is only the beginning. The best is yet to come. We are proud of the leadership of Mayor Riordan and Mayor O'Neill and others in the resurgence of these ports. They are the largest in our Nation, as has already been said. But they are your gateway to the future.

I am especially proud of the work that Long Beach has done in dealing with the consequences of the base closing. I thank the Navy for their service here and their contributions here for so very many years. I know what a blow the base closing decision was. I know how you can take that kind of blow; I've been knocked flat on my back a time or two in my life. And I was, frankly, inspired by the determination, the energy, the vigor, and the vision of the plan that the people of Long Beach put together to bring this community back. It's going to work, and we're going to help you, and you're going to make it.

At the time I took office I was very concerned that our country was not going to be prepared for the challenges of the 21st century. I was concerned that we had the slowest job growth since the Depression. I was concerned that communities in California and throughout the country that had been hurt by base closings and other economic adversity were not being helped to develop strategies to recover and to rebound in the move into the future. I was concerned that our deficit was at an all-time high and growing. I was concerned that so many great American industries that I knew could compete and win in the global economy seemed to be falling behind.

I've got a simple vision. You know, when we had the previous speakers I was sitting here thinking about every one of them and what they were saying and what it meant. And then in the end, Kevin sort of put it all on the line when he said he was doing his work so that his son and future generations would do better. I have a very simple vision for our country——

Audience member. What about a tax cut?

The President. ——as we enter the 21st century. One is——

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]—tax cut?

The President. You know, we believe in the first amendment here. I'll be glad to answer your question, but they came here to hear me, so if you'll talk a bit later—[*applause*]. Thank you. But I will tell you, I'll give you an answer if you'll stop screaming and listen. Number one, after I got elected, it turned out the deficit was a lot bigger than we were told, and I thought getting the deficit down, getting interest rates down, and getting this economy back on its feet was the most important thing.

Number two——

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Now, wait a minute, stop screaming. I'm not through yet. [*Laughter*] I want you all to listen to this because you'll have a chance to tell this again, and I want you to do it before it's over. [*Laughter*]

Number two, in this country today the average family of four with an income of under $30,000 will have a tax bill $1,000 lower than it was when I took office. That's not the whole middle class, but that's a big chunk of it, and they're better off because of our plan.

Number three, 90 percent—nine-zero—90 percent of the people who own small businesses in this country have lower taxes because of the '93 economic plan.

Number four, if my version of the balanced budget had passed instead of their version, which had excessive cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, over half—up to 60 to 70 percent of the American people would have had a tax reduction, and one we could afford, that would have still allowed us to balance the budget without hurting the future of America. So that's my answer to your question. Now I'd like to go on to the speech.

I'm kind of glad you asked, and I hope you'll find some more of your troops to seed some more of our rallies. [*Laughter*] And then we'll get more truth out to the American people. It'll be a better election as a result. Thank you very much.

Now, where are we? [*Laughter*] Let me go back to where I started. That's politics. Let's talk about the future. What's it going to look like when our children are our age? What's it going to look like when our grandchildren are our age? That's the real question. I believe that we ought to go into the next century with three simple things on our mind, three things. And you ought to ask yourself whether you agree. You may not agree with all three of them.

One is, every person in this country who is willing to work for it, without regard to their race, their gender, their station in life, ought to have a chance—not a guarantee but a chance—to live out their dreams.

Two, we ought to be committed to the proposition that America will not be destroyed by the racial, religious, ethnic, and tribal tensions that are tearing the rest of the world up, that we're going to be stronger as a result of it. We're going to be stronger as a result of it.

Number three, we ought to be committed, even though it costs money and it is sometimes difficult, to the proposition that America will remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity because a lot of the threats to our security——

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. ——terrorism, drugs, organized crime, are things that cross national lines.

Don't pay any attention to those folks. [*Laughter*] We got a limit of one question for a rally here—interruption. [*Laughter*] The rest of you ought to be—if you want to talk to me, come around here later and stop screaming.

Now, that's what we ought to be committed to. And I believe that if we are committed to it, we'll be better off. Now, let me ask you to think about this: When we started——

Audience member. You're lying to the American people.

The President. No, I'm not lying to the American people. Do we have 10 million more jobs than we did under the previous President, or not? Yes. Do we have 4½ million more homeowners and 10 million people that refinanced their home mortgages at lower rates? Do we have 1.3 million fewer people on welfare and a million and a half fewer people on food stamps? Yes. Has the crime rate gone down 4 years in a row?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Did we stop the attempts to gut funding for education and the environment and to destroy the Medicare and Medicaid program? Yes.

Now, those are true things. So we're in better shape than we were 4 years ago. But what I want to say to you is, we've got a long way to go. We have to build on what we have done. And trade is one way we're going to do it.

One of the biggest arguments we had in this country—and, frankly, it included people in both parties and people that belonged to neither party—was whether or not America could benefit from a world in which borders were more open and trade was more free. There were some who said that because we were a wealthy country and so many countries that were interested in trade were poorer than we were and worked for wages we couldn't live on, that we could never win if we had open borders and worked for freer trade. There were others who said that all we had to do was open our borders, and we didn't have to worry about anything else.

We took a different view. Our view was, if we didn't try to trade more, we would get all the burdens of the future and none of the benefits, because you can't keep low-cost goods out of America that American consumers want to buy. But what we needed was both fair and free trade, rules that were fair, rules that gave our people, our workers a fair chance to prove they were the most productive in the world. And then we needed to get off our duffs and go out in the world and try to sell our products. That's what Ron Brown did, and that's what

his lasting legacy will be: proving that Americans could compete and win with anybody in the world.

Now, we proved that we were very competitive. The mayor mentioned that I was here at the McDonnell Douglas plant not very long ago. We have a partnership now with McDonnell Douglas and Pratt & Whitney to produce 80 more C–17 airplanes. They're the best transport plane in the world, the best ever produced by anybody. That will create 18,000 more jobs.

We've worked hard on this base closing problem all over California. I was just up in Monterey County where Fort Ord has become the California State University at Monterey Bay. I was in the Presidio the other day, where a military base went from being a closed base to a national preserve and an environmental treasure for the whole United States of America. These things are things that can be done.

The mayor mentioned Sea Launch a minute ago. That's an international project that was just announced by Boeing which will tap into the growing market of launching commercial satellites into space. The home port will be right here, and that's hundreds of more new, good paying jobs for the people of this area.

So what I want to say to all of you is in the end our attitude toward the rest of the world will be determined in part by what the political leaders say and what our policies are and the things we advocate when we're having these debates. It matters that we started meeting for the first time with the leaders of the other Asian-Pacific countries—and I do it every year now—and we're broadening our trade there and committing them, as well as ourselves, to lowering trade barriers. It matters that we've continued and intensified our trade relationship with China. It matters that we set up an export development office down here to help you export more of your products to the rest of the world. That all matters.

But in the end it matters what you want to do. If you believe in it, then you will support what we're trying to do in the Alameda Corridor project. You'll make it a reality because you know it will generate more jobs by reaching out to the world than by walking away from it.

You've been kind enough today to compliment two people who were very instrumental in this policy we pursued, the late Ron Brown and our former trade ambassador and newcomer Secretary, Mickey Kantor, who is from southern California. I'd also like to say that the Transportation Secretary, Federico Pena, has worked very hard to develop the financing and the plan for the Alameda Corridor project. Building that corridor will create 10,000 more good paying jobs for the people of this area and will generate an enormous amount of economic activity in the future.

So I want to thank all them. But mostly, I want to thank you for looking outward. I want to thank Kevin for standing up here and saying with confidence that hardworking people in America can compete and win in the global economy. This will work.

Listen to this: Between 1993 and 1995, California's exports increased—not the country's, California's exports—increased by $25 billion. That's 200,000 more jobs in California just from exports. As many as 1 in 10 of your jobs are already related to international trade. Not only that, this is changing the nature of the jobs.

When I took office, about 20 percent of our new jobs were in high-wage industries. In 1995, more than 55 percent of the new jobs created in the United States paid above average wages, largely because they were in the industries and the activities of the future, and they were tied into global trade and our ability to be more productive and more competitive than anybody else in the things that we do well.

You are going to benefit if you will continue to support this approach. This should be an American issue, not a Republican issue, not a Democratic issue. This should be something that we say as Americans we're committed to more trade both free and fair. And we are going to be aggressive in promoting our economic interests around the world. That will help us, but it will help others as well, because it will help other people to grow their economy and to be even better trading partners with us in the future.

And we need you to take that position, not just the elected officials, you—people on the street, people doing the work, people whose children's lives are at stake. You must do these things. And if you do there is no stopping our country, and California is coming all the way back.

Let me just make one other comment in closing. If all of you are like me—now, it was earlier out here, so you probably didn't have quite the pain that we went through on the East Coast—

but I lost a lot of sleep during the Olympics. [*Laughter*] Our family was up past midnight nearly every night, watching the very last event. And I got to thinking about that, about what we all love about the Olympics and about what was special about the American Olympic team. And I'd like to make——

Audience member. We kicked butt!

The President. Well, that's one thing, all right. [*Laughter*] I'd like to just make an observation about it to you.

Why do you like the Olympics? I think one reason is—besides the fact that Americans are sports nuts and we all like athletics, I think we like the Olympics because they work the way we think the world ought to work. Everybody shows up, from the smallest island country which has three or four athletes to the largest delegations. They all accept the rules of the game. They're all treated with respect. Everybody has their chance. Everybody gives their best, and even the ones who don't win medals are better off for having tried. And when it's all over, people feel like they were part of something that was bigger than themselves. And that's really how we think the world ought to work.

You think about it. You can't win a medal if you have somebody go break your opponent's legs the night before the contest. [*Laughter*] No one looks up to you if you stand up on a podium and bad-mouth your opponent and say how terrible they are, and they're liars, and they're no good and how sorry they are. Nobody thinks better of you when you do that, when you behave in that way. The only way you succeed is by reaching down deep inside for what is best inside you. And when you do that, it doesn't matter what's on the outside.

Now, we think the world ought to work that way. And if you think about the American team—when Hillary and Chelsea and I had the profound honor of welcoming them to the White House yesterday or going to speak to them before the games began or just watching them compete, it occurred to me that if they took their USA jackets off and just wandered in the Olympic Village with the other athletes, they're the only crowd you wouldn't have any idea where they're from. [*Laughter*] You could see them, you could think, well, these athletes are from Africa, and these are from South America, and these are from Mexico, and these are from India, and these are from Pakistan, and these are from the Middle East, and these are from China, and these are from Japan, and these are from Scandinavia, and it turns out they're all from America. Because this country is not about race, it's about the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and what we believe in. That's what it's about.

And that's the last thing I want to tell you. I want you to think about this when you go home tonight. There were 197 different nations represented in the Olympics. Over 150 of those people are represented in this county, Los Angeles County. Now, that's the last thing I want to leave you with. If you want to create opportunity for everybody, if you want this country to lead the world, if you want to keep reaching out to the rest of the world, we have to prove to the rest of the world that you do not have to base a society on racial prejudice, ethnic prejudice, and looking down at other people. Let's lift people up and go forward together.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:35 p.m. at the Navy Mole at the combined Ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles. In his remarks, he referred to Kevin Schroeder, member, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Mayor Beverly O'Neill of Long Beach; Leland Wong, president, Los Angeles Harbor Commission; Rick Zbur, candidate for California's 38th Congressional District; and Ronald H. Brown, former Secretary of Commerce.

Remarks to the Saxophone Club in Santa Monica, California

August 8, 1996

Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here. I want to thank all of you for coming. I want to thank the cochairs of this event and Hannah Bond, the director of the Saxophone

Club. Thank you all very much. I want to thank Dave Koz and his band, and B.J. and the Boys. And I want to say to my good friend Whoopi Goldberg—she is a national marvel, isn't she? And here she was tonight actually playing it straight. And that just shows you how serious she is about winning this election. If you're as serious as she is, we're going to be okay in November. I also saw Magic Johnson over there. I thank him for being here tonight. Thank you, Magic.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to be brief tonight so I can get out and shake hands and say hello to you, but I want to say just a couple of things—just bear with me for a moment in all your exuberance and let's—just be serious with me just for a minute.

I want to tell you a couple of stories. One is that yesterday Hillary and Chelsea and I had the privilege of welcoming the Olympic team to the White House. And we're real proud of them. And the day before, we saw the Paralympic team off to Atlanta to do their thing, and it was an incredible event. And of course, we had a chance to go down and speak to our Olympic team and visit the Olympics right before the games began.

And so I've been thinking a lot during this whole period and that long night when I stayed up all night after the bomb blew up in the park and we didn't quite know what had happened for a while, what is it that makes people love the Olympics so much, besides the fact that we all love sports? And I think that there are two or three things that make us love it even if we don't like sports so much. You know, we had 77,000 people who saw the women's soccer final. I mean, people really got into this.

Now, what is it that we like about it? Well, first of all, you've got people from 197 different countries, and they're all getting along for a change. They're all getting along for a change. Right before I went to the dining hall, the North Korean and South Korean teams had sat at adjoining tables and had talked. I've been trying to get them to talk for 3½ years with no luck. [*Laughter*]

Secondly, they work the way we think the world ought to work. I mean, there's a set of rules and people follow them. And as long as you're following rules, the other people all respect you, even if you're different from them. And you can't win any medals if you sneak into your opponent's room at night and break his legs or if you stand up at a microphone like this and talk about what a terrible person your opponent is, how they're no good and corrupt and dishonest. You've just got to reach down deep inside and do your best, and everybody gets a chance, but nobody gets a guarantee. And most people don't win medals, but everybody is better off when it's all over. And we all feel good.

And in America we especially feel good because there were 197 different nations represented; there are representatives from 150 of those different countries in Los Angeles County tonight as we speak. So we identify with that, and we like it.

Now, I'll tell you a second story. I was up in Salinas today, and we were celebrating this remarkable effort they've made with all their community organizations to reach out to all the children in trouble and break this epidemic of gangs they have there and dramatically lower the murder rate among young people. And I went there to celebrate what they've done and also to point out that we announced today that for the first time in 7 long years the crime rate is going down among people under 18—for the first time in 7 years.

But it turns out that there was a gold medal winner from Salinas who was a member of our 4 by 400 relay team, a very handsome young man who showed up and got a bigger hand than the President did. It was terrific. And he has a twin brother who came within less than a second of making the Olympic team himself. And it turns out that at one point when these kids were very young they were so poor they were living in a car. But the fellow has an Olympic Gold Medal, an American dream story.

Now, what's all that got to do with this election? This election, in my opinion, is about what this country is going to look like when we start the new century and the new millennium and, for those of you young people who are in the Saxophone Club, what it's going to look like when you're my age and you have children. And what I want it to look like is a country where everybody, wherever they start out in life, no matter how poor they are, what their race is, what their station in life is, has a chance to live out their dreams if they're willing to be responsible and work for it. I want this to be a country where we relish our diversity, where we celebrate our differences and say, "We're not bound by any race or region or creed. We're

bound by the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. If you'll sign onto that, you're fine by me, and we like it."

And I want this to be a country that stands up for peace and freedom around the world and tells people that it's wrong to have a situation you've got in Bosnia, Burundi, the Middle East, or Ireland or anyplace where people are killed or persecuted because they're different from somebody else, from religion or race or ethnicity.

And if we do that, the next century is going to be the greatest era of human possibility that has ever existed. There are children in school today that within 10 years will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet, that have not been imagined yet. And more people will have more chances to live out their dreams than ever before. That's what I'm working for.

I was so elated yesterday that I got to participate in a comment about our space scientists discovering this piece of meteorite from Mars that took 16 million years to get here and has been hanging around in Antarctica for Lord knows how many thousands of years but seems to have evidence of a fossilized micro-organism—incredible thing. But whether it's—whatever pans out of it, what it shows is that there is a magnificent world out there of things we still don't know. And the explosion of knowledge and technology, if we can make sure everybody has a fair chance and if we can learn to live together amidst all our differences and if we can keep moving the world forward in a more peaceful way, it's going to be an incredible time out there.

Now, that is what this election is all about. And I want you to make just three simple arguments to people in the next 88 days. Number one, take President Reagan's test: Are we better off than we were 4 years ago? Well, if the test is the first time the deficit has gone down in all 4 years of a President's term since the 1840's, 10 million more jobs, 4.4 million more homeowners, 10 million people refinance their mortgages, a record number of new small businesses, a record number of new businesses owned by women and minorities—if that's the test—record exports—we're better off than we were. If the test is 4 years in a row of a declining crime rate, 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers that don't have handguns because of the Brady bill, then we're better off. If the test is 12 million Americans who got to take some time off from work when there was a baby born or a sick parent without losing their job, we're better off. If the test is no nuclear missiles pointed at the American people for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, we're better off. So are we better off? Yes, we are.

Second question: What is the alternative? [*Laughter*] The answer is, you don't have to guess; you know what they will do, too. They've already done it once; I just vetoed it the first time. And I don't believe we can become a greater, stronger nation by saying we're going to balance the budget and using that as an excuse to wreck our ability to protect the environment for future generations or cutting back on education at a time when we need to be spending more for education—we ought to make sure that nobody who needs to go is ever deprived of the right to go to college, and everybody ought to get 2 more years of education—or running away from our obligations to provide health care to poor children and pregnant women and families with someone in it with a disability or seniors.

So there's a big difference here in what we think our obligations are. I believe the role of Government is not to be a bureaucratic pain in the neck. We have reduced the size of Government. We have put it on the side of creating jobs and promoting the economy. But I believe this: I think we have an obligation to protect the environment, to hold people together, and to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. That is what we have to be doing, and that's what I'm committed to.

And the last thing I want to say to you is it's a big, bright world out there, but it matters what decisions people make. Don't let anybody tell you this is an election without consequences. This is an election of massive consequence in every single policy area you can think of.

You know, we've got 1.3 million fewer people on welfare than we had 4 years ago. We've got 1½ million fewer people on food stamps. I'm all for looking for new and innovative ways to move people from welfare to work. That's why I signed that welfare bill. But it was wrong of the Congress to deny any access to benefits to legal immigrants who work here and pay taxes and through no fault of their own get in trouble. You know, you think about it Monday when you go to work. How many people come here

and they work hard and they pay their taxes and through no fault of their own they get in a car wreck or they develop a serious illness. And this Congress wants to say to people they shouldn't even be entitled to a little help even if they've been paying their taxes, even if they've been in the military, legal immigrants that join the military.

Don't let this election become an excuse to divide us from anybody who is here lawfully, obeying the law, paying their taxes, doing their part; we ought to go and grow together. We shouldn't be divided on this. Don't do that.

If you want to know what we're going to do in the next 4 years, I'll tell you what we're going to do. We've gotten our house in order in the first 4 years. In the second 4 years, we're going to be dedicated to giving every single American the chance to participate in the economy that is emerging, to participate in the society that is emerging, and to know that we can grow the economy and preserve the environment and to know that we can be fair to our children and our parents and still have enough left for ourselves. We, in short, are going to go forward together. We are not going to be divided. And that is the central decision facing the American people.

There is too much out there for all of us if we'll just keep our heads on straight, listen to our heart, and say we're going to do it together. That's the spirit that we celebrated in the Olympics, and we need to make American life more that way.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:04 p.m. at the Armand Hammer Museum of Art. In his remarks, he referred to comedienne Whoopi Goldberg and former NBA basketball player Earvin (Magic) Johnson.

The President's Radio Address
August 10, 1996

Good morning. Earlier this week Hillary and I were honored to welcome America's Olympic team to the White House. I believe the centennial Olympics were the best ever. The competition was wonderful. A record 197 teams were involved. The crowds were enormous and enthusiastic. Our athletes amassed a terrific record. There were powerful moments of courage in victory and defeat that captured the imagination of the entire world.

I think most of us wish the world would work more like the Olympics. There were all kinds of people bound together by mutual respect and acceptance of the rules of the game. All the individuals and teams had a chance, gave it their best, and win or lose, were better off for their efforts.

As heroic as the feats of the athletes in this Olympics was the way all those involved in the Atlanta games pressed on in the face of adversity. Just 2 weeks ago today a pipe bomb exploded in Centennial Olympic Park. It was a terrorist act aimed not only at the innocent people there but the very spirit of the Olympics. This was brutal evidence that no nation is immune from terrorism and an urgent reminder that we must do everything we can to fight the terrorists.

The world we live in is more open than ever. People have more opportunities than ever because people and technology and information travel quickly across national borders. But these things that make us all closer and give us more chances also make us more vulnerable to the forces of organized destruction, to the drug traffickers, the organized criminals, the people who sell weapons of mass destruction, and of course, especially to the terrorists.

What happened in the Olympic Centennial Park, that wonderful public space open to all people who visited Atlanta, is symbolic of the world's problem with terrorism. Now, that's why terrorism must be a central national security priority for the United States. Our efforts must and will be unrelenting, coordinated, and strong.

We are pursuing a three-part strategy against terrorism.

First, we're rallying the world community to stand with us against terrorism. From the Summit of the Peacemakers in Sharm al-Sheikh,

Egypt, where 13 Arab nations for the very first time condemned terror in Israel and throughout the Middle East to the antiterror agreements we reached with our G–7 partners in Russia last month to take specific common actions to fight terrorism, we are moving forward together. Our intelligence services have been sharing more information with other nations than ever to stop terrorists before they act, capture them if they do, and see that they're brought to justice. We've imposed stiff sanctions with our allies against states that support terrorists. When necessary, we're acting on our own. A law I signed this week will help to deny Iran and Libya the money they use to finance international terrorism.

Second, our antiterrorism strategy relies on tough enforcement and stern punishment here at home. We made terrorism a Federal offense, expanded the role of the FBI, imposed the death penalty. We've hired more law enforcement personnel, added resources, improved training. And I'm proposing a new law that will help to keep terrorists off our soil, fight money laundering, and punish violent crimes committed against Americans abroad.

Third, we're tightening security on our airplanes and at our Nation's airports. From now on, we'll hand-search more luggage and screen more bags and require preflight inspections for any plane flying to or from the United States. I've asked Vice President Gore to head an effort to deploy new high-technology inspection machines at our airports and to review all our security operations.

We'll continue to press forward on all three of these fronts. But we cannot cast aside any tools in this fight for the security of our country and the safety of our people. That is exactly what the Republican majority in Congress did by stripping from the antiterrorism legislation key provisions that law enforcement needs to help them find out, track down, and shut down terrorists.

Law enforcement has asked for wiretap authority to enable them to follow terrorists as they move from phone to phone. This is the only way to track stealthy terrorists as they plot their crimes. This authority has already been granted to our law enforcement officials when they're dealing with organized criminals. Surely it is even more urgent to give them this authority when it comes to terrorists. But Congress said no.

And law enforcement has also asked that explosives used to make a bomb be marked with a taggant, a trace chemical or a microscopic plastic chip scattered throughout the explosives. This way sophisticated machines can find bombs before they explode, and when they do explode police scientists can trace a bomb back to the people who actually sold the explosive materials that led to the bomb.

Now, tagging works. In Switzerland over the past decade it's helped to identify who made bombs and explosives in over 500 cases. When it was being tested in our country several years ago, it helped police to find a murderer in Maryland.

In the last 2 weeks since the Olympic bombing, our law enforcement officers have been working around the clock, but they have been denied a scientific tool that might help to solve investigations like this one.

Our antiterrorism bill would have given us the ability to require tagging gunpowder often used in making pipe bombs. The Republicans in Congress could give law enforcement this antiterrorism tool, but once again they're listening to the gun lobby over law enforcement. It may be good politics, but it's not good for the American people. This is a reasonable proposal from our law enforcement community. It doesn't have anything to do with limiting people's ability to own or use guns in a lawful manner. The same people who opposed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban are opposing this provision. I'd just like to remind them that no hunter or sportsman has lost a weapon or the right to use a weapon in a lawful manner as a result of the Brady bill or the assault weapons ban, but we're getting rid of 19 deadly assault weapons, and 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not gotten handguns because of the Brady bill.

We should have a good taggants provision in our antiterrorism legislation. So let's put aside interest group politics and honor the victims of terrorism, protect our people, and support our law enforcement officials by giving them the tools they plainly need.

This fight against terrorism will be long and hard. There will be setbacks along the way. But let's remember, we can win. Already we have prevented planned terrorist attacks on the Holland Tunnel in New York, on the United Nations building, on our airplanes flying out of our west coast airports. Already we have suc-

ceeded in extraditing terrorists back to America and convicting terrorists and arresting others who are suspected of terrorism. We can whip this problem.

Just as no enemy could drive us from the fight to meet our challenges and protect our values in World War II and the cold war, we cannot be driven from the fight against today's enemy, terrorism. We know that if we all work together, America will prevail.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 3:30 p.m. on August 9 at the Bar B Bar Ranch in Jackson Hole, WY, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on August 10.

Remarks on Signing the New World Mine Property Agreement at Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming

August 12, 1996

The President. Thank you. This is not the hardest speech I ever had to give. [*Laughter*] What a happy day.

Let me thank you, Sue Glidden, for all the work you've done. Just before she came up here one of the folks sitting back here with us said, "Well, now what are you going to do?" And she said, "Now I have my life back." I'm sure she'll find something to do with it—highly productive.

Thank you very much, Mike Clark, for all the great work you have done. Thank you, Mike Finley and Marv Jensen and all the people at Yellowstone who do such a magnificent job preserving our Nation's great treasure. I'd like to thank John Schmidt and Jim Pipkin. Ian Bayer, thank you very much for what you said and for what you've done.

I can't say enough to thank the other people in the administration; Katie McGinty who has been wonderful about this. And you mentioned the Vice President; I thank you very much. We have lunch once a week and at least every other lunch I asked him or he reported to me on whether this was ever going to get done or not. So in the middle of Bosnia and the budget and everything, we were—for one year—I know more about this some days than I wish I had known. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Jack Ward Thomas.

I'd like to thank some other people who are here and a couple who aren't. Thank you, Senator Birch Bayh, for your role in this. I want to thank my good friends Congressman Pat Williams and Congressman Bill Richardson for working on this. Bill Richardson has been making peace all around the world the last 2 years, but he found time to do this as well.

I want to thank Senator and Mrs. Rockefeller who came up with me. Jay and Sharon Rockefeller are your neighbors. As you know, they live near the Grand Tetons and are very concerned about it. And I want to thank former Wyoming Governor Mike Sullivan and his wife, Jane Sullivan, who came up with me, and they've been longtime friends of Hillary's and mine.

And I want to thank all of you who were in that meeting with Hillary and with me a year ago. We learned a lot. It was a great occasion for us, and we've relived it several times.

I also want to say a special word of recognition for the two families that are behind me. We just hauled them up here. [*Laughter*] They're laughing. Are they agreeing with me? [*Laughter*] They are the Franklin family from Sioux Falls and the Pamprin family from Green Bay, Wisconsin. I asked them to come here—asked them to stand up here.

I asked them to come to make this point. This fight was not simply waged by those of you who live here for your families and your community and your future. You waged this fight for all the people of the United States and, indeed, the people of the world who love and believe in the preservation of our natural resources, who come and participate. And I thought it was important that somebody be reminded somehow by their presence here that there are millions and millions and millions of people who will directly benefit from the decision we announced today. And you're seeing some of them. We thank you.

Let me say, for all kinds of reasons I'm also glad to see that John Denver is here today, and thank you very much for coming. And if you want to sing, I won't talk. [*Laughter*] We're glad to have you here.

Hillary and Chelsea and I came back here this year, drawn by the magnet of this magnificent place, reconnecting something that I think is in all of us, the yearning to have a bond with the nature that God has given us. Yellowstone, as all of you know—but as I think we should remind the country today—our first national park has our largest herd of elk and bison; more than 200 geysers; marvelous, pristine lakes and majestic mountains; places where we can teach our children about the power and the mysteries of nature.

Yellowstone was entrusted into our care as a people, a whole people, more than 120 years ago now. And today we are saying to the rest of the world, to the rest of our country, and to future generations of America, we have been worthy of that trust, and we are giving it on to our children and our children's children.

Again, I want to thank those who were part of the Yellowstone dialog. I want to thank Senator Baucus, who could not be here today, for his five-point plan for maximum protection of the park before the proposed mine could go forward. I want to thank the members of my Cabinet who are not here, including especially Secretary Babbitt and Secretary Glickman and EPA Administrator Browner and Attorney General Reno, because they all supported this as well. And I wish they could be here with us to celebrate this day.

The agreement that has been reached with Crown Butte to terminate this project altogether proves that everyone can agree that Yellowstone is more precious than gold. As has been said before, this is a victory for everyone involved. The American people and our future win because Yellowstone will be protected from the environmental hazards of mining. Crown Butte's shareholders win because their property rights will be protected. We are all protected from years and years of expensive and bitter litigation. And while there is still work to do and work in which members of the general public must and will be involved, we are going to move forward. And this signing today means that it will come out the way so many of you have worked for, for so many years.

Mining jobs are good jobs, and mining is important to our national economy and to our national security. But we can't have mines everywhere, and mines that could threaten any national treasures like Yellowstone—that's too much to ask of the American people. The company has recognized this, and we thank them. Again, I want to emphasize they are not only walking away from a gold mine, they have also agreed to finance the cleanup of historic mining pollution that predates their work at the site. That is a very important part of this agreement, and the company deserves a lot of credit for it, and we ought to appreciate what they're doing.

Again, I want to thank Ian Bayer and Joe Baylis of Crown Butte for their extraordinary commitment. Let me thank the Members of Congress again, those who are here and Senator Baucus, who isn't, and also my senior Senator and a great friend of Yellowstone and the Nation's environment, Senator Dale Bumpers, who very much wanted to be with us today.

I also want to say in closing that the way this was done should become a model for America's challenges, not only in the environment but in other areas as well. When we deal with problems of national significance that have to be resolved by people who understand the particulars and who will be most affected by it, it will be well to remember how this was done. Yes, I did say that I wanted to preserve this park. And yes, I did put the Vice President and Katie McGinty and the Cabinet on it. But the reason it worked, especially given the way the mining law works, as all of you know, is that we had a collaborative process that involved people reflecting all the interests involved who worked in good faith. That is the way we have to meet America's challenges as we move into this new century.

We don't have to make a choice between the environment and the economy. We don't have to have every single challenge we face drag on forever and ever and ever, into court suit after court suit after court suit, being fodder for politicians that campaign from rhetoric that divides us instead of unites us. All of you have proved that America can be better than that. This is a very, very great day for our country, not only because what we have done is right but because of the way we have done it. That is right as well.

When Yellowstone was created as the world's first national park over 120 years ago, it was as a result of a bipartisan agreement and a consensus which existed at that time that this place was too precious not to be preserved. God created the mountains of Yellowstone and the minerals beneath them, but it is up to us to preserve them. You have done that today. And you have done it in the right way.

So I ask you today as you leave here to make sure that we all teach our children and grandchildren the lessons we have learned today, to make sure that future generations of our country never forget that we have something here we can never replace but also never forget that when we meet each other across the lines that divide us in good faith, with honest, open hearts and a real desire to move forward together, we can do it.

We celebrate that today. And as your President, I am very grateful for every single one of you who played a role in this historic moment for America.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Now, I can't forget the actual purpose for which we came. [*Laughter*] Katie, Mike, and Ian are going to sign the agreement.

[*At this point, the agreement was signed.*]

The President. We're adjourned.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at Barronette Peak Overlook. In his remarks, he referred to Sue Glidden, owner, Cooke City General Store, Cooke City, MT; Mike Clark, executive director, Greater Yellowstone Coalition; Michael V. Finley, superintendent, and Marvin Jensen, deputy superintendent, Yellowstone National Park; John Schmidt, Associate Attorney General, Department of Justice; James Pipkin, Counselor to the Secretary of the Interior; Ian Bayer, president, Battle Mountain Canada Ltd.; Jack Ward Thomas, chief, U.S. Forest Service; former Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana; singer John Denver; and Joe Baylis, president, Crown Butte Mines, Inc.

Remarks on Signing the Federal Oil and Gas Royalty Simplification and Fairness Act of 1996 in Jackson Hole, Wyoming

August 13, 1996

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Let me first of all thank the Teton Science School, its board members, and its staff who hosted us today. I want to acknowledge the school's 15 professional residents who are graduating today and heading off to teach in environmental centers around the country. We thank you for what you're doing.

I want to acknowledge Superintendent Jack Neckels and the staff of the Grand Teton National Park, and Bridger-Teton National Forest Supervisor Sandra Key. And I want to thank all of you.

My family and I are having a wonderful time again in Wyoming this year. And yesterday we had a fabulous day for America when we announced the agreement not to build the gold mine near the northeast corner of Yellowstone and that the mining company would agree to clean up pollution at the site, spend over $20 million to do it, including pollution that they did not cause, in return for which the United States will recognize their property rights and their investment and make a land swap.

So I think it was an agreement in which everyone won. And again, I would say what I said yesterday: I hope that we can see the kind of coming together in positive resolution of these matters that we saw yesterday in many, many other areas. We have to find a way to preserve our environment and to grow our economy, and we don't have to make many of the choices that seem to be frozen in the public debate today. So I was very encouraged by yesterday.

I also want to say that this is a very good day—[*applause*]—thank you. I planted those people out there. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank the members of the energy industry who have come from all over America to be with me today as I sign the Oil and Gas Royalty Simplification and Fairness Act into law.

This is the latest in a series of bipartisan efforts which passed the Congress in some cases unanimously, in other cases almost unanimously at the very end of the session before the August recess began. They represented a dramatic departure from what happened in 1995 and the first half of 1996. We have welfare reform, health care reform, a higher minimum wage, better retirement provisions and other incentives for people who are running small businesses in America, safer food and drinking water as a result of these initiatives.

And I hope that this is an omen of things to come, because this is the way America moves forward. When we tone our rhetoric down and work together and roll up our sleeves and try to meet our legitimate interests and protect our values, come to grips with these challenges, we can do it. And I am very, very pleased by what happened in the last few days of Congress. And as I said, I think the American people are, and I hope we can see more of it.

Let me tell you a little about this act, which passed with unanimous bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress. By simplifying the way that royalties are collected and clarifying existing laws, this law will speed the collection of millions of dollars in Federal and State revenues which the Government is due, create many new jobs for America's workers, and most important of all, will help to reduce our own Nation's reliance on foreign oil and gas.

Our economy, our environment, our national security depend upon a healthy domestic oil and gas industry. Many Americans don't know it, but a significant percentage of the oil and natural gas produced in the United States comes from Federal lands. Taxpayers earn about $4 billion a year from these sales. Tens of thousands of Americans work in energy production jobs on Federal lands. Until today, regulatory redtape and conflicting court rulings had discouraged many companies from taking full advantage of these resources.

I have been trying to change this since I took office. Our administration has worked with the Congress, with Governors, State legislators, and others to stimulate domestic energy production while protecting our environment. Recently, I lifted the 23-year ban against Alaskan oil exports and actively supported efforts to increase production in the Gulf of Mexico. About a year ago this month, I made a commitment to many of the people who are here with me today to win the passage of the bill I'm about to sign.

Today we're helping to protect our energy future as we go forward into the 21st century stronger than ever. Yesterday we showed that we can do these things in a way that protects our natural environment for future generations. Again I will say, when we work together there is nothing that can stop America. We are celebrating that working together now, and I hope we will have more of it. We have plenty of challenges ahead, but the best times for this country will be the 21st century if we do what we should do and if we do it together.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. at the Teton Science School. H.R. 1975, approved August 13, was assigned Public Law No. 104–185.

Statement on Signing the Federal Oil and Gas Royalty Simplification and Fairness Act of 1996

August 13, 1996

I have today signed into law H.R. 1975, the "Federal Oil and Gas Royalty Simplification and Fairness Act of 1996." This legislation will provide new tools to further improve and streamline the Federal royalty program.

My Administration has worked cooperatively with the Congress, governors, and industry to develop legislation that would achieve certainty, equity, and simplicity in the royalty management program. These are the same goals we are striving for in our efforts to reinvent Government.

This legislation establishes certainty with a 7-year statute of limitations for all royalty collections. It establishes equity by requiring payment of interest to companies on overpayments to the Government and by allowing the refund of overpayments to all Federal leaseholders. Fi-

nally, it encourages simplicity in the royalty management program.

My Administration fully supports finding new ways for the States to work cooperatively and creatively with the Federal Government to provide superior service to the citizens of the United States. I believe we can help achieve that goal with this legislation, which expands the list of royalty-program activities that may be delegated to States, and provides certainty with respect to expeditious Federal action when States seek additional authority to help administer the program.

In signing H.R. 1975, I do so with the understanding that the congressional leadership has pledged to pass subsequent legislation making necessary technical corrections.

I am grateful for the bipartisan effort of the Congress in working with my Administration to develop this legislation. I believe this is an example of what we can do working together for the benefit of the American public, the States, and the energy industry.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 13, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 1975, approved August 13, was assigned Public Law No. 104–185.

Exchange With Reporters in Jackson Hole

August 14, 1996

"Between Hope and History: Meeting America's Challenges for the 21st Century"

[*The President's remarks are joined in progress.*]

The President. ——basically my philosophy about where I think America is and where I think we ought to go.

Q. Would you describe it as a manifesto for the next administration if you get reelected?

The President. Well, it's not an exclusive list of all the things I intend to do, but it makes the argument about why I think the direction we're going is right, why we're better off than we were, and what I hope we'll do. And it's just something I've been wanting to say. I finished it the first 2 days we got here, and I hope the people who read it will find it helpful. I was glad to do it.

It's beautiful, isn't it?

Q. Have you been getting enough relaxation? Are you feeling rested, sir?

The President. More rested now. The first 2 days I worked real hard trying to finish the book, and, you know, a lot of things happened the last 2 months which kind of got me behind deadlines. So I worked pretty hard on that. But yesterday I got to play a little golf, and of course, we had that wonderful hike the day before.

Q. When did you decide to write the book, sir?

The President. About a year ago.

Q. Guys, move to the right, move a step to the right.

The President. Yes, I don't want anybody to get hurt here.

Q. Is Senator Dole in the book, sir?

The President. It's basically a book about the country.

Republican Convention

Q. Do you care to comment at all about the choice of Jack Kemp for the Republican Vice Presidential nomination?

The President. No, I'm going to leave them alone, let them have their convention. I like Al Gore; that's my comment. [*Laughter*] The best Vice President in history.

Democratic Convention

Q. What can you say about the train ride you're going to take to the convention, sir?

The President. I'm excited about it. We're trying to—I think they probably finalized all the routes now, and I love trains, so I'm excited about it. I didn't know—the main thing I was concerned about is if we did it I just didn't want to inconvenience people because of the security and everything. And I think we've got it—I've got a route now where, apparently, there will be a minimum of dislocation.

President's Vacation

Q. You love trains, but do you love horses?

The President. I love horses.

Q. What's the horse's name?

The President. Wink. This is Wink, and that's Patches.

Q. You look like you've lost some weight. Have you dropped a few pounds?

The President. A little bit, I think. I'm almost—I dropped 15 or 20 pounds, I guess, since—in the last year or so. Got to be in shape, you know. This is a rigorous endeavor.

Q. I found that out the other day. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, that was tough. I was very sore yesterday. I don't know if you were, but I was pretty sore.

Q. I still am, sir.

The President. I found out when I was on that golf course that my rhythm wasn't quite there anymore. [*Laughter*] Whew, it was bad after a while. [*Laughter*]

Q. Have fun.

The President. Thank you. I'm glad to see—how are you feeling?

Q. I'm good, Mr. President. Little sore. Hope you're having a good time.

The President. Well, I really didn't—when I took you all off on that wild goose chase I didn't know it was going to be quite as demanding as it was. But I'm glad we did it.

Q. Well, I'm just not in shape. It's my fault.

The President. Well, now, it takes a few days to get adjusted to the atmosphere, you know, once you're—the higher altitude.

Q. Well, we carry a little bit of stuff.

The President. Yes, and I see—we weren't carrying all that. I don't know how you all did that. Somebody made it all through with a huge camera.

Q. Hank Brown, ABC.

The President. We ought to give him some kind of medal. He's in great shape. [*Laughter*]

Marlene, how are you doing?

Ms. Marlene MacDonald. I'm good. How are you? You look great.

The President. I'm doing great.

Q. That's a great hat.

The President. Yes, I've had this old hat a long time. And my old boots.

Q. Is it a Stetson?

The President. I got these boots about, oh, 8 years ago—7, 8 years ago, in Salem, Arkansas, Fulton County. I went out to help them—it was a little town of 1,000 people, and they got one of our economic development airport grants. And they gave me these boots.

Q. What are they made of, sir?

The President. Snakeskin.

Q. Are you relaxed?

The President. Yes, I love it here. I love it here. I love it. I'm glad we got out for a ride.

Q. I'm glad we got a picture. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, yes. I was sort of derelict today. I decided I'd sleep in and kind of laze around. So we've just been fooling around at home.

Good to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 5 p.m. at the Bar B Bar Ranch. Marlene A. MacDonald was Office Manager, Lower Press Office, the White House. The press release issued by the Office of the Press Secretary did not include the complete opening remarks of the President. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Iraq

August 14, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since my last report of February 9, 1996, concerning the national emergency with respect to Iraq that was declared in Executive Order No. 12722 of August 2, 1990. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

Executive Order No. 12722 ordered the immediate blocking of all property and interests in property of the Government of Iraq (including the Central Bank of Iraq) then or thereafter located in the United States or within the possession or control of a U.S. person. That order

also prohibited the importation into the United States of goods and services of Iraqi origin, as well as the exportation of goods, services, and technology from the United States to Iraq. The order prohibited travel-related transactions to or from Iraq and the performance of any contract in support of any industrial, commercial, or governmental project in Iraq. U.S. persons are also prohibited from granting or extending credit or loans to the Government of Iraq.

The foregoing prohibitions (as well as the blocking of Government of Iraq property) were continued and augmented on August 9, 1990, by Executive Order No. 12724, which was issued in order to align the sanctions imposed by the United States with United Nations Security Council Resolution 661 of August 6, 1990.

Executive Order No. 12817 was issued on October 21, 1992, to implement in the United States measures adopted in United Nations Security Council Resolution ("UNSCR") 778 of October 2, 1992. UNSCR 778 requires U.N. Member States to transfer to a U.N. escrow account any funds (up to $200 million apiece) representing Iraqi oil sale proceeds paid by purchasers after the imposition of U.N. sanctions on Iraq, to finance Iraq's obligations for U.N. activities with respect to Iraq, such as expenses to verify Iraqi weapons destruction, and to provide humanitarian assistance in Iraq on a nonpartisan basis. A portion of the escrowed funds also funds the activities of the U.N. Compensation Commission in Geneva, which handles claims from victims of the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. Member States also may make voluntary contributions to the account. The funds placed in the escrow account are to be returned, with interest, to the Member States that transferred them to the United Nations, as funds are received from future sales of Iraqi oil authorized by the U.N. Security Council. No Member State is required to fund more than half of the total transfers or contributions to the escrow account.

This report discusses only matters concerning the national emergency with respect to Iraq that was declared in Executive Order No. 12722 and matters relating to Executive Orders No. 12724 and 12817 (the "Executive Orders"). The report covers events from February 2, 1996, through August 1, 1996.

1. In April 1995, the U.N. Security Council adopted UNSCR 986 authorizing Iraq to export up to $1 billion in petroleum and petroleum products per quarter for 6 months under U.N. supervision in order to finance the purchase of food, medicine, and other humanitarian supplies. This arrangement may be renewed by the Security Council for additional 6-month periods. UNSCR 986 includes arrangements to ensure equitable distribution of humanitarian goods purchased with UNSCR 986 oil revenues to all the people of Iraq. The resolution also provides for the payment of compensation to victims of Iraqi aggression and for the funding of other U.N. activities with respect to Iraq. On May 20, 1996, a memorandum of understanding was concluded between the Secretariat of the United Nations and the Government of Iraq agreeing on terms for implementing UNSCR 986. Further implementation procedures are being considered by the Iraq Sanctions Committee which is composed of members of the Security Council.

2. During the reporting period, there was one amendment to the Iraqi Sanctions Regulations (the "ISR"). On July 10, 1996, the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control ("OFAC") amended the ISR to provide a general license authorizing U.S. persons to enter into executory contracts with the Government of Iraq for the purchase of Iraqi-origin petroleum and petroleum products, the sale of essential parts and equipment for the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline system, and the sale of humanitarian goods and services, with performance conditioned upon approval by the Office of Foreign Assets Control within the framework of United Nations Security Council Resolution 986 (1995). (61 Fed. Reg. 36627, July 12, 1996.) A copy of the amended Regulations is attached.

All executory contracts must contain terms requiring that all proceeds of oil purchases from the Government of Iraq, including the State Oil marketing organization, must be placed in the U.N. escrow account at Banque Nationale de Paris, New York (the "986 Escrow Account"), and all Iraqi payments for authorized sales of pipeline parts and equipment, humanitarian goods, and incidental transaction costs borne by Iraq will, upon approval by the UNSC committee established pursuant to UNSCR 661 ("the 661 Committee"), be paid or payable out of the 986 Escrow Account.

3. Investigations of possible violations of the Iraqi sanctions continue to be pursued and appropriate enforcement actions taken. Several cases from prior reporting periods are continu-

ing and recent additional allegations have been referred by OFAC to the U.S. Customs Service for investigation. Several OFAC civil penalty proceedings are pending.

Investigation also continues into the roles played by various individuals and firms outside Iraq in the Iraqi government procurement network. These investigations may lead to additions to OFAC's listing of individuals and organizations determined to be Specially Designated Nationals ("SDNs") of the Government of Iraq.

4. Pursuant to Executive Order No. 12817 implementing UNSCR 778, on October 28, 1992, OFAC directed the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to establish a blocked account for receipt of certain post-August 6, 1990, Iraqi oil sales proceeds, and to hold, invest, and transfer these funds as required by the Order. Cumulative transfers from the blocked Federal Reserve Bank of New York account since issuance of Executive Order No. 12817 amounted to $200 million as of December 21, 1995, fully satisfying the United States' commitment to match the payments of other Member States from blocked Iraqi oil payments, and its obligation pursuant to UNSCR 778.

5. The Office of Foreign Assets Control has issued a total of 630 specific licenses regarding transactions pertaining to Iraq or Iraqi assets since August 1990. Licenses have been issued for transactions such as the filing of legal actions against Iraqi governmental entities, legal representation of Iraq, and the exportation to Iraq of donated medicine, medical supplies, and food intended for humanitarian relief purposes, the execution of powers of attorney relating to the administration of personal assets and decedents' estates in Iraq and the protection of preexistent intellectual property rights in Iraq. Since my last report, 12 specific licenses have been issued.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from February 2, 1996, through August 1, 1996, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to Iraq are reported to be about $1 million, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the office of Foreign Assets Control, the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the Under Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State (particularly the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, the Bureau of International Organization Affairs, the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, and the Office of the Legal Advisor), and the Department of Transportation (particularly the U.S. Coast Guard).

7. The United States imposed economic sanctions on Iraq in response to Iraq's illegal invasion and occupation of Kuwait, a clear act of brutal aggression. The United States, together with the international community, is maintaining economic sanctions against Iraq because the Iraqi regime has failed to comply fully with United Nations Security Council resolutions. Security Council resolutions on Iraq call for the elimination of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, Iraqi recognition of Kuwait and the inviolability of the Iraq-Kuwait boundary, the release of Kuwaiti and other third-country Nationals, compensation for victims of Iraqi aggression, long-term monitoring of weapons of mass destruction capabilities, the return of Kuwaiti assets stolen during Iraq's illegal occupation of Kuwait, renunciation of terrorism, an end to internal Iraqi repression of its own civilian population, and the facilitation of access of international relief organizations to all those in need in all parts of Iraq. Six years after the invasion, a pattern of defiance persists: a refusal to account for missing Kuwaiti detainees; failure to return Kuwaiti property worth millions of dollars, including military equipment that was used by Iraq in its movement of troops to the Kuwaiti border in October 1994; sponsorship of assassinations in Lebanon and in northern Iraq; incomplete declarations to weapons inspectors and refusal of unimpeded access; and ongoing widespread human rights violations. As a result, the U.N. sanctions remain in place; the United States will continue to enforce those sanctions under domestic authority.

The Baghdad government continues to violate basic human rights of its own citizens through systematic repression of minorities and denial of humanitarian assistance. The Government of Iraq has repeatedly said it will not be bound by UNSC Resolution 688. For nearly 5 years, Baghdad has maintained a blockade of food, medicine, and other humanitarian supplies against northern Iraq. The Iraqi military routinely harasses residents of the north, and has attempted to "Arabize" the Kurdish, Turcomen,

and Assyrian areas in the north. Iraq has not relented in its artillery attacks against civilian population centers in the south, or in its burning and draining operations in the southern marshes, which have forced thousands to flee to neighboring States.

The policies and actions of the Saddam Hussein regime continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, as well as to regional peace and security. The U.N. resolutions affirm that the Security Council must be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions in judging its compliance with sanctions. Because of Iraq's failure to comply fully with these resolutions, the United States will continue to apply economic sanctions to deter it from threatening peace and stability in the region.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to the Lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979

August 14, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

On August 19, 1994, in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et seq.*), I issued Executive Order No. 12924 declaring a national emergency and continuing the system of export regulation under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*). Under section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), the national emergency terminates on the anniversary date of its declaration unless the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice of its continuation.

I am hereby advising the Congress that I have extended the national emergency declared in Executive Order No. 12924. Attached is a copy of the notice of extension.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. The notice is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Exchange With Reporters in Jackson Hole

August 16, 1996

Republican Convention

Q. Mr. President, what did you think of Dole's speech last night?

The President. I didn't watch it. I haven't watched any of it.

Q. How come?

The President. Because I've been on vacation. I want to let them have their convention. I'm looking forward to ours.

President's Vacation

Q. Are you enjoying your stay here?

The President. Oh, I'm having a wonderful time, thank you.

Chelsea Clinton's Rock Climbing

Q. I was the ranger with Chelsea yesterday. She's a good climber.

The President. Were you there with her?

Q. Yes.

The President. She loved it. You know, she loves that so much.

Q. She looked pretty good.

The President. She loves to do it. And I think she'd really like to take some more training. She spent 30 days out here in the West last summer, and she did some climbing. She was in the mountains; she was in valleys and rivers; she did a lot of work. I think she'd like to get pretty serious about this climbing business. She's strong, and she's flexible.

Q. Her mother might not be that interested.

The President. She's strong, and she's flexible and—what?

Q. Her mother might not be that interested.

The President. Yes, but she's a pretty prudent person. She's pretty safe. But I think if you're strong and flexible and have good balance—all that ballet training prepared her.

Q. Yes.

The President. Well, thanks for saying that.

Republican Convention

Q. Mr. President, since you didn't see the speech would you like us to tell you about it? [*Laughter*]

The President. I have an idea that you would edit in a way designed to elicit a response. And I wouldn't want to see it in the paper the next day. [*Laughter*]

Q. There's a risk of that.

The President. Come on, we can afford to have 2 more days of enjoyment, then we can go back and deal with all that. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The exchange began at approximately 10:30 a.m. at the Jackson Hole Golf and Tennis Club. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Statement on Efforts To Bring Democracy to Cuba

August 16, 1996

To further our continuing effort to help bring democracy to Cuba, I have asked Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade Stuart E. Eizenstat to serve as Special Representative of the President and Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Cuba. His mission will be to engage our allies over the next 6 months on concrete measures to advance democracy in Cuba as we implement title III of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (LIBERTAD) in the manner I described last month. I have also asked U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine Albright and former U.S. Representative Dante Fascell, distinguished former chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to serve as our advisers on how best to pursue this important objective.

On July 16, I decided to allow title III of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (LIBERTAD) to enter into force, putting companies doing business in Cuba on notice that by trafficking in expropriated properties they face the prospect of lawsuits in the United States. I also suspended the right to file suit for 6 months to allow us time to forge a common approach with our allies and trading partners to accelerate democratic transition in Cuba. U.S. allies and friends have long shared this goal, but we have not always agreed on how to achieve it. The time has come for us to take more concrete steps together.

At that time, I also announced that I would appoint a special representative to build international support for increasing pressure on Cuba to open up politically and economically; encouraging forces for change on the island; better targeting foreign assistance in ways that advance democratic goals; and promoting business practices that will help bring democracy to the Cuban workplace. In coming weeks and months, Stu Eizenstat will consult with Cuban-American civic leaders and Members of Congress here in the U.S. before traveling to Europe, Canada, and Latin America to enlist the cooperation of allied governments, nongovernmental groups, and companies.

As stipulated by law, at the end of this 6-month period I will review the progress we have made with our allies before deciding whether to continue the suspension of the right to sue under title III.

I am confident that the democratic values and far-reaching interests that we share with our allies and partners will allow us to overcome dis-

agreements over some aspects of the LIBERTAD Act and refocus our attention where it belongs, on promoting democracy in the hemisphere's only nondemocratic nation.

Cuba's recent actions underscore the need for the United States and the international community to press hard for change on the island. In February, Cuban MiG's shot down without warning two unarmed U.S. civilian aircraft in international airspace, killing four innocent men. The Cuban Government has systematically repressed prodemocracy activists and independent journalists.

Stu Eizenstat has a unique combination of domestic and foreign policy experience as former President Carter's chief domestic policy adviser and as U.S. Ambassador to the European Union. Ambassador Eizenstat will continue to serve as Under Secretary of Commerce and as the State Department's special envoy for property restitution in Central and Eastern Europe.

The President's Radio Address
August 17, 1996

Good morning. This year the American people are being offered a clear choice of economic plans, two very different visions of how to help our economy grow. This morning I want to talk with you about my plan for our Nation's economy, about the differences between my plan and the plan offered by our opponents, and how we can keep the American dream alive as we move toward the 21st century.

This is a very hopeful time for our country. Our Nation's enduring mission is to give every American opportunity, to demand responsibility from all of our citizens, and to come together as a community. We must go forward into this new century together.

One of the things that helps us is a growing economy. A growing economy helps make all those values—opportunity, responsibility, and community—real for our families, our children, for all Americans.

As America prepares itself for the possibilities of the new century, they seem unlimited. But 4 years ago that wasn't so clear. Our economy was drifting then. New jobs were scarce; unemployment was 7.7 percent. Our budget deficit was at a record high and growing.

I took office determined to set our country on a new course, and that is what we did, cutting the deficit by 60 percent, investing in our people, expanding exports to record levels. And today we see the results. America is making more cars than Japan for the first time in a decade. We have 900,000 new construction jobs. There are hundreds of thousands of businesses owned by women. In fact, now one in three businesses are owned by a woman.

Four point four million Americans have become homeowners. Another 10 million have refinanced their mortgages at lower rates. The combined rates of inflation, unemployment, and mortgages is at a 28-year low. The budget deficit is now the smallest it's been since 1981, and our economy has created over 10 million new jobs.

Finally, real hourly wages—the paycheck of the American worker—these wages are starting to rise again for the first time in a decade. As even our opponents have acknowledged, our economy is the soundest it's been in a generation.

This opportunity strategy is working. But now we have to build on it to produce faster growth, more high-paying jobs, more successful businesses, to bring the benefits of economic growth to those who have not yet experienced them. First, we have to finish the job of balancing the budget so that we can keep interest rates down and remove the debt burden from future generations. Then we have to give our people education and training, access to health care, and retirement security, so all working people can reap the rewards of this new economy.

This week I will sign into law an increase in the minimum wage. For those who work hard to stay off welfare but can't live on $4.25 an hour, this is a very important act. It will truly honor work and family. The same bill also provides help to small businesses to help them in-

crease investment in job creation and to increase their ability to save for retirement.

Next, we should give Americans a tax cut. We've already cut taxes for 15 million American working families through our dramatic expansion of the earned-income tax credit. This year that tax deduction will be worth about $1,000 to a family of four with an income of $28,000 a year or less. Now, we can, and we should, do more.

In going forward I have proposed a program of tax cuts for working families that focus on education and childrearing and are clearly within our ability to balance the budget so we can continue to keep those interest rates down and the economy growing. That's very important if we want our families to be strong and successful.

On the tax cut front I think, first, we should give tax cuts to pay for a college education. I have proposed giving individuals a $1,500 tax credit each year to pay for 2 years of college tuition, a HOPE scholarship that will entirely pay for tuition at a typical community college. We have to make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school education is now. And going beyond that, I proposed giving families a tax deduction for up to $10,000 a year for the tuition of all college costs, going beyond just the first 2 years. Over and above that, I have proposed collapsing all the Federal training programs into a "GI bill" for America's workers, so that those who are unemployed or underemployed can get a skills grant worth up to $2,600 a year to pursue their education. This is a good, good foundation on building a network of lifetime learning that all American families will need to succeed in the global economy.

The second thing we need to do is to give parents of children under the age of 13 a $500-per-child tax credit to help them to pay for child care. This also is very important.

Thirdly, we ought to give people a tax cut through expanded IRA's that people can use to withdraw from without penalty in a way that helps them save not only for their retirement but also for a first-time home, for medical care, or for a college education.

That's our program: targeted tax cuts; continuing to invest in education and research and new technologies; continuing to cut the deficit and balance the budget; expanding exports to record levels. This is the plan that will work. We know this growth strategy works. It's already produced over 10 million new jobs, a very different situation than existed under the previous policy.

Now, as you know, our opponents are offering a very different strategy, but it's the same one they've offered before. And our plans are very different. My tax cut is limited in size; it's worth $110 billion. Theirs is five times as much, $550 billion. We can afford ours. We can't afford theirs. My tax cut is targeted. Theirs is indiscriminate. Mine will be there when the middle class families need it to help them give their children an education, buy a home, pay for child care. Our opponents' plan gives indiscriminate tax cuts, regardless of the cost. In fact, millions of middle class families with children in college or with adults in educational programs would actually get a bigger tax cut under my plan than under our opponents' plan. And my tax cut is paid for with specific, tough budget cuts consistent with the balanced budget plan. Our opponents haven't said how they'll pay for their tax cut yet.

Now, if they don't pay for it, their plan would balloon the deficit. That would increase interest rates, and that would slow down the economy and cost us jobs. Our plan, by contrast, would clearly help the economy. Higher interest rates under their plan would cancel out the tax benefits for most families. Under our plan, interest rates would come down because the budget will be balanced just as people are getting their tax cuts.

On the other hand, if our opponents do pay for this massive tax cut, that would mean even bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than they have already proposed. My plan pays for tax cuts without undermining our values. Their plan would deeply cut Medicare. My plan would not require new out-of-pocket costs for beneficiaries to pay for tax cuts. Their plan would undermine Medicaid's guarantee of quality health care to pregnant women, poor children, to families with people with disabilities, and to the elderly. My plan would preserve Medicaid's guarantee for these groups of Americans. Their plan would cut education. My plan would cut taxes while increasing investments in education. Their plan would endanger the environment. My plan would cut taxes while continuing to clean up pollution and make our environment cleaner.

So the American people have a clear choice in this election. We agree on one thing: Ameri-

cans do deserve a tax cut. But we must choose between a tax cut that responsibly balances the budget and one that puts our economy at risk; between one that is targeted to help working families pay for education, health care, and other pressing needs and one that is indiscriminate; between one that is paid for by prudently cutting Government and one that is paid for by undercutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment or not paid for at all, bringing back those bad old days of out of control deficits, high interest rates, slow growth, or recession.

I look forward to discussing these plans before the American people in the coming months. This election will give our Nation the chance to decide whether we want to continue forward on a path of opportunity, responsibility, work, and growth. That kind of debate can only be good for our country.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:40 p.m. on August 16 at the Bar B Bar Ranch in Jackson Hole, WY, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on August 17.

Remarks in Idaho Falls, Idaho

August 17, 1996

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you. I'm glad to see you. Thank you. First of all, let me thank——

[*At this point, audience members sang "Happy Birthday."*]

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you all for coming out. Hillary and Chelsea and I are delighted to see you. I even thank you for singing "Happy Birthday" to me. I've been a little apprehensive about turning 50 and getting my AARP card, but the music makes it a little easier to bear. We've had a wonderful family vacation in the West; we go back East refreshed, ready to go to work.

I just wanted to say to all of you that next week will be a good week for our country. I'll have a chance to sign a bill that increases the minimum wage and increases tax incentives. [*Applause*] Thank you. The bill also—a lot of people don't know this—the bill also increases incentives, tax incentives for small-business people to invest in their business and makes it easier for small-business people and their employees to take out and keep retirement plans, even during periods when they're not employed. So it's a great bill for America; it's a good thing.

And I have a chance to sign a bill next week that says you don't lose your health insurance if somebody in your family gets sick or if you change jobs, the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill. And of course, the welfare reform bill, which will give States more funds for child care and for health care and then require people who can to move from welfare to work.

It'll be a very good week for America. And all those bills passed with very strong bipartisan majorities. I can only say that I wish we had more of that in Washington, and I know you do too. But I am very, very happy, I'm delighted to be here. I love seeing all these signs here. You've made us very, very happy, and we'd like to come out and say hello to you in time for this plane to leave.

Thank you, and God bless you, Idaho. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:10 p.m. at Fenning Field. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks on the Aircraft Tragedy in Wyoming and an Exchange With Reporters

August 18, 1996

The President. Before I leave, I'd just like to say how very sad and shocked Hillary and I were to receive word early this morning of the crash of the Air Force transport plane coming out of Wyoming. There are always significant dangers associated with our Armed Forces, the people in our Secret Service, and others who do this work, but this is especially painful to us because they worked for me. They did an invaluable service, and I'm very, very sad about it.

The local law enforcement people are on the ground doing the search now. I have sent an Air Force team of inspectors there. We do not know what caused the crash at this time. And I think for the moment, I'd just like to say that our thoughts and prayers are with the families of the people who were lost, along with our everlasting gratitude.

Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, can you confirm reports that the pilot may have been having mechanical difficulties and——

The President. When I got—I cannot confirm any final reports. Last night—maybe it was 2:30 this morning, quarter to 3, it was about that time when I got a call. I was told that they thought the pilot had turned around to come back to the airport. And that's the last—that's the last word I have on the facts. But we should be able to tell you more by the end of the day, because they're out there.

"60 Minutes" Interview

Q. Happy birthday, Mr. President. Did you lay a glove on Dole in the interview?

The President. I don't have any idea. You all watch it and tell me. I wouldn't know. But I'm just happy to be here—still standing—at 50.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:24 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, prior to his departure for New York City.

Remarks at the Democratic National Committee 50th Birthday Reception for the President in New York City

August 18, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience member. Cut cake, but don't cut welfare!

Audience members. Boo-o-o! Go away!

The President. Wait, wait, wait. They've had their say. Now, we've heard—wait, wait. They got their message. We heard them. Give them an applause, and let them go now. Give them a hand, give them applause. [*Applause*] Thank you.

[*The demonstration continued.*]

The President. All right, we got you an audience. We did do that also. Now please let me talk.

Audience member. You don't represent poor working people! Stop the—[*inaudible*]—against the poor!

The President. Well, all I know is I just got the minimum wage raised. And we cut income taxes on the 15 million poorest working families in America. And there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I became President. So I think we've got a pretty good claim on that.

Let me begin by thanking Chairman Don Fowler. I know he said before I came out a word, but I'd like to say another word of respect and condolence to the families of those who were on that Government airplane, the Air Force plane that was carrying those who work with me on my security detail out there in Wyo-

ming. It's a very sad thing. One of the safest planes we ever had. We don't yet know what happened, but tonight I just ask you to be thinking about their families.

And let me also say to the people who provided our music, to Smokey Joe's Cafe and to the Cravat's Orchestra, I've been out here listening while you all have been in here enjoying it directly, and you know, if you're President, when you stand up in front of people, you're always afraid that you're not supposed to be on one foot; you're not supposed to be snapping your fingers; you're not supposed to be doing all these things. So I can really enjoy this music better if I'm out there, and you're not looking at me—we're all paying attention to the music. You guys were great. Thank you very much, and we're grateful to you.

I know that Governor Carey is in the audience tonight. And Carolyn McCarthy, our new candidate for Congress, is here. I wish her well. I believe Mark Green and Judith Hope are here, and I thank you for being here. And somebody told me two people I very much admire for their different gifts with the English language, Neil Simon and Arthur Schlesinger, are here. If they're here, I welcome them, and thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I feel very grateful tonight to be on the verge of my 50th birthday. I don't know why I feel grateful for that. [*Laughter*] I have been getting all of these absolutely hilarious cards. I got one card I couldn't begin to figure out. There were nine people in black robes on it and Mr. Perot was on it and Diana Ross was on it. And it said, "Happy birthday from Diana Ross and the Supremes." [*Laughter*] I got a card today pointing out that as bad as this is, Paul McCartney, George Harrison, and Ringo Starr are older than I am. [*Laughter*] So I'm getting all of these cards, trying to put the best face on this event. I'm going to be all right until I get my AARP card in the mail. [*Laughter*] And there will be a couple of bad hours there.

Let me—you know, our friends in the Republican Party that had their convention last week—and I didn't watch it because I was too busy on vacation, but they've had their say and now we can have ours. I just wanted to say to you that when we have our convention in Chicago next week, I have told our people that I don't want anybody standing up at the platform at the Democratic Convention making demeaning personal remarks about any Republican, not their nominee, not their nominee's wife, not any of them.

On the other hand, since they neglected to talk about their record for the last 2 years, I think we ought to remind people about that every chance we get and remind everyone that this is really a great contest between two different visions of the future. There is no status quo option. Neither of us believe that we can stay with what we did for 40 or 50 years. But on the other hand, there are very different consequences to where we will go in the future.

Now, this administration can be proud that, compared to 4 years ago, there are 10 million more jobs; there are a record number of new small businesses, including businesses owned by women and minorities; there are a record number of exports. We've had 4 years in a row where the crime rate went down. There are 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers that could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. And as I said a moment ago, we dramatically cut taxes for the 15 million American working families with incomes of $28,000 a year or less who are the most hard pressed and reduced the welfare rolls by 1.3 million—all that compared to 4 years ago. The average closing cost on a home for first-time homebuyers has been cut by $1,000. We have almost 4½ million new homeowners. Ten million American families refinanced their homes. Things are better than they were 4 years ago.

And the most important thing to know is that the leaders of the other party, their nominee for President, their Speaker of the House—they fought us on the economic program; they fought us on the crime bill; they fought us on the Brady bill; they fought us on the family and medical leave law; they fought us on the things that we tried to do that made a difference for America. The results are in. We're better off than we were. We need to keep going where we're going, not take a great U-turn and go back in the other direction.

And the second point I want to make to you is that this is not an election like most elections where there's a little guesswork involved. This is your birthday present. You get a Presidential election where you don't have to guess. I mean, if you think about it, there's normally some guesswork in any election. You took a chance on me 4 years ago. Those of you who knew

me, maybe it wasn't such a big chance, but most people didn't.

Well, now people know what we've done for the last 4 years, and they know that I'll do everything I can to implement these plans that we put before the American people. And they know what the Republicans will do because, even though they did not talk about it at their convention, apparently, they've already done it once. I just vetoed it the first time. [*Laughter*] And so that's a very happy thing.

So if you look at these choices, the choice is not the standard choice. This is not between, for example, as they would say, cutting taxes and balancing the budget. I'm not against cutting taxes. I'm just against cutting taxes if to do it, you have to explode the deficit again after we took it from $290 billion down to $116 billion a year or if you have to cut Medicare and Medicaid, education, and the environment to pay for it. That would be wrong. That would be wrong.

So if you like the budget I vetoed, you will love the next one that's coming along with this new plan. If you didn't, stay with us. We'll balance the budget and invest in education and invest in protecting the environment and protect Medicare and Medicaid while reforming them so that we can all preserve them over the long term. And we will give the American people the right sort of tax cut, targeted to education, sending everybody to college, raising children, and giving people incentives to save for their own retirement, their own health care, their own educational needs. That is the right thing to do for America. We do not want to take a dramatic turn in the wrong direction.

Finally, let me say that there are a lot of things that have to be done in the future, and I want you to think about that. I want you to think about what the family and medical leave law has meant to America: 12 million American families, someone in the family got to take a little time off when there was a baby born or a sick parent or a sick child without losing their jobs. I'd like to see that extended so that parents could go to regular parent conferences and doctor's appointments with their children, without losing their jobs.

If you look at what happened—if you look at the results that we've gotten with the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, and the plan to put 100,000 police on the street, I'd like to see that expanded so that we can ban those cop-killer bullets that have no purpose other than to knock our police officers and other innocent citizens out of their lives.

If you look at what we did with the college loan program to make more college loans available to people and more scholarships available at lower cost, I'd like to see that expanded to give American families a tax credit of $1,500 a year so that every single American adult could at least get a community college education, and it would be as universal as a high school education is today, and we have tax deductions for the costs of college education for everybody.

So there's a lot more to do here. But our country is stronger; we are more respected in the world; we are a larger force for peace and freedom and decency than we were.

And let me just say one last thing about this welfare issue. I've been working on this since 1980. And about 10 years ago when I was trying to write the last welfare reform bill, I asked a woman from my State who had moved from welfare to work to come be a part of a panel that I had for the Governors. This was nearly a decade ago. And this lady was asked the following question, and I did not know—she was being questioned by other Governors. I didn't have a clue about what she was going to say. I just knew that she had been a successful graduate of our experiment.

And this lady was asked, "Do you believe that people should be required to move from welfare to work if there is a job there and if they can take care of their kids?" She said, "I certainly do." And so the questioner said, "Well, why?" She said, "Well, because people like me have been treated like we can't do anything for so long, we'll just keep on doing nothing unless somebody requires us to do it but also gives us the help to do it." And then they said, "Well, what's the best thing about having a job?" And she said, "Well, the best thing is not the check. It's when my boy goes to school, and they say, what does your mama do for a living, he can give an answer."

Now, what I have done in signing this bill is to give us a chance to move everybody from welfare to work, but we're all thinking about this in the wrong way. This welfare reform issue is not over, it is just beginning. It is just beginning.

So those folks holding those signs up and everybody else ought to be thinking about this: Who do you trust to give jobs to those people?

Who do you trust to take care of their children? Who do you trust to implement this instead of turning around and walking away from it?

Remember the bills I vetoed that—you know what they did, the bills I vetoed? No child care; take away the guarantees of the school lunch program; take away the guarantees of the food stamp program; take away the guarantees of health care for children with disabilities. That's what they tried to do. I vetoed all that. We got that back in. We got protections back in.

The question is now how are we going to embark on this great experiment to put jobs in the inner cities and jobs in the isolated rural areas and give people something to do? You can't just put people in the street. You have to give them work and child care and health care to support them. That is my commitment, and that is the decision we ought to be facing in this election.

So let me just say this last point. This is my birthday gift to you. I want you to think about it for 79 days. [*Laughter*] I did an interview with one of the most highly watched news programs in the country, showing just in a couple of hours here, today before I came up. And the questioner said, "Well, Mr. President, aren't you worried about what happened after the convention and this big tax cut promise and the movement in the polls, and doesn't that really bother you?" And I said, "No." I said, "I'm not against a tax cut. I just don't want one that's too big, that we can't pay for. I don't want one that's big and indiscriminate, that will either explode the deficit or force us to really hurt people with more cuts in education and the environment and Medicare and Medicaid. But we can have a tax cut targeted at childrearing and education and family savings, and pay for it. But I'm not worried about that."

He said, "Well, what if it causes all these changes in the polls? Everybody else that's ever run on one has won." I said, "Well, first of all, it's a false choice between a tax cut and no tax cut. The issue is, are you going to have a good one that you can pay for?"

I said, "You know, Hillary and I used to live around the corner, when we were living in Arkansas, from this wonderful place called the Community Bakery. I used to go down there all the time, and in the morning I'd buy bagels." [*Laughter*] Sometimes on the weekend I'd buy other things, but there were wonderful things in the Community Bakery. [*Laughter*] There were cookies, bagels, doughnuts, fruit tarts. And so I was telling this fellow, I said, "You know, every one of them was good, but if you bought them all and ate them all at once you'd get sick. That's my attitude about this tax cut issue. We can have one, but we have to have what we can afford, that's consistent with balancing the budget, investing in our future, bringing our people together. That is the right decision."

And then I said—and this is what I want you to think about for 79 days—"If the American people want to go back to a failed economic plan of the past that quadrupled the deficit, gave us high interest rates, increased unemployment, increased welfare, and weakened America, they can do it. But that's what the election is for." I cannot do that. I will not do that. That is the wrong thing for America. There is another choice there. I won't do that.

So my gift to you is to remember that this is a choice. And I'm delighted that you're here to celebrate my birthday. And I'm going to have a wonderful time tonight. But I want to remind you that we have 79 more days before we can really celebrate the assurance that America will march into the 21st century with the vision I articulated in 1991 that I reaffirm to you today. I want us to go into the 21st century with three things unquestionably true. I want every child in this country, without regard to race or gender or station in life, to be able to live out his or her dreams if they're responsible enough to work for it. I want to know that our country is the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and democracy. And I want to know that with all of our incredible diversity—unlike all these other countries that are coming apart at the seams because of their racial, their religious, their ethnic, their tribal hatred—I want America to be the one country in the world that says, we believe in our common humanity, and we are growing stronger through our diversity, not weaker. That is my dream, and that's the present I want for you.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:05 p.m. in the Imperial Ballroom at the Sheraton New York Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee; Hugh Carey, former Governor of New York; Carolyn McCarthy, candidate for New

York's First Congressional District; Mark Green, New York City public advocate; Judith Hope, New York State Democratic Party chair; playwright Neil Simon; and historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

Remarks at the Democratic National Committee 50th Birthday Gala for the President in New York City

August 18, 1996

The President. Thank you. First of all, I just want to say I hope all of you have had just half as good a time tonight as I have. I want to thank my friend Whoopi Goldberg and all the other magnificent entertainers and Jeff Margolis, who did the production; let's give him a hand. He was great. [*Applause*]

I know the hour is late, but I'd like to say just a thing or two. I mean, I only turn 50 once, you know. [*Laughter*] First of all, I feel an overwhelming sense of gratitude tonight. A lot of times some of you will come up to me somewhere around the country when something is not going so well. You ask me how am I doing, and I've tried to develop the discipline of saying——

Audience members. Shame! Shame! Shame!

The President. Okay, okay. We hear you. You want to hear them anymore?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Okay, we've heard your message now. Thank you very much. All right, give them a hand as they exit, will you? We heard them. Give them a hand. Give them a hand. [*Applause*] Be nice to them; don't be rough. They don't have a right to do this, but they don't have a right to be roughed up. Just show them to the door.

Thank you.

[*The demonstration continued.*]

The President. You know, one of the greatest things about this country is you can say whatever is on your mind, and nobody can shut you up. On the other hand——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Four years from now some of them will come back and say, "You know, you were right about that, Mr. President. You were right about that."

Let me say just one or two things if I might——

[*The demonstration again interrupted the President's remarks.*]

Audience member. Throw them out!

The President. Relax. Relax. Lay back.

Anyway, even now, what I was going to tell you is I've tried to develop the discipline, when somebody comes up to me and says, "Well, how are you doing," and something is not going very well, of saying, "Better than I deserve, thank you." And you ought to think about it.

Because I was looking at all those decades pass by—I don't know where all the time went—and I was thinking of all the gifts that I have been given. I thank God for my family, for those who are here and those who aren't. I wish my brother could have been here tonight, but his wife and his son are here. I wish my wonderful father-in-law were still living; I miss him. And Lord, I miss my mother. She liked a good party, you know, and she would have liked this tonight. But I thank them. I mean, who could have thought it, where we all started.

And I thank my friends. Some of them have been subject to ridicule, you know. FOB's has become, I don't know, an epithet in some quarters. But I wouldn't be here today without them, and all of you who were there with me in each step along life's way, I thank you. I thank all of those who worked with me in every job I ever had, and all of you who helped me to come to this point. I just feel a great sense of gratitude.

I'd also like to make just two other observations in closing. The first is that I appreciate what Hillary said. I'm sure I'm not the best man she's ever known, but I sure have loved her and my wonderful child, and I thank them.

There's something that's happened in our country in the last few years that I don't think

is very good. And that is that a lot of people in public life have taken to trying to show how good they are by showing how bad the people who disagree with them are, and I don't think that's a very good thing. And I have my mother to thank for that attitude, because she taught me never to resent anyone else's success, never to look down on anybody else, and never, ever to think I was better than anybody else, that it was a hard enough job in life just to be a good person yourself without trying to lift yourself up in putting somebody else down. And I'd like to see more of that in our country. I think it would be more civil and a better place.

The second thing I'd like to leave you with is the image of those children that were up here behind us. You know, we have debates from time to time—were they right or am I right about the welfare reform issue. And I disagree with my opponent, Senator Dole, on so many things. But let me ask you this: Just think about your own life here and ask yourself, why are we doing this? Why are we here? The purpose of politics is nothing more or less than to enable more kids like those kids that just sang on the stage to live their dreams the way I got to live mine. There is no other purpose here.

And I thank God for everybody I've ever been able to work with, those of you who are here. A lot of them are gone too, now. I miss my friend and brother, Ron Brown. He would have liked this tonight, and what a wonderful job he would have done.

I started out my Presidency with one of the greatest men I ever met in my life, the late Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin. I miss him so much. There are a lot of people I miss, and I'm sorry they had to leave this Earth before I did. But you know, all of us left ahead, because we got to live out our dreams. And most of us here, truth were known, we'd have to say we've done better than we deserved. And I would like for every child in this country and every child in this world to be able to say that more than they can say it now when our time here is done.

We have to get this country ready for the next century. It will be the time of greatest possibility in all of human history. More of our kids, without regard to their race, their gender, their station in life, will have a chance to live their dreams if we do our job. That is really what we're here about.

I've been luckier than most people because I had family who loved me, friends who took care of me, folks who worked with me and made me look better than I deserved, and a chance to do work I loved. But in the end, all that matters is whether, when we finish, we have made it possible for more people to be what God meant them to be. And you have helped to give me that chance, and that is the best birthday present of all.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. at Radio City Music Hall. In his remarks, he referred to comedienne Whoopi Goldberg and the late Ronald H. Brown, former Secretary of Commerce.

Remarks at the Democratic National Committee 50th Birthday Dinner for the President in New York City

August 18, 1996

Let's give Jessye Norman a hand. That was about the best "Happy Birthday" I ever saw. [*Applause*] I often thought—please sit down—I often thought my birthday might resemble a soap opera, but never a real one. [*Laughter*] So I am deeply honored that Jessye is here tonight.

Let me say very briefly—I said what I had to say at Radio City—but I want to thank all of you from the bottom of my heart for making this night possible. I thank our hardworking Democratic chairman, Don Fowler, and Marvin Rosen, our finance director, and all the people at DNC. They work so hard.

The chairs of this event, Jay and Maryanne Alex, Noah Dear, Beth Dozoretz, Larry Harris, Susan and Alan Patricof, Stan Shuman, Paul

Verrochi, Harvey Weinstein—let's give them all a big hand. They've been great. [*Applause*]

I want to thank my good friend, the former Governor of Mississippi, Ray Mabus, who put together all the satellite events around the country, 89 of them. Thank you, Ray.

I'd like to thank the distinguished political leaders from New York who are here: former Mayor Dinkins; Congressman Rangel; Congressman Lowey; Senator Lautenberg; the minority leader of the Senate, Senator Martin Conner; and Speaker Shelly Silver; and the New York State Democratic cochairs, Judith Hope and John Sullivan.

I think that there are a lot of other—I want to thank all of the entertainers who are still here, those who performed tonight. You were magnificent. It was a great event at Radio City Music Hall.

In addition to Jessye, there is one very great American artist here who just came in from Europe, could not be here earlier for the performance, but I think is one of the most gifted musicians of my lifetime. Mr. Wynton Marsalis is here. Thank you very much, Wynton, for being here.

Let me say finally that what Vernon said about the birthday present coming on November 5th is not entirely true. This is a deeply personal night for me and a great joy. I know that a lot of you worked very, very hard on this evening. You know who you are; I know who you are. I know what an enormous effort it was, and I don't know where you got some of the home movies and the pictures. If I knew where, the people who gave it to you would be in trouble—[*laughter*]—but I thought it was fabulous, and I thank you for that.

In terms of the election, I ask you only to remember that we really are going to make a decision which I think is even more important than the one we made in 1992. We have to validate the direction this country is going in. We cannot permit it to be reversed, and we cannot permit people to turn away from the fact that we are in better shape as a nation than we were 4 years ago. The choice is clear about the competing visions for the future, and it's very important for us to build on the progress that has been made, not to sit on it but not to reverse it, either.

And when we go to our convention in Chicago and we're going into this campaign, I want all of you to help me elevate this campaign. I want this to be a campaign in which the American people have an honest, civil discussion with one another about how we ought to go forward into the 21st century. I don't want you to check your passion, I want you to turn it up. I don't want you to decline to say that you disagree with our opponents when you do and why you do, but I do not want it to be personally demeaning or negative.

You know, this is not the world's oldest democracy because every single election has been decided between a saint and a scoundrel; that is not what has happened. Our political system has worked and we're still around here after 220 years because we had a lot of people who loved their country who had different views, and more than half the time the American people, the majority, have made the right decision and kept us moving into the future. And that's how we ought to look at this. We don't have to demean anybody. We don't have to put anybody down. We have to lift the country up, put people together, and move into the future. And I want you to lead that. And I want you to have no amount of overconfidence. I want you to be intense, focused, and committed, because a lot is riding on it.

Finally, let me say—I want to thank a man I've known a long time and I really admire on many, many levels, but tonight we heard his great music and the music of his orchestra. Thank you, Peter Duchin, for what you've done. Thank you. Thank you for being a good Democrat.

And lastly, Vernon, I was sitting there listening to you speak, and you about had me convinced I was a great man. [*Laughter*] I believe you could talk an owl out of a tree. And I want you to know that we did not ignore your birthday. Even though I was away aching from that—as I called it—that death march of dehydration that I took the press on when we climbed down from Mount Washburn in Wyoming, having been there a day and a half, we were still thinking about you. And I'd like to present you with your own birthday cake since you gave me mine. Where is it? [*Laughter*] Happy birthday, Vernon. I love you.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at midnight in the Grand Ballroom at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to soprano Jessye Norman; David Dinkins, former New York City mayor; and Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., dinner emcee. These remarks were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 19.

Remarks at the Salem Missionary Baptist Church in Fruitland, Tennessee
August 19, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very, very much. Reverend Donaldson, before the Sun went underneath that cloud for a minute, I was beginning to wonder how a place so close to heaven could be so hot. [*Laughter*]

But I am very glad to be here. Hillary and I are delighted to be here with Reverend and Mrs. Donaldson, and Reverend and Mrs. Vaughan, and our good friend John Tanner, Governor McWherter, and the other folks from Tennessee public life. I also wanted to say Reverend Donaldson gave you a big plug, Mr. Barnett. He said if it hadn't been for you and the leaders of the church, you all wouldn't be here today. And I thank you, too, for what you've done. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to begin my remarks by presenting to Reverend Donaldson and Reverend Vaughan a plaque with a statement I made about this whole issue not very long ago that says, "We must come together as one America to rebuild our churches, restore hope, and show the forces of hatred they cannot win." And I wanted you both to have these plaques when you reopen your church so that people all over this part of the country could see that what you have done is a symbol of the best in our faith and the best in our country. So if you would come up, Reverend Donaldson and Reverend Vaughan, I'd like to give you these plaques.

[*At this point, the President presented the plaques to Rev. Daniel Donaldson, pastor, Salem Missionary Baptist Church, and Rev. Bill Vaughan, pastor, New Shiloh United Methodist Church.*]

The President. You know, I think I'll start my brief remarks here just by picking up on something that Reverend Donaldson said about politics and differences and how he was sure that every President had done something that somebody disagreed with. After 4 years, I'm sure that every President has done something that everybody disagreed with. [*Laughter*] But part of what we're dealing with today, folks, is not only how we live our faith but how we manage our differences.

And as your President—I want you to think about this—as your President, an enormous percentage of my time in dealing with America's relationship to the rest of the world is required of people who refuse to get along with each other because of their religious, their racial, their ethnic, or their tribal differences. That is what has convulsed the Holy Land for decades now. That is what brought the people in Bosnia, after decades and decades of peace, to slaughtering each other as if they were animals for 4 years. In Northern Ireland, the part of Ireland which ought to be the most prosperous and successful, it's what keeps Protestants and Catholics apart. They're still refighting 600-year-old battles when the kids want them to join hands and march into the future together. In Rwanda and Burundi, tribal differences have kept two small countries convulsed with mass slaughter when they ought to be trying to figure out how to feed their children.

I see this everywhere. And I thank God for the wisdom of our Founding Fathers who said, first, that people are created equal, and second, that the right to the freedom of religion is the first amendment, the first and most important right we have. And so I ask you to think about that.

I said the other day that I hoped that we could get out of the point in our politics where we trade in insults and go back to fighting over ideas, when we realize that not every election is a race between a saint and a scoundrel but instead a contest to find out what the best truth is for our country to move forward together.

I might say in that context, I noticed one of your neighbors here who is running for the

United States Senate, Houston and his wife, Debbie, Gordon. I thank them for coming, and I wish you well, sir. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to encourage everybody to participate in our process just as we encourage everyone to practice their faith. The genius of America is we have found a way to manage our differences and to keep coming closer to the ideals of our Constitution.

We've had our troubles, too. We've had our troubles in trying to come to grips with the fact that our Constitution was inconsistent with our practice when it said all people are created equal. We had a Civil War in this country. We had a long civil rights struggle. We had a lot of challenges. But we're still here after 220 years, stronger than ever, because we found a way to work together—not just blacks and whites anymore.

You know, when we had the Olympics and the Vice President and Tipper and Hillary and I went to Atlanta, there were representatives from 197 different nations there. Our largest county, Los Angeles County, has folks from 150 of those places in it. Now, that's an amazing thing and a great tribute to the United States.

We say, if you come here, we'll give you the freedom to speak; we'll give you the freedom to assemble; we'll give you the freedom to move around; we'll give you the freedom of religion, but you can't look down on somebody else because they're of a different religion, a different race, a different ethnic group, a different tribe. You got to treat people as if they're equal in the eyes of God and the law.

And so I tell you that I have spent a lot of time on this church burning issue because I think it is a test of our character as a people and because we must never even begin to go down that road that has ended in the dark alleys of slaughter in Bosnia, the continuing agony in the Middle East, and all the other places in the world where people cannot get along because they insist on living their lives by being able to look down on people because they're different from them instead of trying to lift everybody up because they're all children of God. And we must not start down that road. We have to stamp out these feelings whenever we see them manifest.

Let's face it, every one of us at some time in our lives—not a single soul here can say that you're not guilty at some time in your life of defining yourself because you could look down on somebody else, say, "Well, I may not be perfect, but at least I'm not that person." [*Laughter*] "At least I'm not this, that, or the other thing." Every one of us is guilty of that. And we know there's something in human nature that makes people do that. But when it's uncontrolled, you have all this slaughter and heartache.

So Hillary and Tipper and Al and I, we've worked hard to try to rally the American people to deal with this problem of church burning because we don't even want to see it start in America. We're still around here after all these years because we believe people should be free to practice their faith. And, you know, now it's a Baptist and a Methodist church—we've had a lot of synagogues defaced; we've had three Islamic centers burned in this country, and that's not right either.

So what I want to say to you is that you're not just rebuilding your church here, you're showing America what's special about America. And by doing that, you're leading us into a brighter and better future instead of back into the kind of dark path that has divided and torn asunder so many other nations and that in times past has made America less than it ought to be.

You have given us a great gift by allowing us to come here and share this day with you, and I want to mention that too. This is a problem that's a people problem. This is an opportunity that's an opportunity of the heart and conviction. There's things that the Government has to do. We're doing everything we can to help local law enforcement officials to find out who's burned all these churches. We got guilty pleas from two former Ku Klux Klan members in South Carolina just last week. We're working to charge some others that we now know have burned some of these churches. We will spare no effort to catch and prosecute people we can find. We will follow up every lead we are given. But fundamentally, we know that this issue has to be addressed by people who live in and around and who attend these churches and other religious institutions. This is an affair of the heart, and we celebrate today a triumph of the American spirit.

Let me say, too, that we are standing on the brink of a new century. The kids in this audience today, some of these kids will be doing jobs 20 years from now that have not been invented yet. Some of these children will be

doing jobs that have not been imagined yet. People that live in little rural places, within a matter of a few years, thanks in no small measure to the work that Al Gore has done to bring the benefits of the Internet and computer technology to every classroom, every hospital, and every library in America by the year 2000, they will have access to things that no child in rural America has ever known before. And that is a wonderful thing. And our children will be able to live their dreams more than any generation of Americans before them if, but only if, we don't forget what "brung" us, as we used to say at home. [*Laughter*]

You know, my people come from a little place in Arkansas that looks a lot like this. And I was looking at the soybeans and the cotton and the corn—needs a little water; we'll pray for that today—[*laughter*]—going down these fields thinking about how wonderful it's going to be if the benefits of technology allow people to enjoy the virtues and the strength and the joys of rural life and still access the modern world. That's what I think is going to happen, as long as we don't forget what "brung" us.

And so you've given us a gift today. The Scripture says, "Much is required from those whom much is given." Well, there may not be any millionaires in this crowd today or many millionaires that are members of these two small churches, but you have shown us again the meaning of those words. You have shown us that we have more than we think and that we can give more than we think. And therefore, you've given us a chance to live the Scripture today.

That's why Tipper and I wanted to spend our birthdays here. That's why Al and Hillary wanted to be with us. And let me say, that's why our children came too.

And I want to thank Reverend Donaldson's daughter for taking such good care of our children. We have Karenna and Sarah and Albert Gore, and our daughter Chelsea, are here, and we're all honored to be here with you today.

Every time you drive past one of these two churches from now on you think about that. When the two congregations got together, when people began to reach across the lines that divide us, when people began to reassert their belief in the freedom of religion, every time you do that you're sticking up for what's made America great for over 200 years and you're standing up against what is tearing the heart out of the rest of the world. This can be—this day, this church, that church down the road—a symbol of everything to you every time you see it that makes America the greatest country in human history.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. Donaldson's wife, Athalia; Rev. Vaughan's wife, Marge; Representative John Tanner; Ned Ray McWherter, former Governor of Tennessee; Lincoln Barnett, chairman, deacon board, Salem Missionary Baptist Church; and Houston Gordon, Tennessee senatorial candidate, and his wife, Debbie.

Remarks in Jackson, Tennessee
August 19, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you for the "Happy Birthday." I have had a very happy birthday in west Tennessee, and I thank all of you for that. I thank you for coming out here. This is a vast crowd; we never had any idea there would be this kind of crowd here. They said, "Well, Mr. President, we've got to go. We need to be at the airport because we're going to have to shake hands with a few people who will be there before we leave"—a few thousand people, or maybe not even a few thousand people, several thousand people. I thank you all for coming, very much.

Hillary and Chelsea and I have had a wonderful time with Al and Tipper and Karenna and Sarah and Albert. We did go out and work on the church rebuilding today to give us something to do to remind ourselves that, as the Scripture says, "To those to whom much is given, much is expected." And all of us have a responsibility now as Americans to say we don't want our country to be like other countries

where people fight with each other because of their differences over race or religion or ethnic group or tribal groups. There's too much of that in the world. America is going in the other direction. We're going to draw strength from our differences and our shared values, and one of those is the freedom of religion, and we respect that, and we're going to keep fighting for it all the way.

Let me also tell you that I am very grateful to the State of Tennessee for being so good to me and to our administration. I thank Governor McWherter and Congressman Tanner and Mr. Purcell, all the others that are here, Lois DeBerry, the other leaders of the legislature and local government, people that have been involved in our campaigns. But I cannot thank you enough for the gift of friendship and service that Al and Tipper Gore have been to the United States while I've been President. You have no idea, even in Tennessee, how much difference they've made for America and for the future.

There are many things I could say, but just one thing I'd like to emphasize: Every year the Gores have come back to Nashville to have a family conference, to try to stand up for the things that I've cared about a long time and that Hillary has worked for for more than 25 years. And out of those family conferences have come some very impressive things. We now have a family and medical leave law that 12 million American families have been able to take advantage of, to take a little time off from work without losing their job when there's a baby born or a sick parent, and that's a good thing. And we want to build on it.

We now have a law which says that we're going to put a V-chip in new televisions so that parents can help to control the programming their children see and now an agreement to 3 more hours of quality educational television for our children on the networks of America. And I thank them for that.

The other thing I'd like to say is back in the election in 1992, Al Gore used to give a little speech. I don't know if you remember it, but he said, "The problem in this country is that everything that ought to be up is down, and everything that ought to be down is up." Do you remember when he said that? America was laughing with him and rocking with him. But I'll tell you something, he's got to change his speech this time, because everything that ought to be down is down, and the things that ought to be up are up.

And I just want to tell you that for all of you who have given us a chance to serve, you should feel that you were a part of putting in place a strategy that has cut the deficit by 60 percent, that has given us record exports, that has continued to invest in education, in technology, and the future, that has brought this deficit down, and that will balance the budget without destroying our commitments to our senior citizens, to our children, to families with disabilities through Medicare and Medicaid and without requiring cuts in education and protecting the environment. We are going to go into a future with a strong economy, where there are more good jobs and where we're growing together in the 21st century because of the policies that you have supported.

And I just want to ask you in the weeks and months ahead to go out and be a good citizen, talk to your friends and neighbors and ask them, what do you want America to look like when we reach the 21st century—it's just 4 years away—what do you want America to look like when your children are your age? It's not that far away. We've got to build an America where every single solitary person, every boy and girl, without regard to their race, their income, their station in life, has a chance to live out their dreams. We've got to build an America strong enough to protect ourselves and to lead the world for peace and freedom. And as we saw at those churches today—one white, one black, both burned and brought together—we have got to build an America where we're coming together, not being driven apart the way so many other countries are. That's the way to go into the future, and that's what we're going to do.

Thank you, God bless you, and thank you for a happy birthday. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:12 p.m. at McKellar-Sipes Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Bill Purcell, majority leader, and Lois DeBerry, speaker pro tempore, Tennessee House of Representatives.

Remarks on Signing the Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996

August 20, 1996

Thank you very much. Cathy, it may be your birthday, but I would say that everybody here feels that you have given us a great gift today by reminding us about what this is all about. And we wish you and your fine children well. And I don't think being in the band will hurt them a bit. I'm glad you're going to do that. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank the members of our administration who are here: Secretary Reich, Small Business Administrator Phil Lader, and others. I want to thank all the Members of Congress who are here, especially Senator Kennedy who, himself, probably broke the wage and hour laws by working so hard to pass this bill. If we'd been paying him by the hour, we'd be underpaying him in the last year. Thank you very much.

There are a lot of people who worked hard on this bill who aren't here: Senator Daschle, Congressman Gephardt, Congressman Bonior, Congressman Clay in particular did. I want to join with others and thank the countless labor unions who have championed this bill, led by the truly tireless John Sweeney.

I'd like to remind the American people of something, because sometimes our unions are criticized for looking out for their members too much. There are very few unions in America that have minimum wage workers. Most of these unions did this because they thought it was the right thing to do. They spent their time and their money and their energy trying to help other people who do not belong to their organizations, and I thank you for that.

I'd like to thank the religious groups, the economists, the business people who have made this their cause of concern. Again, I thank the Members, including members of both parties, who supported this legislation.

I'll say more in a moment about the rest of the bill, but let me just begin by saying this is a truly remarkable piece of legislation. It is pro-work, pro-business, and pro-family; it raises the minimum wage; it helps small businesses in a number of ways that I will explain in a moment, including retirement and incentive to invest; and it promotes adoption in two very sweeping ways that have long needed to be done in the United States. This is a cause for celebration for all Americans of all parties, all walks of life, all faiths. This bill represents the very best in our country. It will give 10 million Americans, as Cathy said, a chance to raise stronger families and build better futures. By coming together across lines that have too often divided us and finding common ground, we have made this a real season of achievement for the people of America.

At its heart, this bill does reaffirm our most profoundly American values: offering opportunity to all, demanding responsibility from all, and coming together as a community to do the right thing. This bill says to the working people of America, if you're willing to take responsibility and go to work, your work will be honored. We're going to honor your commitment to your family. We're going to recognize that $4.25 an hour is not enough to raise a family.

It's harder and harder to raise children today and harder and harder for people to succeed at home and at work. And I have said repeatedly over and over again to the American people, we must not force our families to make a choice. Most parents have to work. We have a national interest in seeing that our people can succeed at home where it counts the most in raising their children, and succeed at work so they'll have enough income to be able to succeed at home. We must do both, and this bill helps us achieve that goal.

These 10 million Americans will become part of America's economic success story, a success story that in the last 4 years has led us to 900,000 new construction jobs; a record number of new businesses started, including those owned by women and minorities; a deficit that is the smallest it's been since 1981 and 60 percent less than it was when I took office; 10 million new jobs; 12 million American families who have been able to take advantage of family and medical leave; almost 4½ million new homeowners and 10 million other Americans who refinanced their homes at lower mortgage rates. And, most importantly of all, perhaps, real hourly wages, which fell for a decade, have finally begun to rise again. America is on the move.

But our challenge, my fellow Americans, is to make sure that every American can reap the rewards of a growing economy, every American has the tools to make the most of his or her own life, to build those strong families, and to succeed at home and at work. As the Vice President said, the first step was taken in 1993 with the passage of the family and medical leave law and with the earned-income tax credit, which cut taxes for 15 million working families. Today, that earned-income tax credit is worth about $1,000 to a family of four with an income under $28,000 a year.

Well, today we complete the second half of that effort. Together with our tax cut for working families, this bill ensures that a parent working full time at the minimum wage can lift himself or herself and their children out of poverty. Nobody who works full time with kids in the home should be in poverty. If we want to really revolutionize America's welfare system and move people from welfare to work and reward work, that is the first, ultimate test we all have to meet. If you get up every day and you go to work, and you put in your time and you have kids in your home, you and your children will not be in poverty.

We have some hard working minimum wage people here today supporting Cathy. Let me tell you about them: 70 percent of them are adults, 6 of 10 are working women, and for them, work is about more than a paycheck, it's about pride. They want a wage they can raise their families on. By raising the minimum wage by 90 cents, this bill, over 2 years, will give those families an additional $1,800 a year in income, enough to buy 7 months of groceries, several months of rent, or child care, or as Cathy said, to pay all of the bills from the utilities in the same month.

For many, this bill will make the difference between their ability to keep their families together and their failure to do so. These people reflect America's values, and it's a lot harder for them than it is for most of us to go around living what they say they believe in. It's about time they got a reward, and today they'll get it.

I would also like to say a very special word of thanks to the business owners, especially the small-business owners who supported this bill. Many of the minimum wage employers I talk to wanted to pay their employees more than 4.25 an hour and would be happy to do so as long as they can do it without hurting their businesses, and that means their competitors have to do the same thing. This bill will allow them to compete and win, to have happier, more productive employees, and to know they're doing the right thing. For all of those small businesses, I am very, very appreciative.

I would also like to say that this bill does a remarkable number of things for small businesses. In each of the last 3 years, our Nation has set a new record in each succeeding year in the number of new businesses started. And we know that most of the new jobs in America are being created by small and medium-sized businesses. In 1993, I proposed a $15,000 increase in the amount of capital a small business can expense, to spark the kind of investment that they need to create jobs. Well, in 1993 we only won half that increase, but today I'll get to sign the second half into law, and I thank the Congress for passing that, as well.

As the Vice President said, this bill also includes a work-opportunity tax credit to provide jobs for the most economically disadvantaged working Americans, including people who want to move from welfare to work. Now there will be a tightly drawn economic incentive for people to hire those folks and give them a chance to enter the work force as well. It extends the research tax credit to help businesses stay competitive in the global economy. It extends a tax incentive for businesses to train and educate their employees. That's good news for people who need those skills, and it's good news for America because we have to have the best educated work force in the world in the 21st century.

This legislation does even more to strengthen small business by strengthening the families that make them up. It helps millions of more Americans to save for their own retirement. It makes it much easier for small businesses to offer pension plans by creating a new small business 401(k) plan. It also lets more Americans keep their pensions when they change jobs without having to wait a year before they can start saving at their new jobs. As many as 10 million Americans without pensions today could now earn them as a result of this bill.

I'm delighted we are joined today, among others, by Shawn Marcell, the CEO of Prima Facie, a fast-growing video monitoring company in Pennsylvania which now has just 17 employees, but that's a lot more than he started with. He

stood with me in April and promised that if we kept our word and made pensions easier and cheaper for small businesses like his, he'd give pensions to all of his employees. Today he has told us he's making good on that pledge. I'd like him to stand up, and say I predict that thousands more will follow Shawn's lead. Thank you, Shawn. Please stand up. Let's give him a hand. God bless you, sir. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'd also like to say a special word of thanks to our SBA Administrator, Phil Lader, and to the White House Conference on Small Business. When the White House Conference on Small Business met, they said one of their top priorities was increasing the availability and the security of pensions for small-business owners in America. This is a good thing. It is also pro-work, pro-family, and pro-business.

Finally, this bill does something else that is especially important to me and to Hillary, and I'm glad she's here with us today. It breaks down the financial and bureaucratic barriers to adoption, giving more children what every child needs and deserves, loving parents and a strong, stable home.

Two weeks ago, we had a celebration for the American athletes who made us so proud in Atlanta at the centennial Olympics. Millions of Americans now know that one of them, the Decathlon Gold Medalist Dan O'Brien, speaks movingly about having been an adopted child and how much the support of his family meant in his life. Right now, there are tens of thousands of children waiting for the kind of family that helped to make Dan O'Brien an Olympic champion. At the same time, there are thousands of middle class families that want to bring children into their homes but cannot afford it. We're offering a $5,000 tax credit to help bring them together. It gives even more help to families that will adopt children with disabilities or take in two siblings, rather than seeing them split up. And lastly, this bill ends the long-standing bias against interracial adoption which has too often meant an endless, needless wait for America's children.

You know, as much as we talk about strong, loving families, it's not every day that we here in Washington get to enact a law that literally creates them or helps them stay together. This is such a day. Although he can't be with us today, I also want to thank Dave Thomas, himself adopted, who went on to found Wendy's and do so much for our country. Perhaps more than any other American citizen, he has made these adoption provisions possible, and we thank him.

Lastly, I'd like to point out that we do have some significant number of adoptive families here with us today, including some who are on the stage. And so I'd just like to acknowledge the Weeks family, the Wolfington family, the Outlaw family, the Fitzwater family, and ask them and anyone else here from the adoptive family community to stand up who'd like to stand. We'd like to recognize you and thank you for being here. Thank you all for being here. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Beside me, or in front of me now, is the desk used by Frances Perkins, Franklin Roosevelt's Labor Secretary and the very first woman ever to serve in the Cabinet. She was one of our greatest Labor Secretaries. It was from her desk that many of America's pioneering wage, hour, and workplace laws originated, including the very first 25 cent an hour minimum wage signed into law by President Roosevelt in 1938.

Secretary Perkins understood that a living wage was about more than feeding a family or shelter from a storm. A living wage makes it possible to participate in what she called the culture of community, to take part in the family, the community, the religious life we all cherish, confident in our ability to provide for ourselves and for our children, secure in the knowledge that hard work does pay. A minimum wage increase, portable health care, pension security, welfare to work opportunities: that's a plan that's putting America on the right track.

Now we have to press forward, giving tax cuts for education and childrearing and child care, buying a first home, finishing that job of balancing the budget without violating our obligations to our parents and our children and the disabled and health care, to education and the environment, and to our future. That's a plan that will keep America on the right track, building strong families and strong futures by working together.

For everyone here who played a role in this happy day, I thank you, America thanks you, and our country is better because of your endeavors.

God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Catherine Wilkinson, an employee of West Virginia Northern Community College who introduced the President, and John Sweeney, president, AFL–CIO. H.R. 3448, approved August 20, was assigned Public Law No. 104–188.

Statement on Signing the Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996

August 20, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3448, the "Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996."

This is important and long overdue legislation that provides a badly needed pay raise for millions of Americans and their families who struggle to make ends meet while working at the minimum wage. The Act boosts the minimum wage in two steps—a 50 cent increase from $4.25 to $4.75 an hour that takes effect October 1, followed by an additional 40 cent rise to $5.15 an hour on September 1, 1997. This increase will help some 10 million of our hardest pressed working families build a better future. It is true to the basic American bargain that if you work hard you ought to have food on your table and a living wage in your pocket. It is the right thing to do.

I should note that I disagree with certain provisions added to the minimum wage title of the Act, such as the provision creating a new subminimum wage for young people and the one denying increased cash wages to most employees who rely on tips for part of their income. Still, those defects do not obscure the central accomplishment of this Act—securing the first minimum wage increase since 1991.

Beyond raising the minimum wage, this Act represents real progress on a number of other fronts.

First, I am particularly gratified by the important provisions in this Act concerning adoption. The Act provides a nonrefundable tax credit of up to $5,000 per child for adoption expenses; $6,000 for children with special needs. It will help thousands of children waiting for a family who wants them. It will help thousands of middle class parents realize their dream of adopting a child. It will build stronger families and stronger communities.

Moreover, the Act bars placement agencies that receive Federal funds from denying or delaying adoptions based on race, color, or national origin. As I have consistently said, it is time to end the historical bias against interracial adoptions. That bias has too often meant interminable delay for children waiting to be matched with parents of the same race. It is time to put the creation of strong and loving families first.

Second, the Act creates a simplified, 401(k) retirement plan for small businesses, making it far easier for such companies to offer pensions to their employees. This new plan includes many of the pension reforms my Administration proposed more than a year ago. For example, it increases the portability of pensions, allowing more new workers to start saving for retirement from their first day on the job. It cuts the vesting period for workers in multiemployer plans from 10 years to 5, immediately vesting over 1 million workers in their benefits. It repeals the so-called "family aggregation rule," which limited the retirement benefits of family members working together in the same business. It allows nonprofit organizations and Indian tribes to maintain 401(k) plans for their workers; assures veterans they will have continued pension coverage if they return to a civilian job after military service; and makes pension benefits safer and more secure for millions of employees of State and local governments. The pension provisions in the Act are not perfect—they provide a smaller share of benefits to lower and middle wage workers than I proposed. But they are a significant step in the right direction.

Third, the Act gives a boost to small business by increasing the amount of capital that small businesses can write off as an expense. I proposed a $15,000 increase in 1993 in order to encourage the kind of investment that creates new growth and jobs. The Congress passed half of what we advocated then and this legislation gives us the other half. Although the measure in this Act is phased in more slowly than I

proposed, it will still give small businesses a good incentive for capital investment.

Fourth, the Act extends the research tax credit, an important measure for a high-tech economy that will retain its competitive edge in the 21st century only if we remain committed to innovation and the research that underlies it. I wanted the Congress to go further by reinstating the research credit retroactively to July 1, 1995, when it last expired, and making it permanent. But this extension, through May of next year, is an important step forward.

Fifth, the Act extends a tax incentive for businesses that train and educate their employees. That incentive excludes from an employee's taxable income as much as $5,250 of educational assistance provided by an employer. Such assistance is another key element in maintaining U.S. competitiveness because a better trained, better educated work force is vital to achieving higher productivity. I regret that the Congress failed to make this incentive permanent and that it has eliminated the incentive for post-graduate education. But in extending the incentive for undergraduate education through May 1997, the Act takes a useful step.

Sixth, by replacing the expiring Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC) with a new Work Opportunity Tax Credit, the Act provides a significant incentive for employers to hire people from certain targeted groups most in need of jobs, such as high-risk youth. I am pleased to see improvements that address many of the concerns raised about implementation of the TJTC. For example, the minimum employment period required before an employer becomes eligible for the credit will promote longer, more meaningful work experiences for those hired.

As strong a piece of legislation as this is overall, however, I am concerned about three provisions, two of which I objected to when they were included in legislation I vetoed last year.

The first provision repeals the tax credit related to corporate investments in Puerto Rico and other insular areas. I urged the Congress to reform the credit and use the resulting revenue for Puerto Rico's social and job training needs. My proposal would have, over time, prevented companies from obtaining tax benefits by merely attributing income to the islands, but it would have continued to give companies a tax credit for wages and local taxes paid and capital investments made there, as well as for earnings reinvested in Puerto Rico and qualified Caribbean Basin Initiative countries. This legislation ignores the real needs of our citizens in Puerto Rico, ending the incentive for new investment now and phasing out the incentive for existing investments. I remain committed to my proposal for an effective incentive based on real economy activity that preserves and creates jobs in underdeveloped islands, and I hope that the Congress will act to ensure that the incentive for economic activity remains in effect.

A second provision repeals a 1993 initiative of this Administration that reduces tax incentives for U.S. companies to move jobs and operations abroad. Repeal of this provision will allow businesses to avoid taxes by accumulating foreign earnings without limit.

Finally, I have reservations about a provision in the Act which makes civil damages based on nonphysical injury or illness taxable. Such damages are paid to compensate for injury, whether physical or not, and are designed to make victims whole, not to enrich them. These damages should not be considered a source of taxable income.

Notwithstanding these objections, this is important, forward-looking legislation. It gives millions of hard-pressed workers a well-deserved raise, will make adoption a reality for thousands of grateful families and children, takes a good first step toward providing adequate retirement benefits and security for employees of small businesses, and creates useful tax incentives for the benefit of small businesses and their employees. Where there are improvements yet to be made, we will continue to work with the Congress to make them.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 20, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3448, approved August 20, was assigned Public Law No. 104–188.

Remarks on Signing the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996

August 21, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you so much. Thank you very much for that wonderful introduction, Merit, and thank you for the courage of your example.

I want to begin by recognizing the Members of Congress who are here who worked on this so hard. In addition to Senators Kassebaum and Kennedy, we have Senator John Breaux, Senator Bill Cohen, Senator Byron Dorgan, Senator Carl Levin, Congressman Mike Bilirakis, Congressman John Conyers, Congressman Harris Fawell and Congressman Dennis Hastert, Congressman David Hobson, and Congressman Bill Thomas. I thank all of them for their work on this.

I thank Secretary Shalala for her hard work; the SBA Administrator, Phil Lader, who is here. I'd also like to recognize a gentleman in the audience who did a lot of work with the First Lady on this and who is, I'm sure, happy to be here today, our former Surgeon General, Dr. Everett Koop. Thank you, sir, for being here. And Dr. Henry Foster, it's nice to see you; thank you for being here, sir.

There are so many others I'd like to thank. I want to thank all the consumer groups, the business groups, the labor groups, the grassroots people, the people who were personally affected by health care problems and problems in our system, who are here. All of you worked so hard to make this day a reality. I want to thank all the people who worked on the staff at the White House, the people especially who worked with the First Lady from 1993 on. All of you should take some great satisfaction in seeing this day come to pass, and I want you to know that I will never forget the work that all of you have done and the service you have rendered to the American people, and we thank you.

But a lot of people who worked on health reform were just folks, people that Hillary met traveling around the country, or people that I had the good fortune to run into who told me their stories and who helped to work to make this day a reality. People like Dan Lumley, who is here with us today, a man we met on our bus tour, from Portland, Oregon. And there have been many others who have helped, like Kristin Hopper and Tensia Alvarez, who are here with their families today. We thank you for coming here with your families.

And let me again especially thank Merit Kimball and her wonderful parents, Jack and Rosemary, who have come here today. They have had the courage to tell their story and to fight for their cause and on behalf of tens of millions of other Americans. They have given us the hope that together we can make things better for more Americans.

The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act shows what happens, as Senator Kassebaum said and Senator Kennedy said, when we work together, when we cross party lines and put the interests of the American people first. This bill is a clear boost to our values as Americans. It offers opportunity by allowing people to take their health insurance from job to job. It rewards responsibility by helping people to work who desperately want to work. It brings us together in a common community to do what's right by all of our people, saying that we ought to make it possible for more and more people to succeed at work without losing the security of knowing that when they need health care it'll be there.

Health care reform is measured by how many lives it improves. With this bill we take a long step toward the kind of health care reform our Nation needs. It seals the cracks that swallow as many as 25 million Americans who can't get insurance or who fear they'll lose it. Now they're going to be protected.

Never has such a measure been more needed for our people. Our new economy presents Americans with opportunities like never before to work their way into better paying jobs. And yet our health care system has worked to paralyze many workers who fear losing their health care coverage if they take those better jobs and change their employers. At the same time, millions of Americans find themselves labeled as people with preexisting conditions, from cancer to AIDS, which disqualifies them and their families for coverage, including the husband, the pregnant wife who lose their insurance; the young woman who can't change jobs because

her new insurance doesn't cover diabetes; the small-business owner who faithfully pays group health insurance premiums for years and then finds that his coverage won't be renewed because one of his employees has developed a heart condition.

No more. This bill changes all that. Today we declare a victory for millions of Americans and their families. No longer will you live in fear of losing your health insurance because of the state of your health. No longer need you hesitate about taking a better job because you're afraid to lose your coverage. And no longer will small businesses be denied access to insurance for their employees. The health insurance reform bill I sign today will protect the health care of millions of working Americans and give them and their families something that cannot be measured, peace of mind.

The bill also addresses other problems in getting more affordable insurance to our workers. It makes it easier and less expensive for the self-employed to purchase their insurance. As Senator Kassebaum said, it phases in a tax deduction of 80 percent for the self-employed and helps to even the playing field with bigger businesses. Second, it prevents fraud and abuse. It toughens penalties and helps us to go after bad apple health care providers who bilk the system of billions of dollars from Medicare, from Medicaid, and from private insurance companies. I especially want to thank Secretary Shalala for her work on these fraud and abuse provisions. Third, it makes the health care system more simple. It will modernize, streamline, and cut the cost of insurance paperwork by devising a uniform electronic system for paying health care claims. It will provide steps to protect the privacy of people in the system as it does so. Fourth, it allows the establishment of a limited number of medical savings accounts to allow us to study this approach and see how it works, to determine whether this new approach can make a positive contribution to health care coverage and to affordability. And fifth, it helps with long-term care. It provides consumer protections and makes long-term care insurance more affordable. This bill, in short, does a very great deal.

I want to echo what Senator Kennedy said: Senator Kassebaum, we are deeply in your debt. We're going to miss you, and you must be very proud that here in the last months of your career in the Senate you have done such a magnificent thing. We thank you so much, ma'am.

Senator Kennedy, as I told you before we came out here, when I woke up this morning and thought about signing this bill today, I remembered a day a very long time ago, almost 18 years ago now, when I moderated a panel on health care reform in Memphis, Tennessee, at one of our many conventions, in 1978. And you were there, telling the American people in 1978 that every person in America deserved the health care that your son had when he was first taken ill. I'm proud of you for these two decades of commitment, sir. Thank you.

And if you'll forgive me a personal note, I believe, Hillary, that this justifies all those days on the road and all those nights you stayed up reading the incomprehensibly complex issues of health care. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I wish this bill had contained the provision to eliminate the differential treatment of mental health coverage or at least taken some positive steps in that direction. I know this is something that is especially important to Tipper Gore, and I know that we all know that we're going to have to deal with that.

And we have to do more, and this is also very important. We must find a way to provide coverage for workers and their families who are in transition. I have proposed a plan which we put in our balanced budget to cover 3 million workers and their families, including 700,000 children, who today have nowhere to turn for affordable health care because the worker is changing jobs. If a person is doing the right thing, trying to be responsible, dying to go to work, we should help those kind of people to get back on their feet without being thrown flat on their back without health insurance.

Our mission in pursuing health care reform from the start has been to provide more fairness and quality for the American people. That's why we worked to strengthen the Medicare Trust Fund, although we must do more, and our balanced budget plan does that. That's why we've worked to preserve and to protect Medicaid, why we focused on the problems of health care costs, which, thanks to efforts in the private sector, to our own efforts, and to the general direction of our economy with growth with low inflation, inflation in health care slowed to 3.9 percent in 1995, the lowest in 23 years. And for the first half of this year, it is down to

less than 2 percent and may go lower still. We must not let this be a temporary development.

That's also why we've worked to raise childhood immunization rates dramatically; to increase investment in biomedical research, including funding for breast cancer and AIDS; why we've expedited the FDA review process in approval for new drugs, so that people who need a miracle might be able to find it; why we fought to protect our children from the harmful effects of tobacco advertising aimed at them.

But now we need to build on what we have achieved. I was encouraged to see Senator Kassebaum with her coach's mentality saying that the game is not over, and we still have another month this year. And Senator, I'm suited up and ready to play. And I appreciate you saying that.

This is a particularly happy day for me because, like yesterday when we signed the minimum wage bill and the bill which gave such strong incentives to small businesses to invest in their own businesses and made it so much easier for people to adopt children who were willing to take on that profoundly important responsibility—these 2 days together, and this day especially, helps ordinary Americans to benefit from the growth and progress in the American economy. America is on the right track, not only when the overall numbers look good but when every responsible American family can participate in that.

It's good that we have 10 million new jobs, record numbers of new businesses, that we have the lowest deficit and the highest rates of homeownership in 15 years. That's very good. But it's even better when every single American who is willing to be responsible for his or her family and his or her work can participate in those trends. And with portable health care, the minimum wage increase, additional incentives for small business growth, more pension security, moving people from welfare to work, that will help all Americans to be a part of our 21st century America.

We have more to do in educational opportunity, in helping people with their child care and childrearing obligations, in helping people to buy their first home, in finishing the job of balancing the budget so that we can keep interest rates down and inflation down. But we are clearly moving on the right track.

I look forward to working with Congress when they come back in September and to continuing this effort. I want to say again, this bill passed almost unanimously. This is a bill that both Senators Kennedy and Kassebaum can be proud of because they brought all their colleagues along with them. This is a bill that people who have been working in the House for years and years and years on health care reform can be proud of, and so can everybody else who showed up and voted for it. And Congressman Hastert, I want to echo what Senator Kassebaum said, we appreciate your work and we know how much you did to get those last few difficult issues resolved in a way that we could all live with.

We can do things when we work together and put the American people first. And whenever we work on behalf of our families and our children, as we do with the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, America always wins.

So now, in the names of the families and children who will have better lives because of it, I am honored to sign this profoundly important piece of legislation. And I'd like to ask the Members of Congress to come up and join me, along with the families who are here.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Merit Kimball, director of communications, Alliance for Health Reform; and Henry W. Foster, Jr., Senior Adviser to the President on Teen Pregnancy and Youth Issues. H.R. 3103, approved August 21, was assigned Public Law No. 104–191.

Statement on Signing the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996

August 21, 1996

I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 3103, the "Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996." For the first time, this Act will ensure the portability of health benefits when workers change or lose their jobs and will protect workers against discrimination by health plans based on their health status.

For too long, tens of millions of Americans have been denied health insurance coverage because they have preexisting conditions. We have all heard their stories.

— A husband and his pregnant wife lose their insurance and then find they cannot buy new coverage because her pregnancy is considered a preexisting condition.

— A young woman starting out in her career cannot accept a promotion with another company because its health insurance policy won't cover her diabetes.

— A small business owner faithfully pays his group health insurance premiums for years only to learn that his coverage won't be renewed after one of his employees develops a heart condition.

Since taking office, I have been fighting for changes that would stop this kind of unfairness and make health insurance more accessible for all people, including the most needy. I am pleased that the Congress has responded to my call. In passing this Act, a modest but important step has been taken to improve Americans' access to health care coverage.

This legislation will set into motion several key reforms. First, it will eliminate the possibility that individuals can be denied coverage because they have a preexisting medical condition. Second, it will require insurance companies to sell coverage to small employer groups and to individuals who lose group coverage without regard to their health risk status. Finally, it will require insurers to renew the policies they sell to groups and individuals.

In addition to the health insurance reforms, this legislation will help strengthen other aspects of our health care system.

— It increases the tax deductibility of health insurance premiums for the self-employed and their dependents from 30 percent to 80 percent by calendar year 2006.

— It significantly expands Federal authority and resources to combat fraud and abuse in Federal health programs, such as Medicare, and in the private sector.

— It provides for the development of: (1) national standards for the electronic submission of health insurance claims that will reduce paperwork, administrative costs, and burdens for doctors and hospitals; and (2) privacy protection recommendations for health information generally, and, in the absence of additional legislation, regulations for privacy of health care claims information.

— It establishes consumer protection standards for certain long-term care insurance policies and provides tax clarifications to make those policies more affordable and available.

Like most legislation, this Act includes compromises that are less than perfect. For example, it includes a provision that will allow a limited number of individuals covered by catastrophic health insurance to establish tax-advantaged medical savings accounts, or MSAs. I opposed an open-ended, unconstrained expansion of MSAs because of my concern that MSAs may create incentives for healthier people to select catastrophic health coverage, which experts believe would increase premiums for those who choose traditional, comprehensive health care policies. I agreed, however, to work with the Congress in crafting a compromise that would permit the establishment of a limited number of MSAs. This limited use of MSAs will be studied carefully for a period of 4 years before deciding whether or not to expand them to the broader health insurance market, and the Congress will have to consider this issue and vote again before doing so.

Similarly, while the bill makes some of the positive changes that I have proposed to strengthen our efforts to combat health care fraud and abuse, I am concerned that it also contains a provision that could weaken those efforts. I oppose the requirement that Govern-

ment officials provide advisory opinions on whether certain arrangements violate criminal health fraud statutes. The Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services are concerned that advisory opinions of this nature could create complexities that would burden the efforts to enforce laws against health care fraud and abuse. Therefore, I am directing the Departments of Justice and Health and Human Services to work closely together in implementing this provision to ensure that it promotes and protects Federal law enforcement activities relating to health care fraud.

Finally, I want to reiterate my disappointment that the Congress dropped from this legislation the mental health parity provision that received such bipartisan support in the Senate. Individuals with mental illness have long suffered from discrimination in health plans that impose severe financial burdens on top of the illnesses they already face. I urge the Congress to act at the earliest opportunity to require parity in health insurance coverage for mental health services. I look forward to working with the Congress to address this critical issue.

As I sign this legislation, I am particularly grateful to Senators Kassebaum and Kennedy and the many other Members of Congress who worked tirelessly to assure that this bill is a meaningful and important step toward making health care more accessible and more secure for millions of Americans. I pledge to continue this effort and hope that the Congress will work with me and so that all Americans can have health care security.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 21, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3103, approved August 21, was assigned Public Law No. 104–191.

Statement on Signing the War Crimes Act of 1996

August 21, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 3680, the "War Crimes Act of 1996." This bill, in furtherance of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, extends U.S. criminal jurisdiction over certain war crimes and provides the United States with clearer authority to prosecute violations of the laws of war.

Most grave breaches of the Conventions are already subject to U.S. prosecution if committed in the United States and many—such as hostage taking, terrorism or genocide—could be prosecuted even if committed abroad. However, many other crimes which would be considered grave breaches of the Conventions could not be prosecuted in United States courts. This legislation is designed to help fill that gap. It authorizes the prosecution of war criminals if they are found in or extradited to the United States. It applies to U.S. nationals or members of the Armed Forces who are perpetrators or victims of war crimes. It would apply, for example, in the case of American civilians subjected to war crimes in an overseas conflict.

This legislation represents an important reaffirmation of American leadership in the development of the law for the protection of victims of war.

In keeping with this leadership role, however, we can and should do even more to strengthen the law in this area. To that end, my Administration is committed to working with the Congress to expand the scope of this legislation. This expansion should address: (1) war crimes committed by *any* person who comes within the jurisdiction of the United States courts, including crimes committed by non-U.S. persons against non-U.S. victims; (2) cases involving other serious war crimes not covered by H.R. 3680, such as those prohibited by The Hague Conventions of 1907; and (3) cases involving acts to be made criminal under the recently improved landmines protocol of the Convention on Conventional Weapons. This broadening of the law would not require the United States to exercise jurisdiction in any particular case, but would provide the authority to do so in the national interest.

This bill and the expansions we seek have been endorsed by the American Red Cross, which has had an important role to play in this area ever since its founder Clara Barton took

the lead in securing U.S. ratification of the first Geneva Convention. The International Committee of the Red Cross has also voiced its support for our efforts to broaden the scope of this legislation.

In sum, this bill serves important goals and is a significant step forward. Now we should build on this progress and seek further improvements in promoting respect for the laws of war and in reinforcing protections for the victims of war.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 21, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3680, approved August 21, was assigned Public Law No. 104–192.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization

August 21, 1996

Dear Mr. :

I transmit herewith the 6-month report required under the heading "International Organizations and Programs" in Title IV of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, 1996 (Public Law 104–107), relating to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO).

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Mark O. Hatfield, chairman, and Robert C. Byrd, ranking member, Senate Committee on Appropriations; and Robert L. Livingston, chairman, and David R. Obey, ranking member, House Committee on Appropriations.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on the Partnership For Peace Initiative

August 21, 1996

Dear Mr. :

In accordance with section 514(a) of Public Law 103–236 (22 U.S.C. 1928(a)), I am submitting to you this report on implementation of the Partnership for Peace (PFP) initiative.

The ongoing adaptation of Europe's security structures to post-Cold War realities remains one of our highest foreign policy priorities. A central element of this adaptation is the extension of NATO's zone of stability and security to Europe's emerging democracies. Over the past two and a half years, the Partnership for Peace has made a significant contribution to this goal by forging new cooperative ties between the Alliance and its Partners. This U.S. initiative has united NATO Allies with countries recently emerged from communist and traditionally neutral states in a partnership based on respect for democratic principles, peaceful resolution of disputes, and practical cooperation.

For all Partners, PFP will be an enduring instrument for forging stronger ties with NATO. For those Partners interested in joining NATO, PFP is the best path to membership. As you will see from the enclosed report, NATO and its Partners have made impressive progress in broadening and deepening the Partnership over the past year. We are working with our Allies and Partners to build on the Partnership's early momentum in the shared conviction that cooperation and common action are the best means to achieving lasting security throughout the Euro-Atlantic area.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Jesse Helms, chairman, and Claiborne Pell, ranking member, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman, and Lee H. Hamilton, ranking member, House Committee on International Relations.

Remarks on Signing the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and an Exchange With Reporters

August 22, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Lillie, thank you. Thank you, Mr. Vice President; to the members of the Cabinet; all of the Members of Congress who are here, thank you very much.

I'd like to say to Congressman Castle, I'm especially glad to see you here because 8 years ago about this time, when you were the Governor of Delaware and Governor Carper was the Congressman from Delaware, you and I were together at a signing like this.

Thank you, Senator Long, for coming here. Thank you, Governors Romer, Carper, Miller, and Caperton.

I'd also like to thank Penelope Howard and Janet Ferrel for coming here. They, too, have worked their way from welfare to independence, and we're honored to have them here.

I'd like to thank all of the people who worked on this bill who have been introduced from our staff and Cabinet, but I'd also like to especially thank Bruce Reed, who had a lot to do with working on the final compromises of this bill; I thank him.

Lillie Harden was up there talking, and I want to tell you how she happens to be here today. Ten years ago, Governor Castle and I were asked to cochair a Governors' task force on welfare reform, and we were asked to work together on it. And when we met at Hilton Head in South Carolina, we had a little panel, and 41 Governors showed up to listen to people who were on welfare from several States. So I asked Carol Rasco to find me somebody from our State who had been in one of our welfare reform programs and had gone to work. She found Lillie Harden, and Lillie showed up at the program.

And I was conducting this meeting, and I committed a mistake that they always tell lawyers never to do: Never ask a question you do not know the answer to. [*Laughter*] But she was doing so well talking about it, as you saw how well-spoken she was today, and I said, "Lillie, what's the best thing about being off welfare?" And she looked me straight in the eye and said, "When my boy goes to school, and they say what does your mama do for a living, he can give an answer." I have never forgotten that. And when I saw the success of all of her children and the success that she's had in the past 10 years—I can tell you, you've had a bigger impact on me than I've had on you. And I thank you for the power of your example, for your family's. And for all of America, thank you very much.

What we are trying to do today is to overcome the flaws of the welfare system for the people who are trapped on it. We all know that the typical family on welfare today is very different from the one that welfare was designed to deal with 60 years ago. We all know that there are a lot of good people on welfare who just get off of it in the ordinary course of business but that a significant number of people are trapped on welfare for a very long time, exiling them from the entire community of work that gives structure to our lives.

Nearly 30 years ago, Robert Kennedy said, "Work is the meaning of what this country is all about. We need it as individuals, we need to sense it in our fellow citizens, and we need it as a society and as a people." He was right then, and it's right now. From now on, our Nation's answer to this great social challenge will no longer be a never-ending cycle of welfare, it will be the dignity, the power, and the ethic of work. Today we are taking an historic chance to make welfare what it was meant to be: a second chance, not a way of life.

The bill I'm about to sign, as I have said many times, is far from perfect, but it has come a very long way. Congress sent me two previous bills that I strongly believe failed to protect our children and did too little to move people from

welfare to work. I vetoed both of them. This bill had broad bipartisan support and is much, much better on both counts.

The new bill restores America's basic bargain of providing opportunity and demanding, in return, responsibility. It provides $14 billion for child care, $4 billion more than the present law does. It is good because without the assurance of child care it's all but impossible for a mother with young children to go to work. It requires States to maintain their own spending on welfare reform and gives them powerful performance incentives to place more people on welfare in jobs. It gives States the capacity to create jobs by taking money now used for welfare checks and giving it to employers as subsidies as incentives to hire people. This bill will help people to go to work so they can stop drawing a welfare check and start drawing a paycheck.

It's also better for children. It preserves the national safety net of food stamps and school lunches. It drops the deep cuts and the devastating changes in child protection, adoption, and help for disabled children. It preserves the national guarantee of health care for poor children, the disabled, the elderly, and people on welfare—the most important preservation of all.

It includes the tough child support enforcement measures that, as far as I know, every Member of Congress and everybody in the administration and every thinking person in the country has supported for more than 2 years now. It's the most sweeping crackdown on deadbeat parents in history. We have succeeded in increasing child support collection 40 percent, but over a third of the cases where there's delinquencies involve people who cross State lines. For a lot of women and children, the only reason they're on welfare today—the only reason—is that the father up and walked away when he could have made a contribution to the welfare of the children. That is wrong. If every parent paid the child support that he or she owes legally today, we could move 800,000 women and children off welfare immediately.

With this bill we say, if you don't pay the child support you owe, we'll garnish your wages, take away your driver's license, track you across State lines, if necessary, make you work off what you pay—what you owe. It is a good thing, and it will help dramatically to reduce welfare, increase independence, and reinforce parental responsibility.

As the Vice President said, we strongly disagree with a couple of provisions of this bill. We believe that the nutritional cuts are too deep, especially as they affect low-income working people and children. We should not be punishing people who are working for a living already; we should do everything we can to lift them up and keep them at work and help them to support their children. We also believe that the congressional leadership insisted on cuts in programs for legal immigrants that are far too deep.

These cuts, however, have nothing to do with the fundamental purpose of welfare reform. I signed this bill because this is an historic chance, where Republicans and Democrats got together and said, we're going to take this historic chance to try to re-create the Nation's social bargain with the poor. We're going to try to change the parameters of the debate. We're going to make it all new again and see if we can't create a system of incentives which reinforce work and family and independence. We can change what is wrong. We should not have passed this historic opportunity to do what is right.

And so I want to ask all of you, without regard to party, to think through the implications of these other nonwelfare issues on the American people, and let's work together in good spirits and good faith to remedy what is wrong. We can balance the budget without these cuts. But let's not obscure the fundamental purpose of the welfare provisions of this legislation, which are good and solid and which can give us at least the chance to end the terrible, almost physical isolation of huge numbers of poor people and their children from the rest of mainstream America. We have to do that.

Let me also say that there's something really good about this legislation. When I sign it, we all have to start again, and this becomes everybody's responsibility. After I sign my name to this bill, welfare will no longer be a political issue. The two parties cannot attack each other over it. Politicians cannot attack poor people over it. There are no encrusted habits, systems, and failures that can be laid at the foot of someone else. We have to begin again. This is not the end of welfare reform, this is the beginning. And we have to all assume responsibility. Now that we are saying with this bill we expect work, we have to make sure the people have a chance to go to work. If we really value work, everybody in this society—businesses, nonprofits, religious

institutions, individuals, those in government—all have a responsibility to make sure the jobs are there.

These three women have great stories. Almost everybody on welfare would like to have a story like that. And the rest of us now have a responsibility to give them that story. We cannot blame the system for the jobs they don't have anymore. If it doesn't work now, it's everybody's fault: mine, yours, and everybody else. There is no longer a system in the way.

I've worked hard over the past 4 years to create jobs and to steer investment into places where there are large numbers of people on welfare because there's been no economic recovery. That's what the empowerment zone program was all about. That's what the community development bank initiative was all about. That's what our urban brownfield cleanup initiative was all about, trying to give people the means to make a living in areas that had been left behind.

I think we have to do more here in Washington to do that, and I'll have more to say about that later. But let me say again, we have to build a new work and family system. And this is everybody's responsibility now. The people on welfare are people just like these three people we honor here today and their families. They are human beings. And we owe it to all of them to give them a chance to come back.

I talked the other day when the Vice President and I went down to Tennessee, and we were working with Congressman Tanner's district; we were working on a church that had burned. And there was a pastor there from a church in North Carolina that brought a group of his people in to work. And he started asking me about welfare reform, and I started telling him about it. And I said, "You know what you ought to do? You ought to go tell Governor Hunt that you would hire somebody on welfare to work in your church if he would give you the welfare check as a wage supplement. You'd double their pay, and you'd keep them employed for a year or so and see if you couldn't train them and help their families and see if their kids were all right." I said, "Would you do that?" He said, "In a heartbeat."

I think there are people all over America like that. I think there are people all over America like that. That's what I want all of you to be thinking about today: What are we going to do now? This is not over, this is just beginning. The Congress deserves our thanks for creating a new reality, but we have to fill in the blanks. The Governors asked for this responsibility, now they've got to live up to it. There are mayors that have responsibilities, county officials that have responsibilities. Every employer in this country that ever made a disparaging remark about the welfare system needs to think about whether he or she should now hire somebody from welfare and go to work, go to the State and say, "Okay, you give me the check. I'll use it as an income supplement. I'll train these people. I'll help them to start their lives, and we'll go forward from here."

Every single person needs to be thinking—every person in America tonight who sees a report of this who has ever said a disparaging word about the welfare system should now say, "Okay, that's gone. What is my responsibility to make it better?"

Two days ago we signed a bill increasing the minimum wage here and making it easier for people in small businesses to get and keep pensions. Yesterday we signed the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill which makes health care available to up to 25 million Americans, many of them in lower income jobs where they're more vulnerable. The bill I'm signing today preserves the increases in the earned-income tax credit for working families. It is now clearly better to go to work than to stay on welfare—clearly better. Because of actions taken by the Congress in this session, it is clearly better. And what we have to do now is to make that work a reality.

I've said this many times, but, you know, most American families find that the greatest challenge of their lives is how to do a good job raising their kids and do a good job at work. Trying to balance work and family is the challenge that most Americans in the workplace face. Thankfully, that's the challenge Lillie Harden's had to face for the last 10 years. That's just what we want for everybody. We want at least the chance to strike the right balance for everybody.

Today we are ending welfare as we know it. But I hope this day will be remembered not for what it ended but for what it began: a new day that offers hope, honors responsibility, rewards work, and changes the terms of the debate so that no one in America ever feels again the need to criticize people who are poor on welfare but instead feels the responsibility to reach out to men and women and children who are isolated, who need opportunity, and

who are willing to assume responsibility, and give them the opportunity and the terms of responsibility.

Now, I'd like to ask Penelope Howard, Janet Ferrel, Lillie Harden, the Governors, and the Members of Congress from both parties who are here to come up and join me as I sign the welfare reform bill.

Tobacco Regulation

Q. Mr. President, before you sign the bill, could you tell us whether you think it's right to regulate tobacco or nicotine as a drug?

The President. You know, Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, CNN], under the law, I have to wait until the OMB makes a recommendation to me. I think we have to anticipate things. I can't say more than that right now.

[*At this point, the President signed the legislation.*]

Welfare Reform

Q. Mr. President, some of your core constituencies are furious with you for signing this bill. What do you say to them?

The President. Just what I said up there. We saved medical care. We saved food stamps. We saved child care. We saved the aid to disabled children. We saved the school lunch program. We saved the framework of support. What we did was to tell the States, now you have to create a system to give everyone a chance to go to work who is able-bodied, give everyone a chance to be independent. And we did—that is the right thing to do. And now welfare is no longer a political football to be kicked around. It's a personal responsibility of every American who ever criticized the welfare system to help the poor people now to move from welfare to work. That's what I say.

This is going to be a good thing for the country. We're going to monitor it, and we're going to fix whatever is wrong with it.

Q. What guarantees are there that these things will be fixed, Mr. President, especially if Republicans remain in control of Congress?

The President. That's what we have elections for.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to the following Governors: Tom Carper of Delaware, Roy Romer of Colorado, Bob Miller of Nevada, Gaston Caperton of West Virginia, and James B. Hunt, Jr., of North Carolina. The President also referred to former Senator Russell B. Long and Carol H. Rasco, Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, who was senior executive assistant to the Governor when President Clinton was Governor of Arkansas. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete. H.R. 3734, approved August 22, was assigned Public Law No. 104–193.

Statement on Signing the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996

August 22, 1996

Today, I have signed into law H.R. 3734, the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996." While far from perfect, this legislation provides an historic opportunity to end welfare as we know it and transform our broken welfare system by promoting the fundamental values of work, responsibility, and family.

This Act honors my basic principles of real welfare reform. It requires work of welfare recipients, limits the time they can stay on welfare, and provides child care and health care to help them make the move from welfare to work. It demands personal responsibility, and puts in place tough child support enforcement measures. It promotes family and protects children.

This bipartisan legislation is significantly better than the bills that I vetoed. The Congress has removed many of the worst provisions of the vetoed bills and has included many of the improvements that I sought. I am especially pleased that the Congress has preserved the guarantee of health care for the poor, the elderly, and the disabled.

Most important, this Act is tough on work. Not only does it include firm but fair work

requirements, it provides $4 billion more in child care than the vetoed bills—so that parents can end their dependency on welfare and go to work—and maintains health and safety standards for day care providers. The bill also gives States positive incentives to move people into jobs and holds them accountable for maintaining spending on welfare reform. In addition, it gives States the ability to create subsidized jobs and to provide employers with incentives to hire people off welfare.

The Act also does much more to protect children than the vetoed bills. It cuts spending on childhood disability programs less deeply and does not unwisely change the child protection programs. It maintains the national nutritional safety net, by eliminating the Food Stamp annual spending cap and the Food Stamp and School Lunch block grants that the vetoed bills contained. In addition, it preserves the Federal guarantee of health care for individuals who are currently eligible for Medicaid through the AFDC program or are in transition from welfare to work.

Furthermore, this Act includes the tough personal responsibility and child support enforcement measures that I proposed 2 years ago. It requires minor mothers to live at home and stay in school as a condition of assistance. It cracks down on parents who fail to pay child support by garnishing their wages, suspending their driver's licenses, tracking them across State lines, and, if necessary, making them work off what they owe.

For these reasons, I am proud to have signed this legislation. The current welfare system is fundamentally broken, and this may be our last best chance to set it straight. I am doing so, however, with strong objections to certain provisions, which I am determined to correct.

First, while the Act preserves the national nutritional safety net, its cuts to the Food Stamp program are too deep. Among other things, the Act reinstates a maximum on the amount that can be deducted for shelter costs when determining a household's eligibility for Food Stamps. This provision will disproportionately affect low-income families with children and high housing costs.

Second, I am deeply disappointed that this legislation would deny Federal assistance to legal immigrants and their children, and give States the option of doing the same. My Administration supports holding sponsors who bring immigrants into this country more responsible for their well-being. Legal immigrants and their children, however, should not be penalized if they become disabled and require medical assistance through no fault of their own. Neither should they be deprived of food stamp assistance without proper procedures or due regard for individual circumstances. Therefore, I will direct the Immigration and Naturalization Service to accelerate its unprecedented progress in removing all bureaucratic obstacles that stand in the way of citizenship for legal immigrants who are eligible. In addition, I will take any possible executive actions to avoid inaccurate or inequitable decisions to cut off food stamp benefits—for example, to a legal immigrant who has performed military service for this country or to one who has applied for and satisfied all the requirements of citizenship, but is awaiting governmental approval of his or her application.

In addition to placing an undue hardship on affected individuals, denial of Federal assistance to legal immigrants will shift costs to States, localities, hospitals, and medical clinics that serve large immigrant populations. Furthermore, States electing to deny these individuals assistance could be faced with serious constitutional challenges and protracted legal battles.

I have concerns about other provisions of this legislation as well. It fails to provide sufficient contingency funding for States that experience a serious economic downturn, and it fails to provide Food Stamp support to childless adults who want to work, but cannot find a job or are not given the opportunity to participate in a work program. In addition, we must work to ensure that States provide in-kind vouchers to children whose parents reach the 5-year Federal time limit without finding work.

This Act gives States the responsibility that they have sought to reform the welfare system. This is a profound responsibility, and States must face it squarely. We will hold them accountable, insisting that they fulfill their duty to move people from welfare to work and to do right by our most vulnerable citizens, including children and battered women. I challenge each State to take advantage of its new flexibility to use money formerly available for welfare checks to encourage the private sector to provide jobs.

The best antipoverty program is still a job. Combined with the newly increased minimum wage and the Earned Income Tax Credit—

which this legislation maintains—H.R. 3734 will make work pay for more Americans.

I am determined to work with the Congress in a bipartisan effort to correct the provisions of this legislation that go too far and have nothing to do with welfare reform. But, on balance, this bill is a real step forward for our country, for our values, and for people on welfare. It should represent not simply the ending of a system that too often hurts those it is supposed to help, but the beginning of a new era in which welfare will become what it was meant to be: a second chance, not a way of life. It is now up to all of us—States and cities, the Federal Government, businesses and ordinary citizens—to work together to make the promise of this new day real.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
August 22, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3734, approved August 22, was assigned Public Law No. 104–193.

Memorandum on Naturalization
August 22, 1996

Memorandum for the Attorney General, Secretary of Health and Human Services, and Other Heads of Executive Agencies

Subject: Naturalization

Citizenship is the cornerstone of full participation in our democracy. To become a United States citizen through naturalization represents a pledge to undertake the responsibilities of being a full member of our national community.

Naturalization is the best example of our legal immigration system at work. It reflects our society's recognition of those who came to this country to work hard, play by the rules, and pursue shared ideals of freedom, opportunity, and responsibility.

In the past, hundreds of thousands of eligible people have had to wait unnecessarily to become citizens. In some parts of the country, these people have had to wait well over a year after filing their application to realize their dream of United States citizenship.

This Administration is committed to eliminating the waiting lists of those eligible for citizenship. To accomplish this, we launched "Citizenship U.S.A.," the most ambitious citizenship effort in history. In fiscal year 1996, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) will spend more than $165 million for naturalization.

Citizenship U.S.A. combines three broad strategies: hiring more people to handle applications, improving the naturalization process, and expanding partnerships with local officials and community organizations.

We are already making progress. We have increased the staff 235 percent in the five districts with 75 percent of the pending applications: Los Angeles, New York, Miami, San Francisco, and Chicago. In Los Angeles, where one-fourth of all new applications are filed, we have opened three new processing centers and have more than quadrupled the number of INS officers handling citizenship applications.

But this is just the beginning. This Administration's target is to process and swear-in within 6 months of application all individuals eligible for citizenship. As we meet this target, more than one million newcomers will become citizens by the end of this year. After that, INS shall maintain those reforms necessary to stay current with the demand of new citizen applicants.

Using all of the tools at your disposal, I ask you to ensure that policies and practices necessary to accomplish these targets of one million new citizens sworn-in and the elimination of the waiting list are implemented. This includes continuing, expanding or accelerating, as appropriate and practicable, the following:

1) *New Hires.* Hiring, training, and deployment of full staff to assist naturalization efforts should proceed to completion as quickly as possible.

2) *Cutting Red Tape.* This includes: establishing electronic filing and mailing-in of citizenship applications, extended weekday hours and Saturday interviews, further expansion of processing facilities, and improvements to make it easier

for people to obtain forms and get immigration information by telephone or computer.

3) *Working with Local Officials and Community-Based Groups.* We are working in partnership with local officials and community groups to expand outreach. I direct you to expand these efforts to help get naturalization information to people, assist them in filling out applications, offer more local sites for interviews, especially for the elderly and the homebound, and seek other means to jointly facilitate the process. We also will work to expand the availability of local hotlines providing naturalization information.

4) *English Training.* To assist legal immigrants to move toward citizenship, I request relevant agencies to work with the Domestic Policy Council, the National Economic Council, and other White House offices to present to me by December 30, 1996, a report making recommendations with respect to public/private efforts to teach English to those needing to improve their English-language skills. This report should consider possible roles by private companies, educational institutions, unions, community organizations, and the AmeriCorp program to accomplish this goal.

5) *Interagency Outreach.* I direct each executive department and agency to take steps to promote naturalization outreach consistent with your agency's mission. In particular, in materials sent to welfare recipients concerning eligibility, I direct that, to the extent authorized by law, you include naturalization information.

6) *Refugees and Asylees.* Those who flee persecution and suffering in their home country are often in the weakest position to acquire the skills they need to enter the job market, maintain self-sufficiency, and achieve U.S. citizenship. I direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services, in conjunction with other agencies as appropriate, to present to me by December 30, 1996, through the Domestic Policy Council, a report setting out a strategy of additional steps that we can take to promote social adjustment in the United States, economic self-sufficiency, and naturalization.

In taking these steps, this Administration shall maintain and strengthen the standards and requirements of the naturalization test that demonstrate an individual's readiness to accept the responsibilities of citizenship and full participation in our national community. You are directed to continue vigilant oversight to uphold these standards.

Hundreds of thousands of people are seeking the dream and the promise of American citizenship. They have worked to become United States citizens, and these steps should ensure that they are not made to wait unnecessarily.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 23.

Memorandum on the Eligibility of Aliens for Food Stamps

August 22, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of Agriculture

Subject: Eligibility of Aliens for Food Stamps

Under the provisions of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, which today I signed into law, aliens receiving food stamps as of the date of enactment will continue to receive benefits until recertification of their eligibility, which shall take place not more than 1 year after enactment of the law. The results of the certification, including decisions as to an individual's immigration classification, veteran status, or work history, will determine whether the individual remains eligible for benefits under the Food Stamp program. Implementation of these new procedures will pose a substantial challenge for all involved Federal and State agencies.

To ensure that eligibility determinations are made fairly, accurately, and effectively, I direct you to take the steps necessary under your authority to permit the State agencies to extend the certification periods of currently participating aliens, provided that no certification period is extended to longer than 12 months, or up to 24 months if all adult household members are elderly or disabled, and provided that in

no event shall certifications be extended beyond August 22, 1997.

I further direct you to notify the States of the actions you have taken.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 23.

Remarks Announcing the Final Rule To Protect Youth From Tobacco

August 23, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you, Linda, for your courage and your commitment to carry on Victor's legacy and your own crusade. Thank you, Mr. Vice President, Secretary Shalala, General McCaffrey. I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Commissioner Kessler and to Phil Lee, the Assistant Secretary of HHS. In different ways they have a great triumph today. Thank you, Dick Durbin, for being the first Member of Congress ever to talk to me about this issue. Thank you, Marty Meehan. Thank you to my former colleagues, the attorneys general. Mr. Kelley, I know you're retiring this year as the senior attorney general of America. And we served together back in the dark ages, and I can't imagine a more fitting capstone to your career than the fact that you've been a part of this, and we thank you. Thank you, Mark Green.

I thank all the medical professionals who are here. I thank all the young people who are here, including Anna Santiago and Neal Stewart McSpadden, who came out here with us. I want to say a special word of thanks to three Members of Congress who are not here but who deserve to be because of their work on this issue, Senator Lautenberg of New Jersey, Senator Wellstone of Minnesota, and Congressman Henry Waxman of California. Thank you, Joe Califano, for beating on me about these issues all these years we've been friends and long before I ever became President. Thank you, sir. [*Laughter*]

Thank you, Dr. Koop, for everything you have done to try to bring some sanity into the health policy of this country. This has been a great week for you; we had the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill a couple of days ago and this today. Maybe you can design an encore for us over the next month or two. [*Laughter*] But you have been a great force for good in this country, and we're grateful to you.

If I might, I'd like to say just a couple of personal words to some people who really deserve an enormous amount of credit for this decision. The Vice President was altogether too modest and too restrained, but the first time we began to discuss this was about the time the FDA opened their inquiry. And he looked at me and I looked at him, and I said, "Well, you know what this might lead to?" And he said, "I certainly hope so." [*Laughter*] And I said, "Well, you know"—I shouldn't say this, this is our private conversation—I said, "You know, it really isn't an accident that nobody else has ever tried to do this. It's not an accident. This is not going to be one of those freebies, you know." [*Laughter*] And he began to talk about his sister who died of lung cancer and how much he loved his sister. We've had so many conversations about his sister that—not just about this, but about her life, the fact that she was one of the very first Peace Corps volunteers—that I feel almost that I know her personally. And I could see in his eyes this determination to redeem the promise of her wonderful life.

And I would also like to thank Nancy Gore Hunger's husband, Frank Hunger, who now serves as our Assistant Attorney General for the civil division. Thank you for being here, Frank. I know this is a great day for you.

I'd like to thank my wife, who has been talking to me about this issue for 20 years, and my wonderful daughter, who convinced my mother to quit smoking on her 8th birthday, something I was never able to do.

So each of us has a personal journey here that has brought us to this point. But today we are here as a nation to try to help our parents do a better job in raising their children

to be strong and healthy and good citizens and to do our duty in that regard. We've tried to do a lot of things to help our kids over the last 4 years and to help parents raise their children. We've worked hard on cultural issues, supporting things like the V-chip and educational television. We had a big increase in support for antidrug programs in our schools and for drug treatment, and we vetoed efforts to reduce those, although we should be investing more. We have a zero tolerance policy to keep guns out of school. We're requiring our States to enforce antidrinking and driving laws. We defended drug testing cases involving student athletes. We've worked to bring order and discipline into our children's lives by encouraging and giving support to communities that try things like community-based curfews and school uniforms and tougher enforcement of truancy laws.

We know, however, that in spite of all the things that are going right in this country—with the economy up and more jobs, with the crime rate down, with fewer people on welfare and food stamps, dramatically higher percentage of our young children immunized—that we have continued to see substantial rises in tobacco and drug use among our young people. We know that while the scientific evidence is clearly unclear, children who do smoke cigarettes are much more likely to engage in other risky behavior, including the use of marijuana and cocaine.

So we have to keep pressing forward to deal with these challenges, every one of them. And I want to thank General McCaffrey for being willing to give up his four stars and magnificent campaign to take on the drug fight for America's children and America's future. I thank you, sir.

Today we are taking direct action to protect our children from tobacco and especially the advertising that hooks children on a product. I hear from time to time politicians say that they don't really think advertising has much to do with it. And whenever I hear one say that I say, well, how come we're all spending so much money advertising when we run for office then? [*Laughter*] If it's immaterial, let's just pull it all off and see what happens to us. [*Laughter*]

Cigarette smoking is the most significant public health problem facing our people. More Americans die every year from smoking-related diseases than from AIDS, car accidents, murders, suicides, and fires combined. The human cost doesn't begin to calculate the economic costs—the thing that galvanized the legal claims of the attorneys general, the absolutely staggering burdens on the American health care system and on our economy in general.

But make no mistake about it, the human cost is by far the most important issue, for every day, even though it's illegal, 3,000 of our young people start smoking, and 1,000 of them will die earlier than they would otherwise die as a result. The vast majority of people who smoke in America today started when they were teenagers. If they don't start smoking when they're on a schoolyard, it's very likely they never will.

This epidemic is no accident. Children are bombarded daily by massive marketing campaigns that play on their vulnerabilities, their insecurities, their longings to be something in the world. Joe Camel promises that smoking will make you cool. Virginia Slims' models whisper that smoking will help you stay thin. T-shirts and sports sponsorships sends the message that healthy and vigorous people smoke and that smoking is fun.

A year ago this month, we launched a comprehensive strategy to kick tobacco out of the lives of our children. We proposed strong restrictions on advertising, marketing, and sales of cigarettes to children. In the year that followed, the FDA received a torrent of comments from the public, more than 700,000, by far the largest outpouring of public response in the FDA's history. The FDA has heard from doctors, scientists, tobacco companies, and tens of thousands of children. We have carefully considered the evidence. It is clear that the action being taken today is the right thing to do, scientifically, legally, and morally.

So today we are acting. First, young people will have to prove their age with an ID to buy cigarettes. Second, cigarette vending machines will be banned from anywhere children and teenagers can go. Third, children will be free of tobacco advertising on billboards near their schools and playgrounds, and billboards in other locations will be restricted to black and white, text only messages. Fourth, if a tobacco ad is in a publication children and teenagers are likely to read, it also has to be black and white with no pictures. Fifth, companies will no longer be permitted to target young people with marketing gimmicks like T-shirts and gym bags. Sixth, cigarette companies may no longer use brand names to sponsor tennis tournaments, auto races, and

other sporting events. Finally, the FDA will soon take steps to require the tobacco industry to educate our children about the real dangers of smoking. There is abundant evidence of both these troubling trends that a lot of young people simply don't believe there is any risk to their health. With this historic action we are taking today, Joe Camel and the Marlboro Man will be out of our children's reach forever.

I want to be clear—we've said it before, let's say it again—cigarettes are a legal product for adults. They have a perfect right to decide whether to smoke. There are many, many good people who have been farming, growing tobacco for generations in their families. They have a right to make a living for themselves and their families, and they will continue to do so. But let's be honest: We hope that over the long run, if we can dramatically reduce rates of smoking among children, the overall consumption of cigarettes will decline. If that happens, these good people who farm the land and work hard should not be left behind. And all of us who have sought this course have a responsibility to help them if they face difficulties.

The cigarette companies still have a right to market their products to adults. But today we are drawing the line on children, fulfilling our obligation as adults to protect them from influences that too often are stronger than they are.

As I said before, I want to say again, this action is a tribute to so many of you who are here today, to the parents, the teachers, the doctors, the public officials. Dr. Bristow, I particularly want to commend the AMA for its writings in its journal, its relentless efforts to educate the American people through the physicians of this country. But I'd like to pay special tribute to the children of America who have joined this crusade, who have organized and led a massive grassroots movement throughout America to educate and inform people about the dangers of tobacco smoking for children. They've staged teach-ins and "Kick Butts" days all across the country. They have used positive peer pressure on people who could care less what a lot of us old fogies think to teach their fellow students that smoking is not cool. So I want to thank these children for the work they have done to save their generation.

A lot of the work we do around here we know will only be fully manifest in people's lives in the future. We know we can't guarantee the success of any individual or family, but we have to guarantee them the tools and the conditions that will enable them to make the most of their own lives. Today we take a real step to make sure that they have those lives in full measure. We have today met our responsibility to help our country protect its values, protect its children, and ensure its future.

Thank you all for what you've done.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:52 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Linda Crawford, widow of Victor Crawford, a former tobacco lobbyist turned antismoking advocate; Representatives Richard J. Durbin and Martin T. Meehan; Frank J. Kelley, Michigan attorney general; Mark Green, New York City public advocate; Anna Santiago, recipient of the Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids Advocate of Year Award; Neal Stewart McSpadden, antismoking advocate; Joseph A. Califano, Jr., president, National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University; C. Everett Koop, former Surgeon General; and Lonnie R. Bristow, former president, American Medical Association. The Food and Drug Administration final rule on children and tobacco was published in the *Federal Register* on August 28.

The President's Radio Address
August 24, 1996

Good morning. As I speak to you today, America can look back on a week of remarkable achievement.

Together we enacted a law to ensure you can take your health insurance from job to job and never be denied insurance just because you or someone in your family has been sick. Together we made pensions more secure and raised the minimum wage to make it easier for working parents to raise their children. Together

we tore down a failed welfare system to move millions of people from welfare to work while protecting their children. And together we enacted the toughest ever measures to cut off children's access to tobacco products.

America is on the right track, offering more opportunity, demanding more responsibility, building a stronger community, a sense of shared values, and stronger families.

Today I want to talk about something else we have to do to really strengthen America's families, making sure that children can walk home from school or play in their backyards without the plague of violence. We've certainly come a long way, with sweeping anti-crime measures that have helped to reduce our crime rate for 4 years in a row now. We passed the Brady bill, which already has stopped 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from buying handguns. We're putting 100,000 new police officers on the beat and banning assault weapons. And we're giving our children something to say yes to, some positive activities and strong role models to build better futures.

But nothing is more threatening to our families and communities and more destructive of our basic values than sex offenders who victimize children and families. Study after study tell us that they often repeat the same crimes. That's why we have to stop sex offenders before they commit their next crime, to make our children safe and give their parents peace of mind.

Since taking office, I have undertaken an aggressive three-part plan to stop sexual predators. First, our crime bill required every State in the Nation to keep track of sex offenders. That law is working. Just this week, a previously convicted sex offender who had moved to a new neighborhood in Illinois was arrested for molesting a 9-year-old boy. The police caught him only because they had come to his home to register him under our new law.

Second, I signed Megan's Law, which required States to notify communities when sex offenders move into the neighborhood. Now we're taking the third and most important step. Sixty days ago I directed the Attorney General to draw up a plan for a national registry of sex offenders. That plan has now reached my desk. Today I am pleased to announce that we are following through on our commitment to keep track of these criminals, not just in a single State but wherever they go, wherever they move, so that parents and police have the warning they need to protect our children. Our reasoning is simple. Deadly criminals don't stay within State lines, so neither should law enforcement's tools to stop them.

Here's how it will work. Every time a sex offender is released, their State will force them to register. Then the FBI will compile these State lists into a national data base. Within 6 months, a new computer network will give States information from every other State for the very first time. A police officer in Cleveland could get information about any known sex offenders in Cleveland, even if the crimes were committed in New York or Los Angeles. Then they will share that information with the families and communities that have a right to know. This national registry sends a simple message to those who would prey on our children: The law will follow you wherever you go.

To meet the parents who have had their children stolen from them, to see how these hateful acts destroy whole families and communities is to know that we need more than local solutions to stop these criminals. We need the resources and resolve of our whole national law enforcement team working together.

Above all, we must move forward to the day when we are no longer numb to acts of violence against children, when their appearance on the evening news is both shocking and very rare. Our approach is working. We're putting cops on the beat, taking guns, drugs, and criminals off the streets. More and more, our children can learn and play and dream without risk of harm. That is an America that is moving in the right direction.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7:55 p.m. on August 23 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on August 24.

Remarks on Beginning a Whistlestop Tour in Huntington, West Virginia
August 25, 1996

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen—[*applause*]—thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, 36 years ago, when President Kennedy came here, he said, "The Sun doesn't always shine in West Virginia, but the people do." Today we have the Sun and the people. [*Applause*] Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you for making Hillary and Chelsea and me feel so welcome. Thank you, Governor Caperton, for being my friend and supporter and for the fine job you have done. Governor Caperton did a lot to put West Virginia on the national map by putting computers in the schools of your children. If you reelect Al Gore and Bill Clinton, in the next 4 years we'll hook every one of those classrooms in America and in West Virginia up to the information superhighway, so that all of our children will have world-class education.

Thank you, Charlotte Pritt, for flying down with me and for running for Governor of West Virginia. Thank you for sharing your plans to develop the economy on the way down here. They are consistent with my own, and they depend upon initiatives like the one that Marilyn just talked about. I want you in the governorship, and we'll work together to get West Virginia's unemployment rate down to and below the national average. And we shouldn't be satisfied until we get there.

Thank you, Congressman Wise, for all that you do in Congress and for heading the Democratic Policy Group and putting our party in Congress squarely on the side of raising the minimum wage, increasing educational opportunity, increasing access to health care, and growing the economy for 4 more years. And thank you, Nick Rahall, your Congressman, for all the work he has done to build the infrastructure of our country and this State. You know, if you put the Democrats in the majority in Congress again, Nick Rahall will be chairman of that committee again and can do more good for you.

Thank you, Jay Rockefeller, for standing up for children and for health care and for the ordinary citizens of the United States and your beloved West Virginia. I thank you and Sharon for being such good friends to Hillary and to me. Ladies and gentlemen, I want you to know that when we signed that Kennedy-Kassebaum bill this week, which said to 25 million Americans, you can't be cut off your health insurance if somebody in your family gets sick, and you can't lose it if you change jobs—in addition to the sponsors of that bill, the people who were most responsible for bringing it up and hammering it home to the public consciousness were Jay Rockefeller and the First Lady of the United States, because they fought for health care before it was popular.

And I want to thank both your Congressman and your Senator and two of our guests who are out here, Senator Wendell Ford and Congressman Mike Ward from Kentucky, who are here with the Governor of Kentucky, Paul Patton, and the former first lady, Phyllis George Brown. We thank you all for coming, because when our friends in the opposition tried to pass a budget that would have given us a two-tiered system of Medicare, one for the wealthy and one for the poor; that would have turned away from our historic commitment to health care for families with people with disabilities, for the elderly in nursing homes, for the poorest children in our country; that would have cut our investment in education when we need to spend more and cut our investment in protecting the environment when we need to invest more, and I vetoed it, they upheld my veto. If it hadn't been for them, none of this would have happened. They stood up, they were counted, and they said no.

Let me thank all the other officials who are here. Thank you, Mayor Jean Dean. I thank all the State officials who are here, your treasurer; your secretary of state; your attorney general; your agriculture commissioner; your auditor; the president of the senate, Senator Tomlin; your party chair, Chuck Chambers; and former Governor Smith. I thank all of you for coming here. I thank President Cecil Roberts of the UMW for being here. I thank President Wade Gilley of Marshall University. And thank you, Marshall Thundering Herd Band. You were great today. And thanks for being so good to Hillary.

If you would, I'd like you to indulge me one personal moment, too. I want to say a special word of thanks to the State of West Virginia for the Chief of Staff to the Secretary of the Treasury, Sylvia Matthews, from Hinton, West Virginia, who is here with me today, one of the brightest and best people in our administration. And I would like to say a special word of gratitude to one woman who is here, Emma Williams. She is the mother of Bill Morton, who was the special assistant to Secretary Ron Brown. And Bill was killed on that plane with Ron, serving our country, helping to grow our economy, standing up for America, and I'll always remember and love him for it. Thank you, Emma Williams, for being here today.

And finally, thank you, Marilyn Milne. Your story, your spirit, that is what we have been fighting for for the last 4 years, more stories like this, people who are down but not out, people who give other people a chance to make something of their lives. And that's what our enterprise community initiative did, working with your mayor here, working with your city council, working with the local business people when you lost that factory. That is the kind of initiative we need to move this country forward. We've got to turn our country around economically, person by person, family by family, town by town. That is what I have tried to do to let enterprise take root in every community in America, every one. More Marilyn Milnes, that's what this election is all about.

My fellow Americans, 4 years ago I came to you in West Virginia and told you that West Virginia was a lot like my home State of Arkansas. I told you that I believed we were on the verge of the greatest age of possibility in American history, where more of our people would have more chances to live their dreams than ever before but only, only if we found a way to meet the challenges of the 21st century and preserve our timeless values.

It was a hard message to deliver then. We had high unemployment, stagnant job growth, wages were leveled or going down for many people, the crime rate was going up. We had a host of social problems that were unaddressed. Our country seemed to be more divided by harsh political rhetoric and just sort of drifting into the future. But I knew that we could turn this around.

And I come here to say to you, I'm on my way to Chicago. And I'm going on a train because I want to see the people like you that I've been working for and fighting for for 4 years and because I want America to see people like Marilyn Milne who are the product of our efforts for the last 4 years and because I want America to know we are on the right track in this country and we're going forward, we're not turning back.

There are a lot of people in West Virginia who embody the America I want to see: Dorothy Slack, 82 years old, who's given 1,300 hours to the Ronald McDonald House; Richard Lowe, who threw the javelin in the Special Olympics; Ocie Lockhart, of only one of 716 athletes of the United States to go to the 1997 Special Olympics in Canada; all the people of Marshall University who bring health care and preventive care to isolated towns and villages of this region. It does take a village to raise a child, help a family, build a community, and lift the country, and you're doing it in West Virginia.

In the year 2000, when we stand at the dawn of a new century, my vision today is what it was 4 years ago: I want the American dream of opportunity for all alive for everybody who's responsible enough to work for it. I want this country coming together, not drifting apart. Our diversity is a strength, not a weakness. We ought to walk arm in arm, hand in hand, into the future together.

And I am determined that we will still be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world. This is still a dangerous world, still a world with untapped opportunities, and America needs to lead the way into the new future we want for the world we want our children to live in.

Now, folks, you've heard a lot of this, but I just want you to remember it. I want to tell you very briefly what we've done, remind you very briefly of what we wouldn't let be done, and talk just a little bit about what we're going to do for the next 4 years. That's mostly what I want to do in Chicago. But I want you to be the vote and the voice and the steps of our moving America forward. Just think of this—you heard about the 10 million new jobs; that's a lot of people. The 10 million new jobs came because, first, we decided we would cut the deficit in half to get interest rates down so people could invest in America again and afford to borrow money for businesses and homes. That's what we had to do.

This is the first time that the deficit has gone down all 4 years in a President's term since the 1840's, before the Civil War. Ask our friends what they say about that. And my opponent and the Speaker of the House led the fight against that move. They said it would wreck the economy and increase the deficit. Well, it produced 10 million jobs and it gave 15 million families a tax cut and it was the right thing to do. It is moving us forward. There are almost 4½ million new homeowners, and 10 million Americans have refinanced their home mortgages at lower interest rates because we got those interest rates down. We did the right thing, and they were wrong to oppose it.

Because of the health care bill, 25 million Americans have access to health care. Because of the minimum wage bill, 10 million Americans have a rising wage. Another thing in the minimum wage was that it made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut if they invest more in their businesses, and it made it easier for people like Marilyn to get pensions for herself and her employees, and that's very important, too. Twelve million Americans, working Americans, have been able to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs when there's a baby born or a parent sick because of the Family and Medical Leave Act. Our opponents led the fight against it. They were wrong. We were right. It's good for America.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. We are midway through putting those 100,000 police on the street. There are 200 more in West Virginia alone. We have to finish the job. Our opponents last year tried to take back that commitment to 100,000 police. They're trying to restrict it today. I said no. Your Congressman said no. We want people safe on our streets, and we know the policemen will do the job. Help us keep that commitment to America; help us stay after it.

We have supported policies that made the air cleaner for 50 million Americans. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12. We defended our country's national parks. We are moving this country in the right direction. We expanded the college loan program so all these students at Marshall and other places could have access to lower cost loans with better repayment terms. And we created a national service program so children could earn their way through college by doing community service. We're moving in the right direction. We're on that right track.

And unemployment in West Virginia is 4 points lower than it was 4 years ago. If we keep going at one point a year, it will be 4 percent by the year 2000. I'd like to do it, if you'll help me. Let's just keep going. I want you to remember that. When people say, "Why should we support Bill Clinton and Al Gore," tell them what I told you and ask them what their answer is and ask them why they fought it. And I want you to remember that in the pivotal moment of 1995, when they said to Bill Clinton and Al Gore and Jay Rockefeller and Robert Byrd and Bob Wise and Nick Rahall, "If you don't take our budget, if you don't walk away from the commitment of health care to the elderly in nursing homes, to families with people with disabilities in them, to the poorest children in this country, if you don't walk away from the commitment to invest in the environment and the education of our children and our future, we're going to shut the Government down," we said, "Have at it. We don't stand for blackmail; we stand up for America."

Now, the most important thing is, shall we keep going on the right track or turn around? Would you take a U-turn if you were going in the right direction?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. In the next 4 years, we've got to build on the health care work. We have to make it possible for people who are unemployed to keep their health insurance for at least 6 months when they're unemployed. Their families shouldn't be put on the street without a doctor just because people lose their jobs.

We have to make the next 2 years of education, the first 2 years of college, just as universal in the next 4 years as a high school education is today, with a tax credit for those 2 years and a tax deduction for all college tuition up to $10,000 a year.

And we ought to have the right kind of tax cut. The right kind of tax cut is one that's targeted to people who need it, focused on building strong families and educating people so that they'll be more productive, they'll grow the economy, they'll be stronger, and is paid for in a balanced budget. That's what our tax cut does. Give people tax breaks to go to college, give people tax reductions if they have young children, give people an expanded IRA that they can withdraw from for a first time or health

care or education needs, but don't give people a big tax cut that costs over $500 billion that will blow a big hole in the deficit, raise interest rates, raise your mortgage rates, your credit card payments, your car payments, and require even worse cuts than the ones we vetoed last year. That's the wrong way. No U-turn. Stay on the right track. Go forward into the future. That's the right way.

I have said a thousand times, but I'll say one more time, I know we still have problems. There are still too many people who want work who don't have it. We've got to give all those people that we're saying—on welfare—there's no more guaranteed check anymore—we've got to make a lot more Marilyn Milnes because they're entitled to work if we're going to cut them off a check for their kids. We've got to give them the jobs. We've got to create the jobs.

I know there are still people who have worked hard and don't have a pay raise. And we've got to give those folks the education they need and challenge their employers to be responsible when they make a profit to share their income with their employees so we can go forward and grow together. I know that. But I will say again, as I have said over and over and over again since 1991, if we want a country where the American dream is alive for everybody who will work for it, if we want a country where people are coming together, not being divided, if we want a country that is leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity, we've got to have opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a sense of community.

We are all in this fight for the future together. I don't want to be told, "You're on your own." I don't want to look at people and say, "You're on your own." I believe we're stronger when we join hands and march into that future together on the right track, the right track. Will you help us? Will you stay with us? Will you fight for victory? Will we win? [*Applause*] I know we will.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. at the old C&O train station, prior to his departure on the 21st Century Express. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Gaston Caperton of West Virginia; Charlotte Pritt, West Virginia gubernatorial candidate; Marilyn Milne, president, Boomerang Medical Transcription, Inc.; Senator Rockefeller's wife, Sharon; Mayor Jean Dean of Huntington; Chuck Chambers, co-chair, West Virginia State Democratic Party Executive Committee; Hulett C. Smith, former Governor of West Virginia; and Cecil Roberts, president, United Mine Workers of America. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Ashland, Kentucky

August 25, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. You have made me very happy today. My daughter, Chelsea, and I are delighted to be here. Hillary had to leave us in West Virginia to go on to her hometown of Chicago to make sure everything was all warmed up for us. We're on the right track to Chicago, and we're on the right track to the 21st century.

I thank Governor Patton for being here. I always enjoy seeing the Governor and Mrs. Patton, and I'm glad your mother is here today because I want her to hear the President say that if every Governor in America had as much energy and drive and determination as Paul Patton we wouldn't have the problems we have today. He has really got it.

I thank Senator Wendell Ford for his words and for being here. I also thank the distinguished Congressman from Louisville, Mike Ward, for being here. We also have—I know Steve Beshear, the United States Senate candidate, and Denny Bowman, a congressional candidate. And I want you to send them up there; we need some help. We need some help.

Wendell Ford was very kind in what he said about me, but let me tell you, if it hadn't been for Wendell Ford, if he had gone the other way, we would not have voted in 1993 to reduce

the deficit, get the interest rates down, and get the economy going again. The deficit is 60 percent lower than it was when I took office; it's gone down 4 years in a row, 4 years in a row, for the first time—listen to this—the deficit has gone down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War, in the 1840's. A President has done that, thanks to Wendell Ford and thanks to Mike Ward. And we did it while continuing to invest in education, in environmental protection, and protecting Medicare and Medicaid.

And then, when our friends in the opposition won the Congress, and they wanted to remove the guarantee of Medicaid that helps middle class people with families in nursing homes, that helps middle class families with people with disabilities in them, that helps poor children and pregnant women, when they wanted to cut back on education when we should be investing more, when they wanted to cut back drastically on our ability to protect the environment, when they wanted to give corporations permission to take $15 billion out of their workers' pension funds, when they wanted to raise taxes on millions of the lowest income working people in this country, Wendell Ford and Mike Ward said no and made my veto stand up. We said no, and I thank them for it.

Thank you, Billy Ray Cyrus, for coming. My daughter is glad she made the trip now. [*Laughter*] And so are all the rest of you. When I heard you cheering for him when he got off the train, I thought I was just sort of the supporting act. I thought I was supposed to go first. [*Laughter*] Happy 35th birthday. I was 35 once. [*Laughter*] Enjoy it while it lasts. We congratulate you on your hard-won success, and we're very proud of you. And I know your father, State Senator Ron Cyrus, is here. We know he's proud of you, too. Thank you very much for coming to be with us.

I want to thank two of my former colleagues for being here, your former Governor, Martha Layne Collins; former Governor John Y. Brown. Phyllis George Brown, thank you for being here. I thank the chair of the Kentucky Democratic Party, Bob Babbage, and all the other Democrats who are here. I thank the bands that played, Unlimited Tradition and the Mountain Opry. I wish I had been here. All the band members and the cheerleaders from Boyd, Greenup, and Pike Counties, thank you all for being here. I thank the folks in West Virginia who came with me and the folks from Ohio, including former Congressman and Congressman-to-be, Ted Strickland. I'm glad he is here today.

Folks, most of all, I want to thank Kevin Gunderson. I want to thank Kevin Gunderson not only for what he said but, most important, for who he is, for not giving up when he was down and out, for refusing to give up on a productive life, for being determined to stick up for what is good and worthy in all people and to make the most of the abilities God has left him, which as you can see here, were many indeed. We thank you, sir, and God bless you.

You know, I was up the road in Huntington, West Virginia, just a minute ago, and I was shaking hands with the crowd. And this little girl came up to me, and she said, "Did you really call Kerri Strug at the Olympics?" I said, "I sure did." She said, "Did she really come to the White House?" I said, "She sure did." I said, "Not only that, she and her family came to New York to my birthday party." She said, "Really?" I said, "You like her, don't you?" And do you know what she said? She said, "I got it on tape." [*Laughter*] This little girl was about 8 or 9 years old. And I said, "Well, let me tell you something. You save that tape for the rest of your life, and every time something bad happens to you, every time you feel desperate, every time you feel troubled, you put that tape in the television and you watch that little girl with her bad ankle do that vault, and you say, 'I can get up. I can go on. I can do it. I can do it.' "

Why? Why do we all love the Olympics so much? Because it's the way we think life ought to be. Everybody gets to show up. Nobody cares about your race, your religion, where you're from. All you got to do is be willing to play by the rules. You can't get ahead by cheating. Nobody gets anything by breaking their opponent's ankles or legs. Nobody gets anywhere by standing up in front of a microphone and telling you how terrible people their opponents are. You've got to reach down deep inside and do something good, just as good as you can do. And because of that, even the people that don't get medals come out way ahead. That's the way life ought to be. We know that's the way life ought to be.

Folks, 4 years ago I came to Kentucky because I was worried about our country. We had the slowest job growth since the Depression.

We had stagnant wages. We had rising crime. We had neglected challenges. And our country seemed to be drifting and dividing toward the 21st century. And I had a vision that I thought we owed it to our children to pass along, a vision of America in the year 2000 where every child has a chance to live out their dreams as long as they're responsible citizens, a country where we are bound together across the lines that divide us, by our shared values. I don't want us to be divided like these other countries, by race and religion and all these other things. I want us to say, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and if you show up for work every day, you're our kind of person and we're for you and we're going forward together."

And I wanted our country to be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity way into the 21st century. That's what I wanted. And 4 years later, I come back to tell you, we are on the right track to the 21st century.

We are on the right track, because Americans from all walks of life are doing what you are doing here in Ashland. We are going in the right direction because there are people like you everywhere who are working at the grassroots level. You have a long history here of helping people in your community to build a strong future, from the days when the Moonlight School opened the first adult education classes in America to the Boyd County School today where Norma Meek runs the Family Resource Center, set up by the 1990 Education Reform Act to give our at-risk kids not just something to say no to but something to say yes to, positive role models, positive alternatives, positive activities, to give our kids a future. I want to salute another citizen of this area, Dr. Mary Pauline Fox, who has dedicated her entire life to bring health care to the people of rural Pike County. That's what we need.

My strategy for the 21st century is simple: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a stronger American community where we know we have to go forward together and everybody has a role to play. With all respect to my opponent, I think it does take a village to raise a child, strengthen a family, build a community, and build a country.

What are the results? Look at the last week. In just the last week, over strong opposition, we finally got an increase in the minimum wage for 10 million hard-working Americans. And that bill included tax relief for 90 percent of the small businesses in this country if they invest more in their business. And it made it easier for people in small businesses to take out retirement plans for themselves and their employees. It was a wonderful bill. It gave a $5,000 tax credit to any American family that will adopt a child. It removed the barriers to cross-racial adoption. That minimum wage bill was pro-work, pro-business, pro-family, pro-America. I'm proud we fought for it, and I'm proud we won it.

We signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill that says, if you lose your job or somebody in your family gets sick, you can't have your health insurance taken away from you anymore. You can't be denied the right to health insurance. Twenty-five million Americans can be helped by that.

We passed a welfare reform plan that says we are going to go from welfare to work and give people the dignity of work so they can raise their children not in dependency but in independence. It was the right thing to do.

But this is the last of the big story. You heard what Senator Ford said. In 1993 every single solitary Republican in the Congress voted against our economic reform plan. They said it would increase the deficit. They said it would cripple the economy. It cut the deficit by 60 percent. It drove interest rates down. We continued to invest in education, the environment, technology, and our future. And guess what? Four years later, 10 million new jobs; 4.4 million new homeowners; 10 million Americans who have refinanced their homes at lower interest rates; 12 million Americans who have taken a little time off from work when a child was born or a parent was sick under the family leave law without losing their jobs; 1.3 million Americans fewer on welfare; a 40 percent increase in child support enforcement collections. We are moving in the right direction, on the right track.

We protected the pensions of 40 million people. And then when they tried to say, "You can raid the pension funds of workers," we said, "No, no, no, we've been down that road before. We just protected them. You can't have that $15 billion; it belongs to the workers of America and to their retirement." Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12. We are moving in the right direction, on the right track to the 21st century.

And what I want to say to you today is as I make my way to Chicago and I go to the towns just like this one in the heartland of America, I'm doing this for a reason. I want you to know that every day for 4 years I have gone to that Oval Office and thought about you and what would make it easier for you to have strong families, good jobs, safe streets, a clean environment, good schools, and a bright future.

And I want you to fight our fight for the 21st century. Folks, this next several years can be the brightest time in American history. There will be more opportunities for our children to live out their dreams and adults to live out their dreams than ever before. Our kids in this crowd today will be doing jobs within a decade that have not been invented yet, that have not even been imagined yet. But we have to be ready for that future.

We have laid the basis. We have got the unemployment rate down. We've got our economic house in order. We've got the crime rate coming down 4 years in a row. We've got the welfare rolls coming down. We've got a more peaceful world where there are no nuclear missiles pointed at the people of the United States since the dawn of the nuclear age. We are moving in the right direction.

But we have more to do. You know as well as I do, right here in Kentucky there are still people that want to work who don't have jobs. And you know as well as I do we cannot afford to let this welfare reform bill be just a budget cutting measure that leaves poor folks and their kids out on the street. We've got to get them jobs to do. You can't tell people to go to work unless there's work to go to.

And you know as well as I do that there are still people right here in Kentucky that are working harder and harder, and they still haven't gotten a raise. And we know that part of that is a challenge to the business community to share their profits fairly with their employees, but part of it is a challenge to working people to upgrade their education and skills so they can earn more money in this tough global economy.

And I am committed, I am committed to putting education at the top of America's agenda and keeping it there for the next 4 years until everybody can benefit from the global economy.

I want to see every classroom in Kentucky and the United States, every single one, hooked up to the information superhighway so every kid in the poorest hill and holler of Arkansas or Kentucky can have access to the same information as the children in the wealthiest schools in America. We can do it in 4 years.

I want ours to be the first administration ever to help the public school districts of this country invest in their school facilities to upgrade those facilities to give people good, modern places to go to school with all the latest developments. If the poor districts need help, they ought to get it. If the overcrowded district needs help, they ought to get it. We proposed to increase school construction by 25 percent over the next 4 years, and we can do it under our program.

And most important, more important than anything else, I want to give you a country in which 2 years of education after high school becomes as universal in 4 years as high school is today, by giving every American family that needs it a $1,500 refundable tax credit for the cost of community college tuition for 2 years and giving those same families up to $10,000 in tax deduction for the cost of any kind of education after high school and giving unemployed workers a skills grant worth over $2,000 to take wherever they need to get the training to go back to work at a better wage. This is the America I want to build, and I want you to help me build it.

I want you to support me in helping to create jobs not only for people on welfare but for single men and for others who are unemployed who need the jobs. I want you to support me in building on health care reform and saying, okay, we've now said you can't lose your insurance if you have been sick or you changed jobs. Now we have got to say, if you're unemployed for a long time, you run out of money, we're going to help you. We're going to guarantee people health insurance if they're unemployed for 6 months. We need to help more people keep their health, not lose it and their bankroll as well.

Let me just say one other thing. In honor of this fine, fine man that introduced me, I want you to help me finish our commitment to putting 100,000 police on the street. You know, it wasn't so very long ago when it was rare for me to meet anyone—anyone—who thought we could lower the crime rate. People just took it for granted that the cities were dangerous and the little towns in the country were about to get that way. People just took it for

granted that we were going to have rising crime rates from now on.

We have had 4 years with the crime rate going down. And it's not a mystery: more police in community policing, more police officers in our safe and drug-free schools program in the school, telling these kids that drugs are dangerous; we don't care what you hear, what you see in the movies, what you hear anywhere else, they are dangerous. They're not just illegal; they will kill you.

We have taken those assault weapons off the street, and we've passed the Brady bill. And not a single hunter in Kentucky or Arkansas has missed a deer season or any other kind of season. Not anybody lost a gun. Not anybody. So all that stuff they told you back in '94 when they were winning the Congress, saying we were going to get your rifle and all that, it was a big load of bull then, and it's a big load of bull now. The difference is now you know it because you have had 2 years, and you still got your gun. But I'll tell you who doesn't have a gun: 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not buy a handgun because of the Brady bill, and we're safer because of it.

But our friends in the other party, they don't like this 100,000 police program, and they don't like the safe and drug-free schools program. She's talking about one over there—they voted against the safe and drug-free school program; then they tried to get rid of it. They voted against the 100,000 police program, and then they tried to get rid of it. And they're still trying to do away with it. I tell you, this is crazy. If the crime rate's going down, we need to put more police officers on the street, not back up and undo what we've done to get it down. It's not low enough yet. Do you think it's low enough?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Then I say, finish the job and stop those that want to turn it around. Let's go.

And the last thing I want to say is this, folks. We have a lot of other challenges—I'll talk more about them at the convention—challenges at home, challenges abroad. I've got a lot of other ideas about what to do in the next 4 years. But let's look at the big picture. We've got to keep this economy going until everybody has a chance to benefit from it.

Now, we've proved that we can get the deficit down and grow the economy. I told you this would produce 8 million jobs; it produced 10. I told you we'd cut the deficit in half; we cut it by more than 60 percent. We're doing the right thing.

Now, we ought to give Americans a tax cut who need it, and it ought to be targeted to childrearing and child care and education and to expanded IRA's that you can withdraw from for a first-time homebuying or health insurance policy or to pay for education. I'm for all that. We can afford that kind of tax cut. And it'd be worth a lot to middle class, hard-working families. But we cannot afford to go right back around and take a U-turn and make the same mistake we made before. And that's what the other side is proposing, a tax cut 5 times as big as mine that they don't know how they're going to pay for. And you know what will happen; it will blow a hole in the deficit. That means higher interest rates. That means whatever you get in the tax cut, you'll pay right back in your mortgage payment, your car payment, your credit card payment. It also means even bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than I vetoed when they shut the Government down. I didn't put up with it before; I won't put up with it again. It is not the right thing for America.

Now, you look at that train there. If you were on that train going to your destination, which is the 21st century, the last thing in the wide world you'd want to do is to make a U-turn just because you heard a pretty song somewhere along the way. [*Laughter*] That's a pretty song, that big old tax cut. But it's like that contract. Do you remember their contract? They never did say word one about it in San Diego, did they? I didn't watch it, but somebody told me they listened intently for 4 days for their record, and they never talked about their record and their contract. Do you remember, it sounded so pretty in 1994? And then the consequences came in in '95 and '96. And thank goodness for America, Wendell Ford and his friends were there to stand up and say no. But if you give them the White House and the Congress, there won't be anybody to say no. And they'll get to do their U-turn, and it will sound pretty. And then you'll have to deal with the consequences: high interest rates, slow growth, and exploding debt.

Let me just tell you one other thing. The budget of the United States of America would be in surplus today—this day—if it were not

for the interest we're paying on the debt run up in the 12 years before I took office when they quadrupled the debt with all those tax cut promises. You wouldn't yourself, in this beautiful town of Ashland—you wouldn't yourself go down to the local bank and borrow money to give yourself a tax cut, would you? You wouldn't do it. Why would you hire somebody else to do something you wouldn't do for yourself?We cannot blow up the debt. We can give you a tax cut. It will help you raise your kids. It will help you get an education. It will help you with health care and homebuying. And we can afford it and still balance the budget and protect our priorities and build on the future.

And the last thing I want to say is this: All this comes down to whether we're going to meet our challenges and protect our values, whether you believe we can create opportunity and have more responsibility, and whether we can go forward together, or whether you're better off with somebody telling you, "The Government's the problem. It's not yours. You're on your own. Have a nice life. Here's a little money."

I believe you know from your life in this great, grassroots, God-fearing American community that we are all in this together, we had better lock arms and go forward together, and that when America is together and we're positive and we act like this fine police officer and local government official and we act like that wonderful young girl in her Olympic championship, America always wins. Let's stay on the right track for the 21st century.

God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. at Riverfront Park. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Paul E. Patton of Kentucky, his wife, Judi, and his mother, Irene; musician Billy Ray Cyrus; Ashland City Councilman Kevin Gunderson, a former police officer disabled in the line of duty, who introduced the President; and U.S. Olympic gymnast Kerri Strug.

Interview With Wolf Blitzer, Jill Dougherty, and Claire Shipman of CNN

August 25, 1996

Teenage Drug Use

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, first of all, thank you so much for spending some time with us.

You've asked the American public to give you credit for your achievements. The budget deficit has gone down, there have been millions of new jobs created, the crime rate has gone down, but are you also willing to accept responsibility for the dramatic increase in drug use among young people since you've taken office?

The President. Well, I'm certainly willing to say that our best efforts have not turned it around, and I'm very concerned about it.

I talked about this in the State of the Union Address. I've been telling the American people for over a year that—myself, before we had a study—I've been making full disclosure here that we had a crime rate going down but a youth crime rate going up; we had a drug use rate going down but a youth drug use going up. Now, finally, the youth crime rate has started to go down. So about the only trend in all of America, whether it's economic or social, that's going in the wrong direction is this youth drug use. And it began, apparently, with a change in attitudes about 1990. The patterns, interestingly enough, are the same in Canada and in several European countries where both drug and tobacco use are going up among young people who either don't think it's dangerous or think they can take the risks. And I'm very, very concerned about it.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, the accusation that Bob Dole and many other Republicans, of course, make is that someone was asleep on the job during these past 3½, 4 years while there's been this explosion in drug use among young people.

The President. Well, that's not true, because we were not asleep on the job. And that's why I've been talking about it. Like I said, I've been talking about it a lot longer than they have; they waited for a study and an election season. I have been telling the American people in all these community stops I've been making for months and months and months, going back a year, that the one thing that's not going right in this country is that the drug use rate among young people is going up.

I don't blame them for it—Senator Dole and Mr. Gingrich—even though I think they're partly responsible for not supporting my safe and drug-free schools program and the other education, prevention, and treatment programs I've asked them for. But this is a very complicated thing. It's obviously going on in other countries, and it obviously started—all the experts say it began in 1990 with a change in attitudes about how dangerous these drugs are. We've done—it is true that we cut back the drug office in the White House, but I don't think anybody believes 100 people in a Washington bureaucracy control what happens in drug use.

We have been more aggressive at interdiction than previous administrations. We have tried to support—we have, in fact, supported more school-based programs like the D.A.R.E. program for law enforcement officials. I have tried to be as active as I could in lifting up these programs that work at the community level and in helping people. But whatever we've done has not worked, and we all need to face that. But I don't know that placing political blame helps us very much. If anybody has got a better idea, I'd be happy to look at it. We have got to do something to turn it around.

But it's clear—if you just talk to young people, it's clear that there has been in the last 5 years or so a real change in attitudes among a core of young people about whether it's dangerous or not, and that seems to be right at the root of what the problem is.

1996 Election

Ms. Dougherty. Mr. President, in his acceptance speech at the Republican Convention, Bob Dole indicted your administration for what he called, and I'll quote here, "a corps of the elite who never grew up, never did anything real, never sacrificed, never suffered, and never learned." Do you look upon that as a generational attack or an attack on you personally, and how do you answer it?

The President. Probably a little bit of both. And a lot of it is just pure politics. Just take the young people—he's attacking the young people in the White House. One of the young men who works for me lived in a house trailer when he was a boy. George Stephanopoulos' people were Greek immigrants and clergy. And they're not all young. Leon Panetta is the son of Italian immigrants, a walnut farmer—he's a walnut farmer.

I just think it's just another example of the kind of political rhetoric that's all too prevalent in our society today. If you can't defend your record and you can't run against the other person's record and their proposals, attack them personally, demean them, smear them, try to get other people to look down on them. I don't want to do that. And I have given our people strict instructions that we are to talk about the differences in our record and the differences in our proposal. We are not to attack them in that way.

Ms. Dougherty. But isn't age an issue in this campaign?

The President. Well, I don't know if he was making age an issue. You know, I've got a lot of older people working in the White House as well. General McCaffrey is part of the White House staff, and he's a four-star general and, before he left uniform, was the most decorated serving American soldier. So they're not all young. We're—none of us are as young as we used to be or nearly as young as we were when we showed up there. I think I'm the oldest man my age in America now.

Ms. Dougherty. But is the age of Mr. Dole an issue?

The President. No. I think the age of his ideas should be an issue. I think that people should evaluate which one of us can best lead them to the future. But there is no evidence that he is not in good health. There is no evidence that he was not able to physically discharge the duties of the Senate majority leader. He was in the Congress for 35 years. There was never any evidence—he had one health problem, and by all accounts he seems, thankfully, to have completely rebounded from it.

I think he would have to govern in a different way, perhaps, than I do. But you can be an effective President without putting in the hours I do. You don't have to do it exactly the way I do. And he wouldn't have, probably, the same agenda I would; it might not require that kind of time. But I think—I have no evidence that he could not serve effectively. I want to run on the differences in our ideas and our records, not on his age.

Ms. Shipman. Mr. President, how do you assess Bob Dole as a politician? Imagine yourself for a moment a political strategist working for Bob Dole's opponent; how would you assess his strengths and weaknesses as a politician?

The President. Well, that's hard for me to do. But I think that his strengths are that he was in the Congress for 35 years and he knows how the system works. And he has a certain, probably, credibility and acquaintance with the people with whom he'd have to deal with if he were President and who would communicate him to the rest of the country. So I would say that is a strength. I also believe, as I've said many times, I think he genuinely loves our country and is often—not always but often right on his foreign policy instincts. Sometimes I think he's dead wrong, but a lot of times he's been right—not nearly as isolationist as some members of his party, some of the leaders.

I think that the weakness I think he has is that I don't—from my perspective, I think his—I don't know that he thought through why he wanted to be President, what he wanted to do, so that here, right before the general election, long after he was the nominee, he adopts an economic theory that he had rejected all of his public life, this big tax cut which we can't afford, which will cause a big increase in the deficit and also cause bigger cuts in education, the environment, and the medical programs than we can afford. So I would say the idea, the theory of his campaign, is the biggest weakness.

The other weakness, I think, is the record that he and Mr. Gingrich established in the 2 years when they were in control of Congress. I think they were wrong on a lot of things. And in the 2 years when I was—the first 2 years of my administration, the things they fought me on, I think the evidence has proved that I was right and they weren't.

The economic plan—they said it would increase the deficit and break up the economy. It reduced the deficit by 60 percent and cut interest rates, and we got 10 million jobs. The crime bill—they said we were going to take people's guns away and the 100,000 police was a bad idea. And the crime rate is going down for 4 years in a row. They fought the family leave law; 12 million people have taken family leave, not lost their jobs, and taken care of their families and no harm to the economy. So I'd say those are the weaknesses.

Ms. Shipman. But you mentioned as a weakness, for example, his economic plan that he just announced. And the polls show that his numbers have gone up after he's been talking about the tax cut.

The President. Oh, no, I don't mean that it's bad politics, but I think it's bad for the country. Although I think the country will figure it out. I think they'll figure it out.

You know, we did this before, and it didn't work. As I told the people here, there's not any individual watching this interview that would go to the bank and borrow money to give himself or herself a tax cut. And why would they hire someone to do it? Most middle class people will pay almost as much money as they get in tax cuts in higher interest rates.

The Republicans—not me, the Republicans—last year put out a document which said if we don't get under a balanced budget plan, interest rates will be at least 2 percent higher. So if their plan prevails over mine, their interest rates will be 2 percent higher. We already know that. Wall Street doesn't believe in this plan. None of the business magazines believe in it. None of the commentators believe in it. Everybody knows that it's not going to do anything but blow up the deficit.

If interest rates go up 2 percent, by the time people get through paying their home mortgage payments, their car payments, their credit card payments, they're going to eat up almost all the tax cut they get. They'd be better off under my tax cut, which is targeted to education and childrearing and IRA savings for first-time homebuying and health care and is fully paid for and will keep interest rates coming down and the economy going. That's my answer to that. His is popular at first blush, and a lot of the component parts of it I like immensely myself, but we cannot afford it. It's more than we can afford. It's better to do my targeted tax cut and balance the budget and grow the economy than do his big old blown-up tax cut and blow up interest rates and wreck the economy. That's the choice.

President's Record

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, a lot of the criticism, though, that he and others have lashed against you is that there was one Bill Clinton the first 2 years of your administration, more traditional Democrat with a Democratic majority in Congress, and that another Bill Clinton emerged these last 2 years—a new Democrat going back to your campaign of '92.

The President. There's a huge problem with that argument. You can't marshal facts to support it.

Mr. Blitzer. Well, the health care initiative seemed—the accusation is that it was a Federal takeover of the health care system.

The President. Wait, wait. Let's take the health care.

Mr. Blitzer. That's the accusation.

The President. Yes, and when did that accusation gain concert? After the interest groups that didn't want anything to be done to the health care system and spent $300 million against it.

When the health care plan was first—first—released and only experts who knew something about what they were talking about commented on it, there wasn't a single, solitary soul said it was a Government takeover of the health system. Everybody says, "This is a moderate plan; this is a mainstream plan; this is a market-oriented plan."

Mr. Blitzer. But your enemies succeeded in creating the impression——

The President. Well, they had lots of money on their side. They had—all the vested interest groups were campaigning against us because they didn't want change. So I just point out—you can't give me another example. Let me give you some examples.

First 2 years, Democratic Congress, we reduced the deficit, gave 15 million working families a tax cut, radically reformed the student loan program to lower costs and improve the repayment terms, passed the national service program, something I campaigned on. We passed the Brady bill. We passed the family and medical leave law. We passed the toughest crime bill in American history, with the Republican leadership fighting against us. It had 60 death penalties; it had 100,000 police; it had a ban on assault weapons. They were fighting against all that. That is what we did. We passed a bill to protect the pensions of 40 million workers; it was all private sector stuff.

So if you look at our record in the first 2 years, it was a moderate, mainstream, progressive record. And the economy is in the shape it's in today mostly because of what we did in the first 2 years, not what we've done in the last 2.

Education and Job Creation

Mr. Blitzer. All right. Very briefly, if you had to pick two or three priorities, unfinished business for a second term, what are the two biggest—two or three biggest priorities, specific ones?

The President. Okay. I'll give you one big one with two component parts. We've got our economic house in order today, and we're facing our social problems. That is, welfare is down; child support collections are up. We've already stipulated the only bad social indicator is teen drug use. The other things are moving in the right direction. But we don't have a country where every person can take advantage of this new global economy.

So my first priority is education, is making community college as universal in 4 years as high school is today, with a $1,500 refundable tax credit for the first 2 years of education after high school, and making college available to everybody by a $10,000 tax deduction, hooking up all the classrooms to the information superhighway, and passing our other educational initiatives.

My second priority—for the same purpose, to hook everybody into it—is devising ways to move people from welfare to work, so that this doesn't turn out to be just a cruel budget cut—welfare reform—but we actually create jobs for people to move from welfare to work and other unemployed people, and creating incentives to focus on the inner cities and the isolated rural areas which have been left behind. Those are two big priorities we have to focus on, and we can make a real difference if we do.

Russia

Ms. Dougherty. Mr. President, we wanted to try to get an international question in here and, quickly, one concerning Russia. And the essence of the question is, who is in charge in Russia right now? And there's a quick incident last week, where you had General Lebed, the security adviser, getting orders, some very important orders on Chechnya, and he said he didn't think that those orders had come from the President at all, that perhaps they came from somebody else. Now, do you have any explanation for that, and who has their finger on the button in Russia?

The President. Well, I believe that President Yeltsin is in charge in Russia. That's my best information. I think we all know that he was exhausted after the campaign, that he's had some health problems. But I want to assure everybody that's what they are, they're health problems. Keep in mind, when he was not in the best health he waged a campaign for President through 11 time zones. We in America

have three, except in Alaska and Hawaii. So he is clearly in charge.

Now, the Russian system has always been, for the last 2 or 3 years, somewhat chaotic compared to what we normally think of as ours. But I believe that they're making—and they seem to be making a little progress in Chechnya now. But what we all want for President Yeltsin is to get the rest he needs, get the medical treatment he needs, and return to full health and full steam. But there's no question that he's making the big decisions there.

Ms. Dougherty. Do you think he should come to the U.S. or maybe to Europe for some treatment?

The President. Oh, I think that's entirely up to him and his doctors; they can make that decision.

Whitewater Investigations

Ms. Shipman. Mr. President, for the last 2 or 3 years you and the First Lady have been under almost constant attack for Whitewater, to some extent, Travelgate. You have made the case that there has been no evidence, no proof of any criminal wrongdoing on either account to this point. But putting that aside for a minute——

The President. No proof of civil wrongdoing. The Republican law firm hired by the Resolution Trust Corporation, at a cost of nearly $4 million of the taxpayers' money, said that there was no ground to believe—not criminal but anything you could even bring an ordinary lawsuit against me or the First Lady or her law firm. It was not her law firm that was fined by the Resolution Trust Corporation; it was Kenneth Starr's law firm, the special counsel, who did not reveal that his law firm was under investigation by the RTC at the time he took over.

Now, nobody in America knows that, for reasons I—I would have thought that was big news when this big Government agency comes out and says we didn't do anything wrong.

Ms. Shipman. But we're still waiting for the special counsel's report, so we'll put——

The President. Well, we may be waiting a long time for that.

Ms. Shipman. Put all of that aside for a minute.

The President. That's why we got a new special counsel, so it would go on past the election and into next year. That was the whole purpose.

Ms. Shipman. Putting that aside, at least a dozen or more of your close friends, people you've worked with, your staff, have been pulled into this, have troubles because of the investigations into this. Some have lost their jobs; some face financial ruin; some are serving time. What do you think about that? How does that make you feel? And do you feel in any way responsible for their fate?

The President. Oh, sure, I feel terrible about it. And I feel terrible that the abuse of the special counsel law that we have seen has taken place. I sure do.

And Senator D'Amato—Senator Dole's national cochairman and Senator Dole's choice to be the ethics spokesman of the Senate—I feel bad that he could say the kind of things they said to a woman like Maggie Williams, who passed two lie detector tests, and still they stand up and smear and smear. I feel bad that totally innocent people can have their lives upset and have massive legal bills, only on a bunch of charges, and that now we've turned everything upside down in our legal system. Now you have to prove yourself innocent. There's no presumption of innocence. Somebody makes a charge; you prove yourself innocent; the next story is the new charges, not that you've proved yourself innocent.

And I think this whole thing is turned badly upside down, and I think it has distorted America's system of government. I think a lot of injustice has been done. I certainly do. I have continued to cooperate. I have done everything I could. But this is not good for America. And there are a lot of Americans who will not serve in public life, I'll bet, because they've seen this now.

Ms. Shipman. You don't feel any personal responsibility for their fate, that——

The President. Of course I do. How could I know when I ran for President that the Republicans would actually get the press, some people in the press, to go along with the first special counsel in history that had nothing to do with the President's campaign, nothing to do with the President's administration, and where there was no evidence of wrongdoing by the President or the First Lady, and then proceed to report things so that half the people would think we had done something wrong and were covering something up? How could any person in their right mind have known that?

Yes, I feel terrible about it. And I'll tell you what I'm going to do——

Ms. Shipman. Some of these investigations have turned up wrongdoing on the part of some of the people.

The President. Well, let me tell you something. If you go to any town in America and you would give a special counsel no other job but to look into a person and anybody that person ever knew and you gave them more FBI resources than were used in the World Trade Center bombing—more FBI resources than were used in the World Trade Center bombing—and an unlimited amount of time and an unlimited checkbook, I'll bet you they could find some things wrong elsewhere, too. I'll bet you could.

And I think everybody—sooner or later, everybody is going to know that. But there has still not been a single, solitary shred of evidence of wrongdoing by me, by my wife, by her law firm, by my administration. And if you look at the evidence in the D'Amato committee of my record as Governor, witness after witness after witness after witness said, "This man did not do wrong. He went out of his way to do the right thing, the ethically right thing, even when he had to tell his supporters no."

Now, that wasn't news. So we have created a climate here where any old charge goes and you've got to prove yourself innocent. And then when you do, you don't even get credit for that; there's a new charge there. Now, that's the climate we're living in.

Do I feel terrible about the completely innocent middle class people who have been wrecked financially by this? I certainly do. But I didn't abuse them. And it's high time that the people who abuse have to take responsibility for what they do. I will take responsibility for my actions, but the people who have abused them should be held accountable by somebody, somewhere, sometime.

Meanwhile, I'm going to help them pay their legal bills if it's the last thing I ever do and I stay healthy.

Mr. Blitzer. You're going to pay legal bills out of your pocket?

The President. I'm going to spend whatever. When I'm not President anymore, if those people have legal bills, when I can, I'm going to do everything I can to help raise the money or to earn it myself and pay it. I think it is outrageous that these middle class people have had their lives wrecked by pure, naked, raw politics. It is wrong.

White House Travel Office

Ms. Shipman. Mr. President, do you want to see then some sort of legislation your staff has indicated similar to the legislation they're drafting in Congress that would pay the legal expenses of Billy Dale?

The President. No. Well, see, here's the deal. Some of the people actually, ironically, can get their legal fees paid. This is an interesting thing. Some of the people can get their legal fees paid if they've ever been a target of the investigation. But the people that they're really working over are people they just keep calling as witnesses, just over and over and over and over again; they've never accused them of doing anything wrong. They're just playing with them, just having a big time, letting them run up one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand dollars in legal bills. They don't care; they've got all the money in the world. They have no evidence they did anything wrong.

I mean, if the American people really knew what had gone on in this thing, they would be appalled—appalled. But they haven't found out what's going on, and I don't know that they ever will.

Ms. Shipman. But you don't support legislation to help pay those sorts of legal bills?

The President. It depends on what the facts are. Yes, if people have never been accused of doing anything wrong, there's no evidence that they did anything wrong, they never agreed to plead guilty to any crime, they never agreed to do anything, and they got big bills just because Mr. D'Amato's committee called them three or four or five times, you bet, I would support legislation to pay their bills.

But I think you have to be very careful about whose legal bills you reimburse for what purpose. You have to be very careful that you're not reimbursing the legal bills of people who admitted wrongdoing, I think, in this case or any other. But I think that there is a strong case to be made when these people—you know, I don't know how people defend themselves. The American people can't be sure that some people now don't plead guilty to crimes in the face of a special prosecutor because they can't afford to defend themselves.

Teen Pregnancy

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, let me switch gears a little bit. I think we've exhausted the subject for now, but I'm sure we'll get back to it at some point in subsequent interviews.

A very interesting conversation I had this morning in Chicago on the way to the airport—an African-American cab driver from the inner city in Chicago knew I was about to interview you, and he said, "You know, I have one question I'd like to ask the President." And I said, "Go ahead, what is it?" He said, "You know, I dread every day—I have a 13-year-old daughter—I dread every day this conversation that I'm going to have with her. One day she's going to come home and say to me, 'Daddy, I'm pregnant.' I know it's going to happen, and I don't know what to tell her if she tells me that. I know he has a daughter." If your daughter were to come home from school some day and say, "Daddy, I'm pregnant," what would you do? What would you tell her?

The President. Well, first of all, I want to compliment you and the other members of the press corps for permitting me to have a private family life and permitting my daughter to have a private life. And I think if I were to answer that question in just the way you asked it, I would be violating the very thing that I've asked you to give her. So I can't do that.

But I can tell you this—two things. One, I've worked as hard as I know how to try to reduce the teen pregnancy rate with things that I know work and by promoting things that I know work. And we now have this national commission that's going to try to make it outlive my administration and go on.

And secondly, I would hope that every daughter would feel that she could come home and tell her father that. I would say to that cab driver that he should be talking to his daughter now about all this in the hope that she never will get pregnant, but that if she ever did, God forbid, he should be able to thank his lucky stars that she wanted to come home and tell her daddy that. And they'll figure out what to do. They'll do the right thing. That's what families are for. And he ought to look his daughter in the eye and say, "I don't want this to happen to you, and we ought to talk about it. But if it ever does, please come home and tell me. I'm the first person you ought to come to."

Adoption

Mr. Blitzer. As a father, I can totally relate. Now, let me follow up a comment that the First Lady made. She mused recently about possibly adopting, now that Chelsea's getting ready to go to college. Is that something you've seriously thought about, a man 50 years old?

The President. Yes, well, we've talked about it on and off over the years. I'll bet you we first discussed it, oh, probably 10 years ago, 10, 11, 12 years ago, just the two of us, because we always wanted more children. Although we've been immensely happy with Chelsea, we've always wanted more children, and it just never worked out.

We also are both intensely committed to adoption. Hillary was ecstatic when, in the minimum wage bill, that $5,000 tax credit for adoption and the bill banning cross-racial adoption prejudice, you know, all that passed. She was so happy.

So we talk about it. But I think we need to, first of all, get this election by us, and then we need to really sit there and seriously think about what the implications of this would be for a child. Do you want to bring a child into the White House? I mean, adopted kids have enough trouble adjusting as it is, unless they're just infants. And I wouldn't want us to go in front of anybody else. I wouldn't want any kind of special treatment. We've got too many young couples out there trying to raise a family. And then if we decided we ought to wait until we get out of the White House, would we be too old—me especially; she's younger than I am.

So those are the things we'd have to think about. But in general, I find it very appealing, and I think that—you know, we talk a lot about abortion and what could be made to make abortion more rare. And I think if we had a climate in this country of really—an adoption climate that was trusted by people, and we didn't have these hundreds of thousands of kids just trapped in foster care forever and a day, that the whole idea of adoption as an alternative to abortion might gain a little more currency in our country.

Democratic Party

Ms. Dougherty. We have just a very short amount of time, Mr. President, but a quick question. You're off to Chicago, and when the Republicans were out in California, they were depicted as a party that was split down the

middle over the issue of abortion. And here you are, off to Chicago, facing, we think, demonstrators from your own party who will be angry about welfare, about same-sex marriages. Here in Kentucky, there was some demonstrators today angry about—tobacco people angry about your decisions on smoking. Aren't the Democrats as divided as the Republicans?

The President. No, no, no, not nearly. First of all, I think that there will always be issues, some cutting edge issues that will divide political parties. I think we all understand that. And the three you mentioned have caused us some division, I think particularly the welfare issue.

I think most of our Democrats—even a lot of Kentucky Democrats came up to me today and said, "You did the right thing. You're just trying to protect our children; we can live with this." It was really touching to see these people from Kentucky say that. So I think it'll be all right. And regardless, I did it because I thought it was right, so we'll just see.

But on the welfare issue, we have Democrats, good Democrats, who are genuinely concerned that the way this bill is written, the States may be just trying to pocket money and walk away from the poor and their children and that they will be able to do that. Now, I just don't believe that. I think the same people that vote for us in Washington vote for these people at the State level. I think that—you know, we're putting up half the money, the Federal Government is, so we have the right to monitor this. We're going to monitor it very closely.

And I think what this welfare reform bill does, because we put more money into child care and because we saved health care and because we saved aid to disabled children and because we saved the food stamp program and the school lunch program and because we're going to have other training funds that welfare people will now be eligible for, other Government funds that are already in the budget—I think that if we really work at it, we can create millions of new jobs for people who are hard to place and it will be wonderful.

But I don't mind those people being there if what they really want is to take care of those folks, because I'm going to say to them, okay, who do you trust to implement this, Bill Clinton or Bob Dole?

Terrorist Attack in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, and TWA Flight 800

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, we only have a few minutes, a quick question. You promised the American people that once you found out who was responsible for the bombing of the U.S. barracks in Saudi Arabia and, if it was a bombing, the TWA Flight 800, they would be held accountable. Are you any closer today to knowing who was responsible for either one of those incidents?

The President. Well, I think it's fair to say we've made some significant progress in working with our friends in Saudi Arabia on the Khobar bombing. What we do not know is what all the connections are. We can't answer all the questions yet. So all I can tell you is, when I know what I believe the facts are, I will take whatever I think is appropriate action, based on the facts.

With the TWA, the press reports I've seen are fairly accurate. We have some indication, limited, that there may have been an attack on the plane, but it is not conclusive. And the experts are working as hard as they can. They generally have a very good record of, in the end, being able to determine the cause. We've still got divers down there working, trying to bring up more wreckage. They believe they'll get it worked out.

But I know it's an agony for the family members of the people who were killed, and it is certainly frustrating for me, too. But they're good people; they're working hard; they're doing their best. And I just don't think it would be responsible for me to jump the gun on this deal. We've got to know what the evidence says.

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, we have to take a quick commercial break. We'll be back with some final thoughts from President Clinton right after this.

[*At this point, the network took a commercial break.*]

President's Future Plans

Mr. Blitzer. Mr. President, you're either going to be a 50-year-old ex-President or a 54-year-old ex-President, and you're still a young man. Have you thought about what you're going to do?

The President. Only a little. And I say that because when I ran for President, I ran knowing that this was a time of big transition and under-

standing fully that there was no way I could do what I needed to do in 4 years. So I just have always in my mind planned about what we would do over 8 years. And I planned it out that way, not taking my reelection for granted but just knowing that we're going through this huge transition in how we work and live and relate to the world.

So I haven't given it a lot of thought because I want to get America in good shape into the 21st century. But there are a lot of things I considered doing. I've considered practicing law with Hillary again, just hanging up the shingle and doing the things we wanted to do just for kicks. I've considered writing. I've considered teaching. I've considered trying to be useful in dealing with select problems at home and around the world that seem somehow intractable, that we don't show the kind of progress on I think we should. I just want to try to be useful to my country for the rest of my life without getting in anybody's hair. And sometimes on my real dreamy days, I even think I might get good enough at my golf game to play on the senior tour. But I think it's highly unlikely. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Blitzer. Yes, I think you're probably right. It is highly unlikely.

Mr. President, thank you so much for spending some time with us on your train trip on the way to Chicago. For my colleagues Jill Dougherty and Claire Shipman, we're very grateful to you in making this stop, and I hope we'll do it again.

The President. Thank you. Me too.

NOTE: The interview began at 5:19 p.m. aboard the 21st Century Express. Ms. Shipman referred to former White House Travel Office employee Billy Dale, and Ms. Dougherty referred to Security Council Secretary Aleksandr Lebed of Russia.

Remarks in Chillicothe, Ohio

August 25, 1996

The President. Thank you very, very much. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. It's great to be back in Chillicothe. The last time I was here it was 3 degrees, and we still went running in the park. And I'm amazed I can move. But I survived it, and I'm glad to be back. It's a wonderful place. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Thank you, Senator John Glenn, for your heroic career, your magnificent service to Ohio and to the United States. Thank you for your leadership in defense and foreign policy and in helping Al Gore and me to give this country the smallest Federal Government in 30 years and the most efficient since John Kennedy was President of the United States.

And thank you, Ted Strickland. I want to thank you for a couple of things. I want to thank you for coming to me personally and riding with me on Air Force One and pleading with me to help you keep open the gaseous plant in Portsmouth. I want to thank you for helping work with me on the enterprise community designation for Portsmouth. I want to thank you for having the courage—and I think it probably cost you your seat in '94—to vote for that economic plan when our friends in the opposition said it was tax-and-spend. And of course, it wasn't. We cut taxes for 15 million of the hardest working Americans. We made 90 percent of the small business in this country eligible for a tax cut. But we did cut the deficit. And our friends in the opposition said, "Give us the Congress. Bill Clinton's plan will bankrupt the country, increase the deficit, cost us jobs." Well, the verdict is in, friends. Four years later, we have 10 million more jobs, the deficit has gone down 4 years in a row under the same administration for the first time since before the Civil War. Ted Strickland was right, and his opponent was wrong.

I want to thank you for voting for the family and medical leave law. Twelve million working Americans have been able to take some time off in the last 3½ years when there was a baby born or a parent sick without losing their jobs. And we just got a bipartisan study that said

90 percent of the businesses said it was no problem.

We have grown jobs faster in this economy in the last 4 years than, as Senator Glenn said, any Republican administration since the 1920's. And we still passed the family and medical leave law so people could succeed at home and at work. Thank you, Ted Strickland. You were right, and they were wrong.

And let me say one other thing. After Ted left the Congress, they had a chance to implement their Contract With America. Don't you forget that either, folks. I'll have more to say about that in a minute. This man was a good Congressman. He did you proud. He's a good human being. He's a good person. And he ought to be given a chance to represent this place again.

Let me also say—I brought some people with me: your State treasurer and our national Treasurer, Mary Ellen Withrow, thank you for coming; my good friend and a former official in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, whose farm I visited in Ohio in 1992, Gene Branstool; our nominee for the Senate last year, Joel Hyatt. And we have several members of the Ohio Legislature and officials of the party, State Representatives Mike Shoemaker and Bill Ogg. I know we have County Auditor Steve Neal; State Senator Jan Michael Long. Somebody told me that in this crowd the lady who gave me a handcrafted quilt last time was here, Leona Long. Are you here? Thank you very much if you're here. There you are. God bless you. Thank you. And I told you I'd save those quilts, and I've still got yours. [*Laughter*] And a young woman who introduced me at the last town meeting, Melissa Hagen, I think she's here, too, somewhere. Thank you, Melissa, if you're here. There you are back there. Thank you. I'd like to thank all the bands that were here.

I'd like to say that my daughter, Chelsea, and I are delighted to be here. Hillary started this train trip with us, but you know, she's from Chicago so she had to fly home to make sure everything was all right when we got there. The Vice President said to tell you hello, and he's in Chicago as well.And I know that this is not the most direct route to Chicago, but I've been in Huntington, West Virginia, and Ashland, Kentucky, today, and now I'm in Chillicothe, and I've been in all kind of places along the way saying hello to people because I wanted to go to the convention to accept the nomination of my party for another term as President by seeing the people that I ran for President to represent. And I wanted you to see me on this train because I wanted you to remember we're not only on the right track to Chicago, we're on the right track to the 21st century, and we need to stay on the right track.

In 1992 when I came here the country had high unemployment, slow job growth, stagnant wages, rising crime. We weren't facing up to our challenges; we were drifting apart. But I said then and I'll say again tonight, I think our best days are ahead. I think this new world we are moving into offers people more chances to live their dreams than any period in human history.

The children in this audience tonight, within a decade, will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. All we have to do is to meet our challenges and protect our values. All we have to do is to say, opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and we're going forward together. We're not going to be divided anymore. We're going forward together as an American community.

And you know what? It is working. Look what we did just last week. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans. In the same bill, in the very same bill we made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for another tax cut if they invest more in their business. We made it easier for people in small businesses to take out pensions and to keep those pensions when they changed jobs. That's terribly important. We made it easier for parents to adopt and gave them a $5,000 tax credit if they would adopt a child that needs a home, and removed the barriers to cross-racial adoption because we want a pro-family country that takes care of every child and finds a home for every child.

I signed a bill to end welfare as we know it but not to take from poor children their medical care, their nutrition, their help if they're disabled, but to say we are going to change this system from one that fosters dependence to one that fosters independence. We want people who are poor to have the same chance everybody else does to succeed at home and at work. And that is my goal, and I want to say more about that. It's terribly important.

And maybe most important of all—you know, another thing Ted Strickland did was try to help us get some work done on health care reform.

And they spent a lot of money, the people who didn't want any changes, telling everybody how terrible our plans were and what a big Government plan it was, and never mind that all the experts said it was actually a modest, moderate, progressive plan to provide coverage and keep the private sector in our health system.

But we didn't succeed in '94, and a lot of the Democrats paid the price. But because of the work we did, last week I signed a bill that does about 30 percent of what we tried to do, and a big first step, the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill. It says you cannot lose your health insurance just because somebody in your family has been sick or if you change jobs. You cannot do it anymore. You have a right to health insurance. Twenty-five million Americans—think of it—25 million Americans will have a chance now to get or keep their health insurance. That's a lot of children sleeping better at night. That's a lot of parents feeling more secure.

And so, Ted Strickland, I'm sorry you weren't there to vote for it, but your vote counted because you were there first, and we appreciate you, sir, for sticking up for it. It was the right thing to do.

And so I say to you, my friends, we're on the right track. Unemployment is down. There is more opportunity. We've got not only 10 million new jobs, 4½ million new homeowners, 10 million homeowners that have refinanced their homes at lower interest rates. The unemployment rate in Ohio is down to 4.9 percent.

Now, what do we got to do now? We have to keep this economic recovery going until everyone can participate. That means balance the budget, but don't gut Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment to do it. We can do it without doing that. We can invest in our future and still do it.

What else does it mean? It means that we have to increase the educational level of the people of this country. You heard Cindy talking about her education. I want to make by the year 2000, 2 years of college after high school as universal as a high school education is today. I want it to be there for everybody. And so I have proposed to give working families in America a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of college tuition for any kind of tuition after high school and a $1,500 refundable tax credit for the cost of the first 2 years of community college in every State in the country. That is what we ought to do.

I want us to have more responsibility in this country. You know, there are 1.3 million fewer people on the welfare rolls than there were when I became President. Child support collections are 40 percent higher, and the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. In 1994, our friends in the opposition said, "Oh, look what the President did. They're going to take your gun away from you." Guess what? Everybody in Ohio is still hunting with the same gun they had when they said that. It wasn't true then. And if you believed them when they misled you, you need to pay them back this time and tell them you don't appreciate being misled. You've still got your gun, but the country is safer. I'll tell you who doesn't have guns: 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers don't have guns because of the Brady bill.

But we've got more to do if we want real responsibility. We've got to finish the work of putting 100,000 police officers on our street. We've got hundreds here in Ohio. They're bringing the crime rate down. We also have to recognize in this welfare reform bill I signed, folks, that's the beginning, not the end. It's all very well to say to people after a certain time, "We're going to cut you off welfare and make you go to work"; there has to be work to find. And I am going to the convention to tell the American people what I propose to do to help find jobs to move people from welfare to work and help jobs for other people who are not yet there.

We must not let this welfare reform be some cruel budget-cutting hoax that throws poor children in the street. They're our children, too. What we want is for their parents to go to work, to be able to go to work, to live like the rest of America, to come and be part of our big family and go forward together. That's what we all want.

Finally, let me just say this: I want us to go forward together, together with people around the world who agree with us, together with people here at home who may be of a different religion or a different color but who share our convictions and our values. That means we've got to do more to work together to build strong families; that's what the family leave law was about. We've got to do more to work together to build a clean environment. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air now than they were 4 years ago. We've got safer meat standards, safer standards against

dangerous pesticides, all supported by the agricultural community. We've cleaned up more toxic dumps in 3 years than they did in 12. We're moving in the right direction.

And finally, I want Americans who need it to have a tax cut, but I want it to be a tax cut we can afford, that will do some good for individuals, for families, and for our country. I proposed a targeted tax cut. I already told you about the education cuts, a $500-credit for children under 13, an expanded IRA for people with incomes phasing up to $100,000 that you can put into and then save and withdraw from for education, to buy that first home, for health care costs. Those are the kind of tax cuts that will help ordinary American families. We can afford those.

Now, as you heard from our friends in San Diego, my respectable opponents, they offer you one that's 5 times as big. So why shouldn't you go for them? Well, let me ask you this. Would you wake up tomorrow morning—well, you wouldn't tomorrow morning, I guess, but—yes, you would, it's Monday—would you wake up tomorrow morning, go to the bank, and borrow money to give yourself a tax cut? Well, then why would you hire somebody to do it? [*Laughter*] Think about that. You think about it.

Our friends in the Republican Party last year said—not me, they said—they said, and they were right, that if we're on a balanced budget plan, interest rates will be 2 percent lower than if we're not. You just figure it out. If your home mortgage, your car payment, your credit card payments go up 2 percent, all your tax cut will go out the window paying higher interest rates. And we'll have slower job growth. And we won't be putting more people to work. And the economy won't be growing.

But if we have a targeted, disciplined tax cut that creates more people like this fine lady who introduced me, if we have more people like her who feel like they can write the President six times until he shows up—[*laughter*]—who are proud to be working to improve their education while they're raising children, then there'll be a lot more Cindy Bakers in this country.

I can give you a tax cut that we can afford that will balance the budget, keep the economy growing, educate our children, educate their parents, allow us to save for health care and homebuying, and we can balance the budget. That's the tax cut we need going forward on that track into the future, not backward. We tried it the other way, and it did not work.

So I want you to help me give that message. We're better off than we were 4 years ago. We've got health care reform, minimum wage reform, 10 million more jobs, a stronger economy, a crime bill that's working to bring down the crime rate. We're in the middle of welfare reform, and we're doing the right things. We're bringing the American people together, not dividing them.

But we're only halfway home. We've got a lot to do. We have gotten the country going in the right track. In the next 4 years, we need to make sure that every single American who's responsible enough to work for it has a chance to benefit and be rewarded and build a strong career, a strong life, a strong family, a strong community, and a strong nation. That is my commitment to you. That's what the next 4 years are about. That's why I need your help.

Will you help? Will you help? Will you help me? [*Applause*] Every day, every way, stay with me on to Chicago, on to November. We have to have Ohio. I'm glad to be back. Bring me home again.

God bless you, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:35 p.m. on the rear platform of the 21st Century Express at U.S. Route 23. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Joseph P. Sulzer of Chillicothe, and Cindy Baker, who introduced the President.

Remarks in Columbus, Ohio

August 26, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. I'm glad to see all of you. I thank you for that wonderful introduction. I am delighted to be here. Thank you, Chief Jackson, for being

here and for the work you do every day. Thank you, Sheriff Karnes, for being here, for what you do as well. And I'm very grateful to you.

Thank you, Senator Glenn——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. Wait, wait, wait. No, wait a minute. Okay, wait, wait, wait. I believe in the first amendment. Now you've had your say, may I have mine? [*Applause*] Thank you, thank you very much. We'll talk about the record now.

[*The disturbance continued.*]

The President. You've got to feel sorry for these people. They don't want you to know my record; that's why they have to shout. They'd be in a world of hurt if the American people—[*applause*]—you know, if the American people find out the truth. They don't have a chance, and they have to try to shout it down. I don't blame them. You got to feel sorry for—[*applause*].

Now, let me say I am delighted to be joined here with Senator John Glenn. He talked about how we'd reduced the Government. He didn't say that he deserves a lot of the credit for it. Our friends on the other side talked a lot—like today, you see, they're good at that—they talked a lot about the Government and how it was too big and how terrible it was, you know. But it just got bigger. They didn't do anything about it.

We reduced the size of it. You have the smallest Federal Government since John Kennedy was President. You have the smallest Federal Government as a percentage of our work force since Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office in 1933, before the New Deal.

But the reason you haven't heard about it is we didn't throw those people in the street. Of the 250,000 people smaller the Federal Government is, fewer than 1,800 were involuntarily separated. I'm proud of that. We treated those people with dignity and helped them to go on to other lives and said, thank you for what you did for your country.

And you haven't heard about it because we continue to do the good work of America, because we have a strong and effective Government. We don't have a weak Government; it's just leaner and more effective. And that's a big part—in big part the result of the efforts and the leadership of John Glenn, who saved hundreds of millions of dollars in defense procurement and did so many other things for this country that he will never get adequate credit for. But the people of Ohio should know what he has done.

I also want to thank a daughter of Ohio, your State treasurer who's now my national Treasurer, Mary Ellen Withrow, who's here with me today. I thank her. I thank my friend Gene Branstool. I think he's back here with us today. I went to his farm, as John Glenn said, and Gene came and served with us in the Department of Agriculture until he decided, like any sane person, that he'd rather live in Ohio than Washington, DC. [*Laughter*] I've got my Ohio buckeye that I got in Chillicothe last night. When I was on the train yesterday, I noticed the corn crop, and it looks really pretty. But I told Gene, I said, "It's not as high as it was in 1992." He said, "I know, but the prices are a lot higher, and that's even better." [*Laughter*]

So I am delighted to be here with you. I thank Senator Jeff Johnson—State Senator Jeff Johnson—and Franklin County Democratic chair Dennis White for being here and all of you for coming out today. I want to say a special thanks to the students of the police academy and the men and women who graduated from it and the law enforcement officials who are here today. They are here today so that we can express our gratitude to them.

One of the proudest moments of my Presidency was to stand with America's police officers and sign, after 7 years of long, hard struggle, the Brady bill. I never thought of public safety as a political issue before. I never thought of it as a Republican issue, when they said they were tough on crime, because I'd been working on it for 20 years. It never occurred to me that—when a person gets mugged, they don't ask if you're a Democrat or a Republican. I thought it was an American issue. And then when we were fighting to pass the Brady bill, I never thought of it as a political issue, even though the NRA had more influence over the other party. There's lots of NRA members in my home State, and half the folks have a hunting or a fishing license or both. But tonight I'm proud to say that the Brady bill, which was named after Ronald Reagan's Press Secretary, Jim Brady, and was pushed by his wife, Sarah Brady—I'm proud to say that at the Democratic Convention in Chicago tonight

Sarah Brady will be one of the speakers. It's an American issue to stand up for public safety.

You know, we are living in an age of enormous possibility. You read about it all the time; the technological changes are staggering. The children in this audience, a lot of them—a lot of the young people 10 years from now will be doing jobs that have not even been invented yet, jobs that have not even been imagined yet. The pace of change is staggering. And I've been doing everything I could to make sure that we are ready for the 21st century. It starts in just 4 years. I'm taking a train through the heartland of America because I want to see people like you that I've been fighting for and because I want people like you to know that that train is on the right track to the 21st century.

We spent a lot of time talking about opportunity, and last week was a good week for opportunity. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million people, 440,000 in Ohio. We made it easier for small-business people and their employees to take out and keep their pension plans, even when they change jobs, and that's very important. We made it easier for families to adopt children, even across racial lines, and gave them a tax credit to do it, and that's very important. We passed the welfare reform law, but we kept guaranteed health care and child care for working women and children, so that when we give people a job they can also take care of their kids. That's what we want for middle class families; it's what we should want for poor families as well.

We signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill to protect 25 million people, to give them a chance to keep their health insurance when they changed jobs and to say you can't be denied health insurance just because somebody in your family gets sick. That's what insurance is for, people are going to get sick. It was a great thing.

Senator Glenn talked about the deficit. Actually, Senator, the last time a President had the deficit go down in all 4 years of his Presidency was before the Civil War, in the 1840's, under John Tyler. It's been a long time since we did that. That's the good news. The bad news is John Tyler was not reelected. [*Laughter*] But what you ought to know while you're having that laugh is—this is the important thing, not how long ago it was—what you really ought to know is, when you consider the major issues in this election, is that your budget would not only be balanced, there would be a healthy surplus in the Federal budget today if it weren't for the interest we have to pay on the debt that was run up in just the 12 years before I took office. And you all remember what that debt meant and what that interest meant. It meant high interest costs, low investment, slow job growth, nobody getting a raise, homeownership declining because mortgage rates were so high.

We cannot afford to blow a hole in this deficit again. We can have a tax cut that's targeted to childrearing, to education, to training of adults, to helping us grow the economy and helping give some income relief to middle class people. But we dare not take one we can't afford, and we don't need to go to the bank and borrow the money. We need to go on and balance this budget, keep the interest rates down, keep homeownership going up, keep business investment going up, keep new jobs going up, keep wages rising. That's what we've got to do.

But this whole agenda—when you talk about the opportunity agenda in America, you can get a lot of applause lines, because we've created a lot of opportunity. But America doesn't work without the other half of the bargain, responsibility. Without responsibility, opportunity will not flourish. And unless we are committed to that basic bargain and to the proposition that we have to go forward together across racial lines, across religious lines, across all the lines that divide us—we need to say, as long as we all believe in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, we show up for work every day, we're going arm in arm into the future. We're going to be one community in America and going arm in arm into the future.

Four years ago, I really believed after talking to Americans all over this country that the biggest threat to that and the biggest affront to our sense of responsibility was the rising rate of crime and violence all over America. We put into place a tough strategy based on what was working already at the grassroots level to try to reduce the crime rate, focusing on police, on punishment, on prevention, 100,000 more police on the street, "three strikes and you're out," the assault weapons ban, the Brady bill, recreational programs for children after school, keeping the schools open more, helping communities to do that, putting those D.A.R.E. officers

in, having a zero-tolerance policy for guns, doing things that would work to help our kids have something to say yes to, not just to say no to. All these things are making a difference.

For 2 years I've been telling America we were having a terrible dilemma: the crime rate was going down, but the juvenile crime rate was going up; the drug use rate was going down, but the juvenile drug use rate was going up. Now, we know for 2 years the juvenile murder rate has dropped dramatically, and last year for the first time in a long time, the juvenile crime rate started to go down. I can only hope that means that we can get the juvenile drug use rate down, too. We have to keep working on that. But the last thing we want to do is to take those D.A.R.E. officers out of the school. We ought to do more to provide safe and drug-free schools, not less.

What I'd like to talk about today is where we're going from here. I spent a lot of time trying to help schools all over America do things that would save more kids, to do things like have the option to adopt school uniform policies. I've seen it all over California, where it's become the rage, where you've got lower dropout rates, less violence, higher performance, all the kids feel better, not just the poor kids, the middle class kids, but the wealthy kids, too. People like being judged by what's on the inside, not what on the outside. It's helping to promote discipline and values in our schools. Tougher truancy laws are doing the same thing; curfew laws are doing the same thing. We ought to be doing more of that.

We also, as the sheriff and the chief said, did take on the gun issue, and a lot of people thought we had lost our minds. And I'll tell you, we did lose a lot of good Congressmen over it. Back in 1994, I remember the other side going around telling everybody in places like Ohio and Arkansas that the Democrats and the President had voted to take your guns away. I didn't know a single deer hunter with an Uzi, not a one. [*Laughter*] I've been duck hunting since I was a very young fellow, and it wouldn't have bothered me a lick to wait a few days on the Brady bill to have my record checked. I just didn't understand it. But they scared a lot of people. You may know a lot of people they scared. And a lot of people, a lot of good people, a lot of good people gave up their seats in Congress so these people could be safer when they go out to defend you and so you could be safer.

So I hope over the next 70 days or so, you'll talk to your friends and neighbors who felt that way and remind them next time hunting season goes out, unless they decided not to, they're still carrying the same weapon they had in 1994. But there are 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers who don't have handguns because of the Brady bill, and we're better off because of it.

Now, I want to say briefly today where I think we ought to go from here as Americans. And again, I hope they won't be partisan issues. The Brady bill has plainly worked. It has not imposed undue inconvenience on anybody. It has made our law enforcement officials safer. And it has made our citizens safer. It covers today anyone convicted of a felony.

The problem is there is one class of misdemeanors that tend to be particularly violent, where we know there's a potential for future violence, where often there's a plea bargain which goes from a felony to a misdemeanor. And that is the painful area of domestic violence. I believe that the Brady bill should cover anybody with a domestic violence conviction. I don't believe they should be able to buy a handgun. Under the current law, thousands of people who are wife beaters or child abusers, even those who have wielded weapons in their assault but were convicted of misdemeanors, can still buy handguns with potentially deadly consequences.

I believe strongly in the right of Americans to own guns. I have used them as a hunter with great joy. But make no mistake, those who threaten the safety of others do not deserve our trust. If you're convicted of a felony, you shouldn't have one. If you're a fugitive from the law, you shouldn't have a gun. If you're stalking or harassing women or children, you shouldn't have a gun. And if you commit an act of violence against your spouse or your child, you shouldn't have a gun.

Let me also say, domestic violence is a big threat to law enforcement officers. We're working hard with our new violence against women section and other efforts in the Justice Department to help police officers and prosecutors and judges to understand domestic violence, to recognize it when they see it, to know how to deal with it.

This past February, we launched a 24-hour, 7-day, toll-free hotline so women in trouble can

find out about emergency help, get shelter, report abuse to the authorities. I never miss a chance to give out the number. It's 1–800–799–SAFE. And about 7,000 people a month call on that hotline. Extending the Brady bill to victims of domestic violence, to protect them, will save more lives. It will also save more law enforcement lives.

There are other steps we should take to protect our police officers and our citizens from gun violence. Last summer I sent Congress legislation to ban cop-killer bullets. These bullets are designed to kill police. That's what they do. They're designed to pierce bulletproof vests. If a bullet can slice through a bulletproof vest like a hot knife through butter, it should be against the law. Every major law enforcement official organization supports this bill, and it's time for Congress to support it, too.

I want a bill to give prosecutors the power to impose tougher sentences on drug traffickers and gang members who also use a gun when they commit their crimes. We used to have a bill which did that, and the courts said, unless they were using the gun—even if they were carrying the gun in full view—they couldn't get extra penalties. That's wrong. That's wrong. We need to provide protection against people who are peddling drugs or doing other things with a gun designed to terrify people. We need to say, "If you do that, we're going to punish you more harshly."

Again, I want Congress to pass the bill I sent them nearly a year ago to ban guns anywhere near our schools. That is wrong. We used to have a bill on that, too, and the courts overturned it. So I sent them a bill to fix it, and it still hasn't passed. We don't need people wandering around a block from a schoolyard with a gun. We know there are too many kids who've been killed on play yards with guns in this country, and we do not need it.

Now, again, there are people who are against banning cop-killer bullets. They say it's just a slippery slope eroding their right to keep and bear arms. I have never seen a deer in a Kevlar vest—[*laughter*]—never. If somebody can show me a picture of one out there hiding from our hunters, I'll be glad to reassess my position. [*Laughter*] But until they do, I believe I'll stay with these folks here. I think they're entitled to be safe.

And let me just make one final comment. Usually when people like me give speeches like this, we try, and sometimes we're fortunate enough to succeed, to have folks like this behind us, people in uniform, because we honor them, we're proud of them, we identify with them, and we're glad they're doing something we don't do and taking a risk for us. But I think we should never forget that the ultimate beneficiaries of all these efforts to make our streets safer and our schools safer and our homes safer are you. And I want to introduce you to the two people on the stage that I haven't introduced yet. And I want to tell you a story. It's one of the most moving stories of my over 20 years in public life.

This man and his son—this is Dimitrious Theofanis and his son, Nick. I'd like to ask them to stand up. [*Applause*] I want to tell you how I met Dimitrious. In early 1992,[1] about 4½ years ago, just before the New Hampshire primary, I had a fundraiser scheduled in a big hotel in New York. And frankly, I was having a tough time. I was dropping in the polls, and all the press had said I was dead and over, history, finished. I was feeling pretty sorry for myself. All I was thinking about was my politics. I'm ashamed to say it, but that's all I was thinking about.

And I was walking through this kitchen thinking there wasn't even going to be anybody at the fundraiser because everybody said I didn't have a chance anymore. And I'm kind of looking down and just feeling sorry for myself. It was pitiful. [*Laughter*] And Dimitrious was working in that hotel, in his uniform. And I was walking through the kitchen, and he came up to me and stopped me in the kitchen, and he said, "Governor," he said, "I want to talk to you a minute. My 10-year-old boy"—his son was 10 then—he says, "my 10-year-old boy, he studies this election in school, and he says I should vote for you." He said, "But if I vote for you, I want you to do something for me." I said, "What?" He said, "I want you to make my son free." I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "Well, in the country where I came from we were poor, but we were free. I'm an immigrant. Here I'm doing well. I'm working hard. I have more money, but we're not free." He said, "Just across the street from our apartment there is a park, but my son can't play in it unless I'm there with him. He has a school only two blocks from our home, but my son can't walk there

[1] White House correction.

unless I go with him. So if I do what my son wants me to do, I want you to make my boy free."

They made an impression on me that will last for the rest of my life, and they were speaking for all of you. And I wanted you to see them today. They're riding the train with me to Chicago. Thank you, and God bless you.

I hope you will support extending the Brady bill. I hope you will support banning cop-killer bullets. I hope you will support tougher penalties for people who deal drugs with guns. And I hope you will support a good, clean law saying nobody has got any business with a gun anywhere near a school. Help us to keep making America free.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:04 a.m. at the Columbus Police Academy. In his remarks, he referred to Chief of Police James Jackson of Columbus and Sheriff Jim Karnes of Franklin County.

Remarks in Arlington, Ohio
August 26, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you all for coming out. Thank you for being in such a wonderful frame of mind. Thank you for making us feel so welcome. And if you get too hot, we've got some water up here. Raise your hand. We don't want anybody to collapse. We have doctors; we have nurses; we have lots of water.

Now, let me say, before I begin I'd like to thank the Arlington High School Band for doing such a great, great job. I'd like to thank the other people whose names I've been given: Ms. Mary Gould, the piano player; the Paragon Barbershop Quartet; Tom Kroske and his band. I'd like to thank Mayor Lynne Orwick of Arlington; Judge Reginald Rowtson; the mayor of Fostoria, Mr. Jim Bailey; and Paul McClain, the candidate for Congress, who spoke earlier, I think. Thank you all for being here. Thank you, Mary Ellen Withrow, for doing a great job as the treasurer of Ohio and the Treasurer of the United States. I'm proud to have you in this administration.

I want to thank Senator John Glenn for being here with me on this train trip through the heartland and for his consistent, patriotic leadership for our country and for the people of Ohio in the Senate, to build the economy, to protect our interests around the world, to keep our defense strong, and to lead—lead—our party in the Congress and to help our administration in the most dramatic savings of funds in downsizing of Government in modern American history. We now have the smallest and most efficient Federal Government since John Kennedy was the President of the United States, thanks in no small measure to John Glenn of Ohio.

Thank you, David Brown, for your speech and your passion and your commitment to the families and children of this community. Everywhere I go—and I've now been in Huntington, West Virginia; Ashland, Kentucky; Chillicothe and Columbus and a lot of little places along the way, just stopping, saying hello to people—but wherever we've had a rally, I have been introduced by a citizen, a citizen who is either doing something that is consistent with what our administration has pushed for the last 4 years or who represents what I'm trying to have happen in America.

I'm sure a lot of you saw that last week our administration became the first one in history to take very strong action to try to limit the marketing, distribution, and sales of tobacco to young people. We are doing our best, but I want to say to you, we cannot do this all by ourselves. We've got to have people in every community in this country determined to keep our kids safe from all the influences that are destructive to them. They're all our children.

And with all respect to what was said in the convention in San Diego, Reverend Brown here just got up and gave a speech which validates the title of my wife's book: It does take a village to raise our children, to raise our families, and to build a future.

I want to thank my daughter, Chelsea, for coming with me. Hillary has gone home to Chicago to welcome us, so she's not here. But Chelsea is here. We're having a wonderful time on the train ride, and we thank all of you for coming.

Audience member. Where's Chelsea?

The President. Where is she? She's right back there. Raise your hand. There she is.

Let me tell you that we're on this train, this beautiful train, recreating a trip that many Presidents before me have made, because I wanted to go through America's heartland to Chicago. I wanted to see the people in this country that I've been working for for the last 4 years. I wanted to see your faces, hear your voices, and give you a report on where we are and where we're going. And I wanted you to see that this train is on track not just to Chicago; we're on the right track to the 21st century. And we're going to stay there.

Four years ago—just think about 4 years ago—when I came to the people of Ohio, on June 2d, I was officially nominated by the Democratic Party in the primary process when the votes in Ohio were announced. At the Democratic Convention in July in New York, the delegation from Ohio made me the legal nominee of the Democratic Party. And on election night, it was when the votes of Ohio were announced that all the prognosticators said, "Bill Clinton will be the next President of the United States." Thank you, Ohio.

Now, remember what gave rise to that election. Unemployment was high. Wages were stagnant. Crime was rising. A host of unmet social challenges were plaguing us. And cynicism was on the rise in America.

Now look where we are after 4 years. We brought the deficit down with a very tough vote in 1993 that our opponents said would wreck the economy. And what happened? We got interest rates down. We got new jobs going. The deficit has been reduced 60 percent in 4 years. And my fellow Americans, there would be a surplus in your national treasury today but for the interest we still have to pay on the debt that was run up in the 12 years before I took office. Let's don't go back and make that mistake again.

And what have we gotten out of it? We have 10¼ million new jobs, 4½ million new homeowners. Ten million families have refinanced their homes at lower interest rates. Twelve million American families have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law so they can take a little time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick without losing their jobs. We have record numbers of new small businesses, record numbers of exports. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous two administrations did in 12.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. We're putting 100,000 police on the street, banning assault weapons. The Brady bill has kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting a handgun, and not a single Ohio hunter has lost a rifle, in spite of what the other side told you in the 1994 election.

After a decade, real wages are finally starting to rise again for ordinary working people; 15 million American families with the lowest wages who are working full time have gotten a tax cut so we can say in America, nobody works full time and has kids at home and lives in poverty anymore. That's a very important principle that every American of any income ought to share. We want all families to succeed at home and at work. We can have no greater objective than to help people be good parents and successful in making a productive country. College has been made more affordable with lower cost college loans with better repayment terms. We need to do more, but I feel good about where we are compared to where we were 4 years ago.

What I want you to think about now is where we still need to go. The main thing we need to say for the next 70 days is, we ought to stay on the right track. We're on the right track; why in the world would we reverse course? What we need to do is to lay plainly before the American people what still needs to be done.

First, we know that while the economy has 10 million more jobs, not everybody has fully participated in the benefits of this economic recovery. We know—we know already that the next generation in the 21st century will have more chances to live their dreams than any generation of people who ever lived, that America's best days are before us if we do what it takes to make sure all these children can participate in that future. That's why I say, first of all, we've got to keep the economy going. That means balance the budget, keep the interest rates down, and don't have unnecessary cuts in

education, the environment, technology, science, research, Medicare, and Medicaid. Protect our people's obligations.

I also say to you that we know that education is more important than ever before. And yes, we've made some strides forward, but we have more to do. We must make sure that every classroom in this country has access to computers, educational programs, trained teachers and that by the year 2000 every single classroom in America, in the smallest rural village, in the poorest inner-city neighborhood, is hooked up to the information superhighway so every child has the same access to information that every other child has.

We have to make sure that every American family can afford the education that is critical to our future, not just for the children but for the adults who will be going back to school as well. And I have proposed that by the year 2000 we will make the first 2 years of college or a community college education just as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today by giving American families a $1,500 tax credit for the cost of tuition at their community college, a $10,000 tax deduction for any educational cost after high school.

We ought to let people deduct their cost for 4 years for medical school, for graduate school, for whatever. We have a vested interest in having the most educated people in the world, and we need every family to be able to do that, not just those that can afford it.

I have proposed making it easier for families to save. Today, you can't take out an IRA if your income is over $40,000. Under our proposal, we'll go up to $100,000 for a couple, in income. And now, under a bill just passed by Congress, if there are two people in the home, they can both put aside $2,000 a year. And under my proposal you'll be able to withdraw from that without any penalty for a college education, to finance a first home, to deal with a health care emergency. Let's save in a way that helps America. Let's have a tax cut we can pay for, balance the budget; that's for children and education.

I also know—the Reverend was talking about saving our kids. One of the biggest problems is that a lot of our kids live in families where their parents are working hard and doing the best they can, but they're alone too many hours a day. Our proposal would give a tax cut for people with children under 13 so they can have some more money, $500 a year to pay for child care or help their kids be in some other kind of activity after school. And we also want to give more funds to school districts around the country so they can be open longer hours. If we could keep all the young people in this country involved in positive activities between 3 and 6 o'clock, we'd see a lot of reduction in a lot of our problems. And we need to do that. And I want to do what I can to help.

I want to see this become a more responsible country. Yes, the crime rate's gone down for 4 years in a row, but we have to finish the job. We have voted to put 100,000 more police on the street. We've only funded half of them on the schedule we're on. One of the things I intend to do if I am reelected your President is to make sure every single one of those 100,000 police is on the street.

Our friends in the other party in Congress disagree with me. They voted against the 100,000 police. They tried to repeal it in the budget I vetoed. Now they're trying to restrict it again. But I'm telling you folks, we can prevent crime and catch criminals if we have more people serving their communities out there, visible, who know the kids on the streets, who know the neighbors, who know the law-abiding folks. We need to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street.

We need to build on the Brady bill. I'm so proud tonight that when the Democratic Convention opens one of the people who's going to speak is the wife of Jim Brady, who was President Reagan's Press Secretary until he was almost killed when President Reagan was shot. And Jim and Sarah Brady have spent their lives not as Republicans, not switching parties to the Democratic Party, just being Americans trying to say, this is crazy for us to keep letting felons get guns.

And when they passed the Brady bill, I was proud to sign it, and I worked hard to pass it. I didn't agree with the politicians who were afraid to tell the American people that on this issue the NRA was wrong, that it wasn't going to kill anybody to wait 5 days to get a handgun while we checked their records. Sixty thousand felons, fugitives, and stalkers don't have guns today. We're safer. I'm proud of it. And Sarah Brady is going to speak at the Democratic Convention tonight because we stood for that, and I'm proud of that.

But we have to do more, more to help our streets be safe, more to help our families be strong. I just want to mention a couple of things I talked about in Columbus today at the police academy. The Brady bill today covers felons. It ought to cover violent misdemeanors, specifically domestic violence. People that have engaged in domestic violence should not be able to have handguns. And we ought to ban cop-killer bullets. I've been trying to do this ever since I got there. I don't understand why in the world we need bullets that pierce bullet-proof vests. There is not a deer in the woods in America wearing a Kevlar vest. We don't need them. The police need them. We ought to do it.

Finally, there are more things we can do for our families and our kids. All over America local communities are finding their own solutions. I have tried to put the Government on the side of helping local communities do whatever they want, whether it's school uniforms for junior high schoolers or grade schoolers, or tougher curfew laws or truancy laws. I've tried to support the things that gave local communities the sense that they were taking responsibility for their children's lives. We need to do more.

We adopted a law which requires all new televisions to have a V-chip in it. And the television industry, thank God for them, agreed to rate television programs, so within a couple of years parents will be able to buy a TV guide and buy a television and decide, if there is 100 channels on the television, what things their young children should not see on television. I think that's a good thing. We need to finish that.

We worked hard to get an order from the Federal Communications Commission, agreed to by the entertainment industry, that will give us 3 hours of good, positive educational television programs at nighttime for our kids—3 hours a week, in the next couple of years. That's going to be a positive thing. But we have to do more. And I ask you all to support that. We have got to keep working to make childhood special, childhood safe, childhood have integrity, and we all have a responsibility for it.

Let me finally say this: I know there is going to be a lot of debate in this election about the tax cut proposal that the other side has made, and it sounds good. It's bigger than—I'll tell you right now, it's a whole lot bigger than the tax cut I'm promising. I fess up. I promise it is. But there is a big difference between the one I'm promising you and the one they are. We can pay for mine. I will not propose anything in my speech Thursday night to the American people or anything in this campaign that cannot be paid for while we still balance the budget. Why? What's that got to do with you in this great town? Because that means low interest rates, more investment, more jobs, more small businesses, higher wages. We have worked too hard for too long with high interest rates, nobody getting a raise, and unemployment too high. We have turned this thing around. We can't afford to turn back now. We have got to do that.

It also means if you take a tax cut 5 times bigger than mine what that means is—according to our friends in the other party, not me—it means your interest rates will be 2 percent higher on your home mortgage, your car payment, your credit card payments. It also means the economy will slow down. It also means they'll have to cut Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment even more than they did in that budget I vetoed. And then when they shut the Government down, I vetoed it again. I'm not going to put up with it. I don't think you should. I think we can go forward together. We don't need that; we can go forward together.

My fellow Americans, America is on the right track to the 21st century. But we have a lot of work to do. We have to be true to our values. We have to meet the challenges of the future. But I will say again, you look at every child in this audience; that's what this election is about. The best days of America are ahead, we just have to have the courage and the vision to seize the future. I hope you will help me do that. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:55 p.m. at Arlington Community Park. In his remarks, he referred to Judge Reginald Rowtson, municipal judge, Findlay, OH; and Rev. David Brown, pastor, First Christian Church in Findlay.

Remarks in Bowling Green, Ohio
August 26, 1996

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you for that absolutely wonderful welcome. You know, Hillary left us yesterday to go on to Chicago, her hometown, to get things ready for us, and we always call—Chelsea and I do—at night and give a report. I can tell you what our report tonight will be: You should have seen the crowd in Bowling Green. [*Applause*] Thank you. Wow!

I want to thank all of you for being here. I want to say a special word of thanks to Representative Marcy Kaptur. There is not a more aggressive advocate for the people she represents in the entire United States Congress in either party than Marcy Kaptur. She does a great job for you.

I want to thank John Glenn for his many years of service to our country in the Marine Corps, in the space program, in the United States Senate. I want to thank him for the work he's done on the economy, on foreign policy, on defense. I want to thank him for worrying about our children being able to grow up in a safe world. And I want to just cite two things.

It is true, as Senator Glenn said, that while some of our friends in the other party would criticize Government, they did much to downsize it. We have the smallest Federal Government since John Kennedy was President. It's very efficient, and we didn't have to throw a lot of people in the street to do it. And we saved billions of dollars of your tax money, thanks in no small measure because of the leadership of John Glenn.

I will also tell you, when you hear a word like nuclear proliferation, it sounds like a big old word and you can't imagine what it means. It means, among other things, that tonight and in the last 2 years, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there is not a single nuclear weapon pointed at the children of the United States, thanks in no small measure to John Glenn.

I've got a few folks I'd like to recognize. I brought a slew of Ohioans over here on my right, your left, but one of them, in particular, I want to recognize, your former State treasurer and now our national Treasurer, Mary Ellen Withrow. She's doing a great job. Thank you, Mary Ellen, for coming with us.

Thank you, Mayor Hoffman, for welcoming me here and for your gift, sir. And thank you, City Council President Joyce Kepke, for presenting the gift and making me feel so welcome here. Thank you, County Chairman Al Baldwin, for your work in getting this magnificent crowd up. I want to thank some candidates who are here, beginning with Annie Saunders. Thank you for running for Congress. Thank you, Chris Redfern, for running for the State senate. Thank you, Alvin Perkins, Wood County commissioner candidate. Thank you John Garand, for running for prosecuting attorney here.

And now I want all of you to recognize these young people who are here because they won the poster contest. They just came up to see me and they're your kids and they're terrific. Let's give them a big hand. [*Applause*] Thank you. I want to say I love all these posters. I like all the posters that I see. I thank you for the Hillary poster. And I thank you for the poster back there that says, "The President cares for kids." Thank you. I like that Bill of Rights poster, but now that I'm 50 years old, it may not be truth in advertising anymore. [*Laughter*]

Yesterday Chelsea and I started out with Hillary in West Virginia. We went into Kentucky; then we came into Ohio. We've had a wonderful day on this train. I wanted to take this train through the heartland to Chicago because I wanted to see people like you, the people I've been working for for the last 4 years, on the way to accept, for the second time, the nomination of my party for President.

I also very much wanted you to see us on this train because it's not only on the right track to Chicago, this train is on the right track to the 21st century, and I want you to keep us on it.

Folks, 4 years ago I came before the American people—and it is true what Senator Glenn said, Ohio put me over the top in the nomination and put me over the top in the general election, and I hope you will do it again. But when I came before you, I had never before served in office in Washington. I spent most of my time in places like Bowling Green. I

identified with schools like Bowling Green State—and I thank you for the music and the cap. And Dr. Ribeau and anyone else who's here from the university, I thank you for the music, the cap, the jogging outfit, but I thank you most of all for the military aide who's here with me tonight. You may know, the President gets a distinguished military aide from each branch of the service. My Coast Guard military aide, Lieutenant Commander June Ryan, is here with me tonight, a graduate of Bowling Green State. She's over there somewhere. Where is she? Come here, June. You did a good job, didn't you? Give her a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you. She's an Iowa farm girl. There aren't many oceans bordering Iowa, but somehow she made it into the Coast Guard, and I know you all gave her a good start here.

The thing that was bothering me when I ran for President was the economy was stagnant. As Marcy Kaptur never fails to remind me, there were and there still are too many blue-collar workers, people that work hard and never seem to get a raise, never seem to get ahead. Unemployment was high. The crime rate was going up. There are a host of problems that were going unchallenged. Cynicism was on the rise in the country. And I wanted to do something about it.

I wanted to bring some hope and direction and movement and progress back into American life. And I thought we had to change the way people were thinking in Washington, away from the kind of intensely partisan rhetoric and intensely stale debate. If you listen to things coming out of Washington, very often it sounded like it was more about who to blame than what to do. I'm more interested in what to do than who to blame, and I think you are, too.

So, for the last 4 years, we've been out there doing. I have a vision of the 21st century for America. I believe they'll be our best days. I believe the children in this audience will have more chances to live their dreams than any generation of Americans in history. The global economy, the information explosion, the computer explosion, the technology discoveries, the medical discoveries, it is unbelievable. We just commissioned—let me give you an example—we just commissioned a supercomputer between IBM and the Federal Government. We're going to build one that will do more calculations in a second than a person with a hand-held calculator can do in 30,000 years. That's how we're growing. There is more computer power, more computer power in a Ford Taurus today than there was in the first spaceship that went to the moon in 1969. That's how fast things are changing.

But we also know we've got some problems in this country. And what I want to do is to build an America for the 21st century where the American dream is open to everybody who is responsible enough to work for it, an America where we're coming together across the lines that divide us, not being torn up by race and religion and other things that are just engulfing the world, from Bosnia to the Middle East to Northern Ireland to Africa—you name it. All over the world people are fighting because of their differences.

In our country, we're not about race and religion. If you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, and you're willing to show up for work tomorrow, you're our kind of person, you're part of our America, and we're going forward together. That's what we believe.

And I wanted our country to continue to be what John Glenn has given his life for it to be, the leading force for peace and freedom and prosperity in this whole world. And I believe we can achieve that. And I want to give you a report compared to 4 years ago: We passed a sweeping economic program in 1993 that, as Senator Glenn said, cut the deficit 60 percent 4 years in a row and every year of this administration. That's the first time it's happened since the 1840's. And if it were not for the interest we're paying on the debt run up in the 12 years before I came here, we'd have a surplus in the budget today, and that's important for you to know.

Now, what does that mean in Bowling Green? It means lower interest rates. It means lower home mortgage payments, more homeowners, 4½ million new American homeowners. Ten million Americans have refinanced their mortgage at lower interest rates. It means lower car payments. It means lower credit card rates. And most important of all, it means new investment, new businesses. We've got a record number of new businesses started and 10¼ million new jobs in 3½ years. We're better off than we were 4 years ago.

We have worked to deal with the problems we heard Americans talking to us about 4 years ago. Our administration worked hard to try to

deal with the health care problems of ordinary Americans. We've worked to contribute to the decline in the medical inflation rate, so that the costs wouldn't keep going through the roof. And I'm proud to say last year health care costs increase was the lowest it's been in 23 years, and this year it's running under 2 percent. And last week, right before I left, I signed a bill the Congress passed, the Kassebaum-Kennedy health care bill, that says no longer can you be denied health insurance because somebody in your family has been sick or lose it because you changed jobs. That's a good thing for America. Twenty-five million Americans will be helped by that.

What else have we done? I knew that there were a lot of people who were working hard, raising their kids, and still falling further and further behind. In 1993, we tried to create more good jobs by helping small businesses. If they invest more in their business, they can get a tax cut. And then again in 1996, just before I came here, we did some very important things. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million American workers. We preserved the tax cut we won in 1993 for the 15 million Americans working hard with children on the most modest income so we could cut their taxes. This year that's worth about $1,000 for a family of four with an income below $28,000. When you get down to those lower wages and there's still people with kids in the home, we wanted to say clearly, "If you work full time and you've got children in your house, the tax system will not put you in poverty, it will lift you out of poverty. You're entitled to raise your kids in dignity."

That minimum wage bill did some other things, too. It gave another tax break to small businesses. So now we have increased by 2½ times the tax relief 90 percent of our small businesses can get if they invest more money in their business. I'm proud of that. They're creating most of the new jobs. Most of us are going to be working for small businesses. We better create a climate in America second to none for small businesses to grow and flourish. And I know all of you will support that.

We've tried to help families do a better job in raising their kids and working. I think it's fair to say that maybe the number one worry of most families in this country is how to raise their kids and do a good job of that and still do a good job at work. There's probably not a family in this audience tonight that hadn't had some problem at some time in juggling the demands of school for your kids or health care for your kids or just being with your kids and the responsibility to be at work. We passed the family and medical leave law that says you can have a little time off without losing your job if there's a baby born or a sick child or a sick parent. Marcy Kaptur and John Glenn voted for that law and strongly supported it. And in the last 3 years, 12 million American families have made use of it, and our economy is stronger, not weaker, than it was 3 years ago. It helps to lift up families and support children. And people are more productive at work when they can do it.

And last week, in the minimum wage law, we did something else that was good for families. I signed a bill that gives a $5,000 tax credit to any couple willing to adopt a child and give that child a good home, and an even more generous one if the child is disabled. And it removed the barriers to cross-racial adoption. So now we can say there are hundreds of thousands of kids out there trapped in foster care; they need loving homes. We have now made it more economically feasible for people to really be pro-family for those kids, too. And I'm proud of that.

Four years ago, a lot of Americans talked to me about crime. I started off this morning at the Ohio police training academy, and I talked about the crime problem. Let me just say, I have a simple strategy: more police, more punishment, more prevention; take the serious offenders and punish them; do what you can to prevent crime from occurring; and help to save the kids—give them something to say yes to as well as to say no to; and put more police officers on the street to catch criminals and prevent crime. That's been our strategy for 4 years in a row. The crime rate has been coming down in the United States of America, and I'm proud of that.

There's been a lot of talk in the news in the last few weeks about welfare reform because I signed the welfare reform bill. It's a little bit longer story than that, and I want to talk to you about it. Nearly every American I talked to for years wanted us to do something about welfare because they felt that it trapped people in dependency. The people I met on welfare wanted me to do something about welfare. They wanted a path to independence. Most poor people want what we want for everybody else; they

want to succeed with their kids, and they want to succeed at work. They want to be good, productive citizens.

And so we sat about 3 years ago working with the States to give people permission to move people from welfare to work. On the day I signed the bill, already three-quarters of the people in America were under such experiments. We have reduced the welfare rolls by a million and a half since I became President of the United States, moving people out there into the work force. And I'm proud of that.

But I signed this bill because we need to do more. But let me tell you, folks, the welfare reform bill is the beginning, not the end. What it does is to say nationally, we're going to protect all these families. We're going to protect their medical care. We're going to give them child care when the parents go to work. We're going to make sure the kids are in the school lunch program and can show up and get extra nutritional help that they need. But we're going to give the money that used to be in the welfare check to the States to devise ways to put people to work.

I want to talk a lot on Thursday night about this. But let me just say to you, if you care about this and if you want what I want, you want poor people to have the same life that everybody else has, having a chance to succeed at home and at work, then let's say to everyone in America without regard to party, "Let's don't let welfare reform be a fraud. If you're going to make people go to work, make sure they have jobs to find when they go to work." We have to create more jobs in this country so people can work.

When I look out at all these children I think about our natural environment. And one of the things I think we have to do to be responsible to the future is to find a way to grow the economy and preserve the environment. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air than they were 4 years ago. We have upgraded the standards for meat inspections, for putting pesticides on crops that become food. We have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in the previous 12. We created the biggest national park south of Alaska in California. We saved Yellowstone Park, our Nation's great treasure, from a gold mine. We are pushing forward to preserve the environment and to promote the economy.

Finally, let me say one other thing that I think is important. I believe you can have opportunity and responsibility, but it has to be for everybody, and then we have to treat everybody the same. That's why I've reacted so strongly against the church burnings of black churches and the burnings of white churches and the people who have defaced the mosques and the synagogues in this country.

This was a country founded in religious liberty. That's why I was so angry the other day when African-American soldiers in the Special Forces in North Carolina found swastikas painted on their doors. Let me tell you something, folks, the Special Forces are just what they say; they're special forces. If I call them at midnight tonight and tell them to be halfway around the world by noon tomorrow to defend you and put their lives on the line, they'll do it. They don't deserve to be discriminated against because of their race. That's not America. That's not America.

And so I say to you, we have to bring this country together and go forward together. The reason I vetoed the budget that passed was not because I didn't want a balanced budget. I presented a balanced budget. But we can't have a balanced budget if we cut student loans and cut back on Head Start and cut back on problems that improve education. We can't have a balanced budget if we cripple our ability to protect our environment. We can't have a balanced budget if we take unnecessary cuts in the Medicare program that aren't necessary to save it. We can't have a balanced budget if you walk away from our commitment to guaranteed medical care for the elderly, for families with persons with disabilities in the family, for pregnant women, and for poor children. We've got to go forward together. That's what that whole thing was all about.

And as I go forward into Chicago, I want you to know that's the record we've made. But we've made a beginning; we have more to do. What is the task of the next 4 years? We have our economic house in order. We've got to make sure it's possible for every single solitary American to take part in this economic recovery and to live out their dreams and to take care of their families. That has to be our task for the next 4 years. That means to me, among other things—I just want to mention just a couple of things that I want to do in the next 4 years.

Number one, I want to make at least 2 years of college as universal for Americans as a high school education is today. Now, how do we propose to do that? By giving a $10,000 tax deduction to families for the cost of college tuition for any kind of education after high school and a $1,500 refundable tax credit for the first 2 years of college, if that helps you more. That will get everybody through a community college in any State in the country just about. That's a good thing to do, and we ought to do it.

Number two, I want to make sure that every child in every school in America has the same chance everybody else does to grow and learn, which means we not only need computers in every school and classroom, and also trained teachers, but all those classrooms need to be connected to this vast information superhighway, that will give any child anywhere in America, in the poorest inner-city neighborhood, in the most remote mountain village, access to the same information that any other child has anywhere in the world. We're going to connect all those classrooms by the year 2000, if you'll let us do it.

And finally let me just say one word about health care. We have done a good thing by saying you can't have your health insurance taken away from you if you change jobs, and you can't be denied if you've got somebody in your family who is sick, but we still have good, hard-working people who are unemployed for longer periods than they used to be. I want to see us also help those people who are unemployed, who are dying to get back in the work force, keep their families in health insurance for at least 6 more months. And that's a noble and good thing to do. The kids need it. It will help them perform in school. It will help the families stay together. It will make America stronger. I hope you'll support it.

And all these things—the last thing I want to say is, we can afford a tax cut, but we ought to only have the tax cut we can afford—remember what I said—because we're bringing the deficit down, because everybody knows we're going toward a balanced budget, your interest rates are lower. That's lower mortgage payments, lower car payments, lower credit card payments, more business investment, and more jobs.

And finally, for the first time in a decade, for the last 2 years average wages are rising again. We can't jeopardize that, but we can afford a family-friendly tax cut, a $500 tax credit for children under 13, the education tax deductions that I just mentioned, and an IRA available to families making up to $80,000, moving up to $100,000 a year, that you can withdraw from without any penalty to buy the first home, to deal with a medical emergency, and to educate your kids or yourselves. That is a program we can afford, and that's what we ought to have. It will build America and balance the budget.

Well, that's the America I want to build for the 21st century. Will you help?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help for 70 more days?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help for 4 more years?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you. Hang in there! Let's go!

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. on the rear platform of the 21st Century Express. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Wesley K. Hoffman of Bowling Green, and Sidney A. Ribeau, president, Bowling Green State University.

Remarks to the Community in Toledo, Ohio

August 26, 1996

The President. Thank you so much to the citizens of Toledo. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for making us feel so very welcome tonight. Now, I want to tell you first of all, I love Toledo, and I love to spend the night here. I love to run along the water here in the morning. And I'm delighted to be back. I've still got my Toledo Mud Hens cap. And I'm glad to be back. I also want to tell you that if you saw

Senator Glenn and I talking a little while the program was going, you need to know that at some point in about 15 minutes I'm going to stop, and the whole country is going to see you, because we're going to be talking back and forth to our convention in Chicago. So I want you to help me. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

Now, in the meanwhile, I'd like to talk to you a few moments. First, I want to acknowledge your mayor and thank him for his vigorous leadership to help develop Toledo economically and to help fight the crime problem and working with us on it.

Secondly, let me say, there is not in the entire United States Congress another Member of the Congress who is as active and energetic and aggressive and effective on behalf of the constituents as Marcy Kaptur is for you. She's fought for your jobs; she's fought for your welfare; she's fought for your values. You can be proud of her.

And let me say of Senator Glenn, I have known very few people in public life that I would say I admired as much as John Glenn. He is an American hero and a national treasure. He's too modest to tell you, but we did downsize the Government, but we didn't put those Federal employees in the street. We didn't cast them off and forget about them. We gave them early retirement. We helped them find other things to do. And we used the opportunity of the savings to do things like put 100,000 more police back on your streets, to bring your deficit down. And we used ways to save money and increase the effectiveness of national defense, increase the effectiveness of our ability to respond to emergencies. We cut the budget of the Small Business Administration, for example, and doubled the loan volume. We did those kind of things, in large measure in 1993 and 1994, with the help and leadership of John Glenn. And he deserves a lot of credit for it.

I also—a lot of Ohioans know that Senator Glenn is one of America's leaders on the problem of nuclear proliferation. That's a big old word, but I'll tell you what it means now. During this administration—and thanks in no small measure to the leadership of John Glenn—for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, on this night, this beautiful night, there is not a single nuclear missile pointed at a child in the United States of America. And we can be proud of that.

I want to thank the CitiFest organization for helping this to become possible. I want to thank our Lucas County Democratic chair, Keith Wilkowski, for his work on this. And I want to mention two other folks, one, the gentleman to my right who is sitting over there with Chelsea. He's one of yours. His name is Robert Wyckoff. He was wounded fighting for your country in World War II, but he had never received, after all these years, the combat medals he earned, including a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart. Well, 50 years too late, on our train tonight, just before we got to Toledo, it was my great honor to pin on Robert Wyckoff the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart he earned for our country before. Would you stand up, sir? Let's give him a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you.

There's another person I want to introduce tonight who is not here, and you'll understand in a minute. Marcy gave Chelsea the keys to the Jeep. [*Laughter*] One of the things I'm proudest of in America's economic recovery is that for the first time in 20 years, the United States is the auto capital of the world. We're producing more cars than the Japanese, and we're selling more around the world. And tonight, tonight in Chicago at our convention, an autoworker from Toledo named Todd Clancy is speaking on behalf of the working people of America. And I know you can be proud of him.

We have had a wonderful time. We've been to West Virginia, Kentucky. We've been all over Ohio. We started this morning at the State police training academy in Columbus. We've been to Arlington. We had an unbelievable rally in Bowling Green. We are having a good time taking the train across America's heartland, a train that gives me a chance to thank you for giving me the chance to serve as your President, to say that I have worked for you, and to look in your eyes and tell you we've been up there for 4 years every day trying to help you go forward. And we'd like 4 more, because America is on the right track, the right track.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. We're on the right track. And I'll tell you, I want you to watch our convention. We're going to have a good time. And I'm glad a few of our friends from the other party showed

up tonight with their signs. You're welcome here. We're glad to have you here.

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. No, don't boo them. Don't boo them. Don't boo them. We're glad to have them here. But our convention is going to be a little different. We're not going to hide our leaders. We're going to parade them out on the stage and say we're proud of them. And I have read our platform. I'm proud of it, and we're all glad to run on it. We're not running away from it. And we don't need to avoid our record or distort it. We'll just run on our record and on our ideas for the future. We're proud of it. We're proud of it. We're proud of it.

I want you to think about what has been going on for the last 4 years. When I came to see you 4 years ago and I asked you to take a chance on me, I had never worked as an elected official in Washington, DC. I ran for President because I was worried about what was happening to my country, because we had high unemployment and stagnant wages, because we had a rising crime rate, a host of unsolved social challenges, a widening rift among our people, a growing sense of cynicism about the ability of political leaders to make a difference in ordinary people's lives. And I was sitting out there in my home State going to work every day as our State's Governor, and I didn't like it and I decided I'd try to make a difference. And I asked you to help me.

And on June 2, 1992, the votes of Ohio gave me a majority of the delegates I needed to be nominated. In July of 1992, at the national convention, the delegation from Ohio cast the votes that put me over the top. And as John Glenn said, in November of 1992, when they called Ohio for Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the commentator said, "As Ohio goes, so goes the Nation. They will win the election."

And so tonight, my friends, I come to you to make a report, to say we are on the right track, but we have more to do; to ask you to join with me for the next 70 days to tell your friends and neighbors, whether they're Democrats, Republicans, or independents, about what has happened in America these last 4 years, what the choice is in this election, and what we still have to do.

Look at the record. Look at the economy. You heard Senator Glenn say that we brought the deficit down in all 4 years of this administration for the first time since before the Civil War. That's the last time that happened, in the 1840's. I'm proud that our Democrats did that. I wish we had had some help from the folks in the other party, but I'm glad we did it anyway. I'm glad we did it. We paid a price for it, but I'm glad we did it.

Do you know that we would have a surplus in Washington today in your budget—a surplus—were it not for the interest run up when we quadrupled the national debt in the 12 years before I took office. If we didn't have to pay interest on the debt in the 12 years before I took office, we'd have a surplus in that budget today. We've got to keep on going until we balance it, to keep the interest rates down and the jobs coming back to America. That's what we need.

But we have to balance that budget in the right way. Last year, I presented a balanced budget. The congressional leaders presented their balanced budget. They passed theirs and didn't want to talk about mine. And I vetoed it because it had cuts that were too big in education and the environment, in Medicare and in the Medicaid guarantees for our people. I vetoed it because it raised taxes on the poorest working people in America. I vetoed it because it allowed workers' pensions to be raided by corporations, and we spent the whole last several years trying to secure workers' pensions. So yes, I did. But I'm still for balancing the budget. We have cut the deficit 60 percent, and we're still going to do it. But we're going to do it in the right way. They can shut the Government down if they want to. I will not be blackmailed, not ever. We're going to do it in the right way.

Let's look at education. Today, there are more children in Head Start. Our schools have funds to promote safe and drug-free schools that they didn't have before. They have funds that help them to stay open in after hours—we need a doctor here. We got one. Thanks. They have funds to stay open after hours when these kids often need someplace to go so they don't get in trouble. There are literally hundreds of thousands of young people who now have lower cost college loans because of the initiatives we have. And the AmeriCorps program has given young people a chance to serve in their community and earn money for college. Those are things

we did, and we're proud of it. We're proud of it.

But, my friends, we must do more. We ought to put a million children in Head Start. We ought to hook up every classroom in America not only with computers and qualified teachers but hook them all up to the information superhighway so every child has access to the best education. And we need to make the first 2 years of education after high school as universal in the next 4 years as a high school education is today. If you vote for me, that's just what we're going to do.

I want to give a tax credit worth $1,500 to every family so you can go to a community college. And every single American will know, at the very least, we can all get a community college education. Whatever our age, whatever our station in life, we can all get it. I want to give every working family in this country a tax deduction worth $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition for the kids or the parents to educate our people. That's what we still have to do.

Look where we are with health care. We've worked hard to get the inflation rate down in health care. For the first time in 30 years this year, it's running below the overall inflation rate in the economy. And right before I left to come on this trip, I signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care bill which says to 25 million Americans—25 million Americans—no longer can you lose your health insurance because you changed jobs, and you can't be denied because somebody in your family got sick. It is a good bill. It is a good bill.

But we need to do more. In our budget we also say—and you know here in Toledo from your lean years, there are a lot of good people who sometimes have to be unemployed for longer than they'd like until they get another job. We think we ought to help the unemployed to keep their health insurance for at least 6 months, and their kids. We believe older women ought to be able to get mammographies. We believe people who are caring for their parents because they've got Alzheimer's disease ought to be able to get a little help with respite care to keep the families together and keep going. We like that. We believe in that. And we can afford that.

If you look at where we've come in crime, for 4 years in a row now in the United States, the crime rate, including the violent crime rate, has dropped. I am very, very proud of that, and I know you are, too. But you also know that the crime rate is still too high and we have to do more. We're about halfway home in putting those 100,000 police on the street. We have to finish the job. That's a big difference between the two parties, I guess, philosophical difference. They voted against the 100,000 police, and they've tried to do away with it a couple of times. And I've said no every time because I know that if you've got those police on the street they're not only going to catch criminals, they're going to prevent crime, they're going to get to know the kids, they're going to get to know people that can help to work with the children and say, "Don't commit that crime in the first place." Let's finish the job with 100,000 police in the next 4 years.

Let's finish the job with the Brady bill. It's kept 60,000 felons and fugitives from getting handguns. And not a single Ohio hunter has lost their weapon. But you know what? We ought to finish the job of protecting our police officers and people at home. I believe that if someone has committed a crime of domestic violence against a member of his or her family, they ought to be covered by the Brady bill, too. They shouldn't have a weapon they can kill somebody with. And I think we ought to ban those cop-killer bullets. They don't do any good on the hunting trail, but they do a lot of harm in America.

If you look at where we are on welfare reform, I've worked hard for 4 years to move people from welfare to work. Seventy-five percent of the people in this country were under welfare-to-work experiments before Congress passed the welfare bill I signed, and we reduced the welfare rolls by 1.5 million people. We can be proud of that. But now—now that we have a new law that says that you're on welfare and you're able-bodied, we'll give your children health care, we'll give you child care, we'll protect your food stamps, but you've got to go to work if you can—we've got to create work so people have the jobs they need.

We've worked hard to protect the environment. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12, and I'm proud of that. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air, and I'm proud of that. The meat standards are higher, the protection against pesticide poisoning is better, and I'm

proud of that. But we have to do more. We ought to clean up two-thirds of the waste dumps in this country and keep on proving you can grow the American economy and protect the environment for our children. We know we can do that.

Most important of all, my fellow Americans, I have tried as hard as I know how to say that we're going to get into the 21st century with the American dream alive for everybody who's responsible enough to work for it. We're going to get into the 21st century with America leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity if—but only if—we make up our mind we have to go into that future together, as one community. I don't like the fact that people are too often divided here by race, by religion, and by all kinds of other categories just to try to put somebody down so somebody else can be lifted up. That's not the America I want to live in.

Look at what I dealt with as your President, trying to make peace in the rest of the world. Look at the Middle East. Look at Bosnia. Look at Northern Ireland. Look at the problems in Rwanda and Burundi in Africa. You'd think in those poor countries, where people don't have enough to get along, they'd want to roll up their sleeves, work together, and try to help lift each other up. But place after place after place, people define themselves by being able to look down on their neighbors, and it's wrong. But we've got to fight it in America. That's why we've got to stand against those church burnings in the South. That's why if a synagogue is marked up or an Islamic center is defaced, we've got to stand against that, too. In my America, you can be whatever you want to be. As long as you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and you're willing to show up, pay your taxes, work hard, and obey the law, you're a part of my America and we're going into the future together. That's what I believe.

And so we're on the right track to Chicago and to the 21st century. The best days of this country are still before us. Our children will do things we haven't even imagined yet. These children in this crowd tonight will have lots of jobs that haven't been invented yet if we do what we know is right, to create more opportunity for all Americans, to get more responsibility from all Americans, and to go forward and grow forward as one American community. That will take America into the 21st century. That will keep Toledo growing and going. That will make us very, very strong and keep us the hope of the world. That is the commitment I want from you. Will you help me for the next 70 days?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you be there on election day?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We passed the Family and Medical Leave Act—I love all these signs—we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act to help our families. Twelve million American families got to take some time off without losing their jobs when a baby was born. Will you help us keep it and expand it? Will you stand for things like that? [*Applause*]

And in the next 4 years, are you willing to stand up and keep helping us try to move this country forward, not only by passing laws in Washington but by lifting people up in Toledo? Do you believe that we have to take responsibility for our children? And do you believe that if you're a parent you need to raise your kids and take responsibility, but you need help from the local teachers, from the local churches and synagogues, from the people who run the police departments and the people who look after the hospitals and the people who look after the health of your food? I guess what I'm trying to tell you folks is, I think my wife was right, not them: It does take a village to raise a child.

If you believe all that—if you believe all that, you're part of the new Democratic Party. And we're going together into the 21st century because we're on the right track, the country is on the right track, and we're going to take the right track all the way into the best days America has ever, ever, ever known.

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

[*After a pause, the President spoke by satellite to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, IL.*]

The President. Folks—hello, Chicago! Can you hear us? This is Toledo, and we say hello and thank you. Thank you. Thank you all.

Well, folks, I just want to say to our delegates in Chicago, if they can hear me—Josh, can they hear me in Chicago? I want to say to the folks in Chicago, Chelsea and I are proud to be here with Senator Glenn and Congresswoman Kaptur and Mayor Finkbeiner in Toledo.

We're proud we're bringing the 21st Century Express to Chicago because America's back on track, and we're on the right track for the 21st century. We're coming right at you. And we want you to know that those of us who are here in Toledo tonight are proud of you in Chicago.

Thank you, Christopher Reeve; thank you, Sarah and Jim Brady; thank you, all who spoke. Thank you for loving America. Stay with us, and we'll be there.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:46 p.m. at Promenade Park. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Carty Finkbeiner of Toledo; Joshua A. King, Director of Production, White House Office of the Press Secretary; actor Christopher Reeve; and Sarah Brady, head of Hand Gun Control, Inc., wife of former White House Press Secretary James S. Brady.

Remarks to Employees at the Chrysler Jeep Plant in Toledo
August 27, 1996

The President. Thank you. I'm glad to see you, and I'm glad to be here.

Audience member. Put the hat back on!

The President. I can't talk with a hat on. [*Laughter*] My brain's not working. It's only—it's early, you know. [*Laughter*] But you'll see me with this on again. I'll run in it, play golf in it.

I want to thank Dennis Pawley for what he said out here a few minutes ago and for the leadership that he's given to Chrysler and our partnership. I want to thank your plant manager for showing me around and bragging on you. I thank my old friend Rob Liberatore for coming from Washington for Chrysler, and Lloyd Mahaffey and Bruce Baumhower, and Ron Conrad and all the people from the UAW. And one of your members behind me gave me this very old UAW pin, and I'll collect it and it will have a prominent place in the White House in my collection. So I'm glad to have that.

I'll tell you, I was listening to the mayor talk, listening to Marcy talk, and I thought there's more energy in Toledo than any other place in America. I never heard such—[*applause*]. Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for what you said and for the partnerships we've had both in building up the economy and trying to tear down crime. And in both places you've worked hard when we've worked together, and I thank you for that. Thank you, Marcy Kaptur, for being perhaps the most ferocious defender of middle class economics and middle class values in the Congress of the United States. Thank you, John Glenn, for all you have done for this State and this country, for your partnership with me in helping to rebuild our economy and helping to make this a safer world.

You know, I've heard Senator Glenn introduced a lot, and two things I rarely ever hear—one I want to tell you is that he said we have downsized the Government. We had to. We wanted to put 100,000 more police on your streets, and we had a big Government, and we had a huge deficit. We had to find some way to pay for it. We couldn't just pay for it with a tax increase, so we reduced the size of Government. But you never hear about it in America, and I'm proud of that because we did it in a good way.

Of the 250,000 fewer people that are working for the Federal Government today, fewer than 1,800 were involuntarily separated. We gave those folks early retirement. We helped them find other jobs. They went on to other careers in dignity, so they could support their families and go forward into the future. And I'm proud of that. I'm proud of that. And John Glenn was one of the people who found ways for us to save money and to do things so we could do that and treat people humanely. He played a major role in that, especially in the first 2 years of my administration. And there are families out there who can thank God that he found ways to save money, for example, in the way the Pentagon bought their purchases and deal with the personnel systems. All that's real people, and it matters.

And speaking of real people, I hope you were proud of Todd last night. He was great at the

Democratic Convention. I've been asked several times by the press, why do we have Todd Clancy? Why do we have Mike Robbins, the Chicago police officer who was riddled with bullets in an assault weapons hail on the street of Chicago after serving our country in Vietnam and Desert Storm and never being wounded? Why did we have that young Puerto Rican American woman who was an AmeriCorps volunteer and is now going to go on and be a doctor after being a high school dropout? Why do we have these people talk? Why do we have the superintendent of schools in Seattle, Washington, who is an Army General?

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. We need a doctor here. My doctor is here—can we get somebody over here?

And I want you to—we're okay; we've got somebody here now. I want you to know why we asked citizens to go to a political convention and kick it off. Why do we have Jim and Sarah Brady, lifelong Republicans, come and talk? Why do we ask Christopher Reeve, a man who's not particularly political but is a shining example of the kind of courage never to give up, to talk about the importance of Government research and the importance of continuing the Medicaid program so we don't cut off middle class families who don't have a lot of money to deal with disabled people in their family and keep guaranteeing them their health care so they can keep their good jobs? Why did we do all that? Because people lose the connection between what is done in Government and what happens in your daily lives. It's easy to lose that connection. It meant an awful lot to me when Dennis Pawley talked about how I asked to meet with the representatives of the auto industry soon after my election as President, and I said we'd put a premium on that. I knew that America could not lose its auto industry. I knew we could be number one again. And I think the best way to say that and to show the connection between what we do in Washington and what you do in Toledo is to have a person like Todd Clancy tell a personal story that shows how America's life can be changed if we work together and do the rights things. And I know you are proud of him, and so am I.

And I was proud to be here today to see the 2 millionth Jeep roll off the assembly line. I love that. You proved one more time that whenever we're given a chance to compete, we can be the best in the world. We can be the best in the world. And you have made us proud. That was true in World War II when that old Jeep was made.

And I want to just tell you, I'm getting a little sensitive about my age. I just became eligible for my AARP card. [*Laughter*] But I am so old that when I was a little boy, 6 years old, the first time I ever crawled under a car, my stepfather owned a little Buick dealership in a little town in Arkansas where he came from, but we also owned a Henry J—an old Henry J Kaiser—and we owned a late 1940's model Jeep. And back then, the civilian Jeeps looked just like the military Jeeps. Just think how rich I'd be if I'd saved that thing. I wish we had never gotten rid of it.

But I feel real nostalgic here today, and I thank you. But I also want to thank you for what you're doing because I had the privilege to do something I wish every one of you could do. I went in to the showroom of an auto dealership in Japan where they were selling the Jeeps that you made here in Toledo. And I was swelling with pride. And I spoke to a Japanese family who told me how grateful they were that they had a chance to look around for what they thought was the very best vehicle for their family. And believe me, these people had looked around; they knew more about that Jeep than some of us do. [*Laughter*] It was amazing. And they said they were grateful to have a chance to buy the product of your hard, productive labor. I wish every one of you could have that experience. You would have been so proud. And I was swelling with pride for you and for our country because of what you did. And I thank you for that as well.

But you know, Marcy had it right, the purpose of politics and the purpose of work is to enable people to live out their dreams, to enable them to raise strong families and build strong communities and advance the cause of freedom. That's the purpose of all this. And that's what we're trying to do. We've had a pretty good week, and as I've been saying on this train, we're not only on the right track to Chicago, we're on the right track to the 21st century. And we need to stay right on it.

Before I got on this train, last week I signed a bill that raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans, people that are working hard

and deserve it. And while I'm at it, I'd like to pay another compliment to the labor movement, not just to the UAW but to the whole labor movement. Organized labor worked as hard as any group in America to raise the minimum wage. There are very few labor union members in any union that make the minimum wage or anything real close to it. But the laboring people of this country, through their organized leadership, labored for the minimum wage because they want all people who work for a living to have the dignity and the reward of work. And I think Americans should be grateful to the labor movement for standing up for the minimum wage.

That bill, by the way, also made it easier for people who work in small businesses to do something that you can do. We made it a lot easier for small businesses to take out a retirement plan and for people who work for small businesses to keep that retirement when they move from job to job. We made it easier for families to adopt children, offering a $5,000 tax credit to anybody who would adopt a child, an even bigger one if the child has a disability. We removed the barriers to cross-racial adoption. That bill was pro-business, pro-labor, and pro-family. It was a good day for America when it became the law of the land. And I thank Congresswoman Kaptur and Senator Glenn for their strong support of it.

I signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care bill, a bill that we've needed a long time, a bill that says to 25 million Americans who'll be affected by it, "Nobody can deny you insurance anymore if somebody in your family's been sick, and it can't be taken away from you if you have to change jobs." That is a very, very important advance for America.

So I feel good about what's been happening.

Audience member. We feel good, too!

The President. And I thank you.

This global market is a tough thing to operate in. When I became President, I decided that we didn't have an option to walk away from the trading world, and we got some benefits from it. But if we were going to have free trade, it had to be fair. It had to be fair to our workers, fair to our environment, fair to our children, fair to our future. I was prepared to have us compete on a fair and equal footing with anybody, anywhere. But it had to be that way. And we worked very, very hard to enable you to reap the benefits of becoming the most productive auto industry in the world again.

You know, just 4 years ago, this plant exported 17,500 Cherokees and, this year, 41,500. That's what you did. That means 700 more good middle class jobs and strong families, 700 more Americans with a success story to tell. And that's why Todd Clancy went to Chicago to talk to America, to remind America that there is a connection between what we do or fail to do in Washington and how you live in Toledo and all across the United States.

Now, let me say just one or two other things. John Glenn talked about what was said or not said by our friends in San Diego. Well, that's politics; you can't expect them to be out there promoting us. [*Laughter*] I mean, I didn't hold it against them. But on the other hand, it is a fact that today the unemployment rate in Ohio is under 5 percent. It is a fact that America has more than 10 million more jobs. It is a fact that we've got 900,000 new construction jobs. It's a fact that 4.4 million Americans have become homeowners for the first time and 10 million more have refinanced their mortgages at lower interest rates because of what has been done.

It is a fact that we have negotiated 200 new trade agreements to open new markets and give American workers a fair break. It is a fact that for the first time in history we're also exporting, in addition to autos and auto parts to Japan, things like rice—which I never thought I'd live to see, coming from the largest rice-producing State in the world—and cellular telephones, and all manner of other things. And in the 21 areas covered by our Japanese trade agreements, exports are up a total of 85 percent in just 4 years. America can compete.

And what has happened is that, thanks to you and people like you all over this country, and especially—it's already been noted we have Senator Riegle, Governor Blanchard, a lot of very distinguished citizens from Michigan here. They know a little something about cars, too. [*Laughter*] And thanks to the people of Ohio and Michigan and the other places where automobiles are produced, for the first time since the 1970's, America—America—is the number one producer and seller of automobiles again in the entire world.

Now, I want to say to you, we need to focus on what we're going to do to keep this going. We can't backslide; we have to go forward. It

means that this trade work has got to continue. We have got—we have got—to do what brought you to this point. We have to keep opening more markets. We have to watch it that markets don't get closed. We do have to be prepared to impose sanctions if people don't treat our workers and their families fairly. We have to be prepared to be firm in this, to keep trying to build an open trading system that is both open and fair, not only to us but to other wealthier countries as well.

We want to lift countries up to our level. We don't want to see people dragged down to the lowest level in the global economy. We want it to lead to growth everywhere. The more other people do well, the more they will be able to buy our products, and other countries and their leaders need to know that. There is nothing in it for them to try to force down the American standard of living. They should be trying to lift the standard of living of the people in their own countries. And we will help if they will do that.

Let me say this is not a particularly stimulating issue, I know, but that's why it's so important that we keep bringing this deficit down to balance the budget. You need to know that its not just a question of the debt we would leave to your children; it's a question of how you live right now.

Why? Because from the moment I announced after I was elected President that we were going to have a serious attempt to get rid of this deficit after our national debt had gone up by 4 times in only 12 years, interest rates started to fall. In addition to the trade agreements and your efforts, it was those falling interest rates that have helped the American economy come back. When the interest rates go down, what does that mean? That means your home mortgage payment goes down. That means your credit card payment goes down. That means people's monthly car payment goes down. That means more people buy cars, more people buy homes, more people buy other things. And they are more stable. Their income goes further.

Most important, it means that interest rates for companies like Chrysler go down, and companies big and small can borrow money, invest it, build new businesses, hire new people, and keep this economy going. We've got average wages finally going up in this country for the first time in a decade in the last year or so. We've got to keep it going. We can't turn that around. We can't turn that around.

Now, that's why every middle class American working family should care about financial responsibility. And that's why if we stay on a path and we balance this budget in the right way—I say the right way—we can have a growing economy. The right way is to do it without having crippling cuts in the things that are important to our future and important to our obligations. That means we have to balance the budget without cutting back on education, from college loans to Head Start, without eroding our protection for the environment, without eroding our obligations to people who need help, families with disabilities, poor children, the elderly in nursing homes through the Medicaid program, and without doing more to Medicare than is necessary to balance the budget and stabilize the Medicare program. I don't support those excessive cuts, and we don't have to have them.

It also means that we can have tax cuts for working families, but they need to be tax cuts we can afford. Because if you have one that's more than you can afford, your interest rates will go up and it will turn right back around and take away from you what you were going to get in a tax cut.

So, yes, we should give people tax relief, for children under 13 a tax credit. We should give people like you greater access to an IRA and let you withdraw from it with no penalty to buy that first home or educate your kids or deal with a medical emergency.

We should allow you—I have proposed a tax credit that will make community college as universal as a high school education is today, a $1,500 tax credit a family for the first 2 years of education after high school, a $10,000 deduction for the cost of all college tuition—$10,000 a year. That will help a lot of you send your kids to college. Now, we can afford that. We can afford that. But even though it's election year, I'm not going to stand up and tell you that you can have something that I don't think we can afford. You wouldn't go to the bank and borrow money to give yourself a tax cut, and you shouldn't ask me to do the same thing. [*Laughter*] I am going to do what I think is right to keep this economy going. I want more stories like Toledo. I want more stories like Toledo.

And let me say that for all of our talk about the role of Government and my administration

and my personal commitment, the real credit for this today goes to you, to you and the American people who are supporting you. But you can have the best government policies in the world, but if the workers aren't productive, it doesn't work. You can have the best policies in the world, but if labor and management fight all the time instead of working together, it doesn't work.

You're sitting here in the oldest automobile plant in the world—I mean, in this country. More than one story, I noted. [*Laughter*] And the first question I asked your folks here in management, I said, "How in the wide world can you make this plant with"—what do you have, 4½ million square feet in more than one floor—I said, "How can these people do this? How can you sell these Jeeps all over the world?" And they said, "The workers did it. They did it. They overcame the adversity. They did the production."

That's another thing. All that Government can do—and this is the role of the Government—the role of the Government is to create the conditions and give you the tools to make the most of your own life. Not a guarantee but a chance—there are no guarantees. That's what the Communist system found out. That's why it collapsed. Not a guarantee but a chance. You seized the chance. And the company deserves a lot of credit.

I have challenged other companies to follow this lead—70 percent of you in continuing education courses, a generous bonus program, sharing the profits. Every company ought to share the fruits of its progress with the workers who make that progress possible. And I honor that. I honor that. I want everyone in America today who works hard for a living to see the example of what happened in Toledo. Because if every company worked in partnership with its workers, if every company made it possible for its workers to continue their education and become more productive, if every company were committed to sharing a fair share of the profits with labor as well as management and shareholders, this country would be even stronger, we would be growing even faster, we would be going into the future in even better shape. I think that's what we have to do.

The last thing I want to say is, we have to face our common challenges together. Government can't solve a lot of these problems alone. We have had a remarkable partnership on the environment. I believe we can grow the economy and protect the environment. I think we've proved that. We've improved the quality of our drinking water. Fifty million people are breathing cleaner air. We have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in the previous 12. We've revolutionized the meat standards so you can have safer meat. We just decided—we just overhauled the standards for pesticides going into your food so your children will have safer food.

We can do things to grow the economy and protect the environment, and we have to work together. And we can find ways, actually, to create jobs. One of the things that Marcy Kaptur said today that struck home with me the most was that we deserve—our people deserve in these city areas, with their ethnic diversity, their religious diversity, all their diversity, where so much industry has moved out, they deserve the chance to make a living. And we have got to find ways to give them that chance.

As hard-working Americans, I want to leave you with two thoughts about that. Number one, if we do it right, the environment gives us a chance to do that. The biggest new investment in manufacturing in New York City in the last several years is a company making recycled paper products in the Bronx. What did we do for that company? The main thing we did was just—I signed an Executive order directing the Federal Government to buy a certain percentage of its products in recycled paper. Now a lot of those urban folks are working on a way to help the environment, and they've got manufacturing jobs. That's an important thing.

The second thing I want to tell you is this. As hard-working people, I know that all of you support the idea that we ought to reform welfare in a way that enables poor folks to go to work and raise their kids, just like you're trying to do. Now, we have reduced the welfare rolls by a million and a half in 4 years—and I'm proud of that—by moving people from welfare to work and requiring people who can work to go to work.

Now, I just signed a bill that changes structurally the way welfare works. It says at the national level we're going to guarantee poor families the health care that they need. We're going to guarantee poor children the nutrition they need. We're going to guarantee that there will be more money put into child care for working poor people, because they can't afford

to pay it. But we're going to take what used to be the welfare check itself, the Federal portion and the State portion, we're going to let the State decide how to spend that money to try to spend it in a way that will move more people from welfare to work and put strict time limits on the limit of time that able-bodied people can stay on welfare.

Now, that's good, but if they're going to do that, if you're going to require people to go to work, they have to have work. They have to have a job to go to. So I want you, just the way you fought for the minimum wage, to say what we want for poor families in this country is what we want for ourselves. We want people to have the dignity of work and the success of raising their kids, and we are committed to real welfare reform. Yes, require people to work, but make sure you require them to do work because the work is there.

If we will continue to work together to create an America where everybody has a chance to live up to their God-given capacities and live out their dreams, this country's best days are still ahead. If you ever doubt that this country's days are still ahead, think about your story. Think about your 2 millionth Jeep. Think about all the right-hand drive vehicles you're selling all over the world. Think about how far you've come. Think about the success stories that you represent. Any one of you could have done what Todd did last night, and we want every American to be able to tell that same story.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the courtyard. In his remarks, he referred to Dennis Pawley, executive vice president, manufacturing, and Rob Liberatore, vice president, Washington affairs, Chrysler Corp.; Lloyd Mahaffey, region 2B assistant director, United Auto Workers; Bruce Baumhower, president, and Ron Conrad, chairman, Jeep unit, UAW Local 12; and James J. Blanchard, former Governor of Michigan.

Remarks in Wyandotte, Michigan

August 27, 1996

Thank you. Let's give them another hand. They were terrific, weren't they? [*Applause*] Wow! First, I think we ought to say to Justin and Elizabeth, there are a lot of people 3 or 4 or 5 times their age that couldn't get up in front of a crowd like this and do what they did. Let's give them another hand. [*Applause*]

That book, of all the hundreds and hundreds of books that Hillary and I read to Chelsea when she was a little girl, is probably one of our favorites. And you see it today. This was a mountain that Justin and Elizabeth had never been on, but they thought they could. And sure enough, they did, and I'm proud of them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am very glad to be in Wyandotte today. And I didn't know I was the only President who had ever been here as President. I like Teddy Roosevelt; he's one of my favorite Republican Presidents, one of my favorite Presidents ever, but he didn't know what he missed when he didn't stop when he went through here on the train.

I've got a lot of folks I'd like to thank. I'd like to thank the VFW Post 1136. Their color guard met me when I got off the train. It was a wonderful thing. Thank you. I want to thank the people here at the Bacon Memorial Library. It is a beautiful, beautiful building, and they gave me a few moments there to collect my thoughts. And I thank them for the work they do in this community.

I want to thank Joey Palamara, who was the program emcee before I came out. Thank you, Mayor DeSana, for making me feel welcome in your home town. Thank you to the Wyandotte City Council. I want to thank Dee Okray, principal of the McKinley Elementary School who met me when I came in. I thank the public school band, the high school band. And I want to thank all the teachers, the principals, the people who work in our school buildings and help to maintain them and feed our school children—all the people who are here today. I thank you for helping to educate our children.

I want to thank State Senator Chris Dingell for being here. Thank you, Dr. Patricia Cole, for the fine work that you do in this school system. I want to thank all the folks that made

signs. I've loved reading the signs. And one lady brought my mother's book. Thank you for doing that. Hers is better than the one I just wrote. It's a wonderful book. Thank you for all these signs.

Let me say that Hillary and Chelsea would love to be here today, but they have already gone on to Chicago because Hillary has to speak there tonight. And Chelsea spent yesterday on the train with me, but she wants to be there with her mom when she speaks. So they're not here, but I know they would love seeing this.

Let me also thank all the people in the community. That beautiful old house across the street with the bunting—I don't know who put the bunting up, but all the things that anyone in this community did to make us feel so welcome, we thank you very, very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to say a very, very special word of thanks to two of the best friends I have in the United States Congress, Senator Carl Levin and Congressman John Dingell. You should know that there are no people in Congress who work harder, who are more scrupulously honest, and who labor more diligently for the economic interests of the people of this district and this State and for the values that have made America strong.

I don't know how many times one or the other of them has come to see me in the last 4 years to try to get me to do something to create jobs in Michigan, to advance the economy of Michigan, to make sure that our workers are being treated fairly in global trade. Day-in and day-out, month-in, month-out, they are up there working hard. And it made a profound impression on me because you don't see what I see, and I'm there, and I see it. Every day, in every way, it's not just speeches for them; it's hard work. They're there for you, and I appreciate them, and I know you do, too.

Folks, I have loved taking this train trip through America. We have been in West Virginia and Kentucky and Ohio. This morning I was in Toledo, where I watched an American automobile plant where they make Jeeps roll off their 2-millionth Jeep in the oldest operating auto plant in America. It goes back to 1910. Last year, because of the partnership we have established when I was in Japan, I went into a dealership, and I sat in a Jeep in a Japanese dealership made in Toledo, Ohio, by American workers. That's the kind of thing I want to see more of.

On this train trip, we're saying to the American people—number one, I wanted to go on a train trip to Chicago so I could stop in towns like Wyandotte and look into the faces of the people I've been trying to work for for the last 4 years. But I also wanted to say that this train is on the right track to Chicago and also on the right track to the 21st century for America.

The people of Michigan, with all their diversity in the economy and the diversity of our citizens, coming from all walks of life, all faiths, all races, doing all different kinds of things for a living, know as well as anyone that we are going through a period of profound change in how we work, how we live, how we relate to each other, how we relate to the rest of the world.

I sought the Presidency because I wanted to make sure we were prepared for the 21st century, because I wanted us to go roaring and united into the next century with the American dream alive for everyone, with every person in this country who's willing to work hard having the chance to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given potential. And we are moving in the right direction to meet that goal.

I have followed a very simple strategy; I think it's the basic American bargain: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and then telling every single person, if you will be responsible, if you will seize your opportunity, if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights, you don't have to tell us anything else. We don't care what your race is. We don't care what your religion is. We don't care where you started out in life. If you're willing to work hard and share our values, we'll join arm in arm with you and walk together into the future. You're a part of our America.

Yesterday in Ohio I talked mostly about responsibility and especially about our responsibility to make our streets, our schools, our neighborhoods safe for our children, to bring down the crime rate. Today I've been talking about opportunity. In Toledo we talked about how we work together and how management and labor work together to create hundreds of new jobs and how America, after 20 years, is now number one again in the production and sales of automobiles because of what we have done.

Here, I come to this library with all these schoolchildren because their future is our future and because we need to talk about another kind

of opportunity, educational opportunity, without which America cannot triumph in the global economy, in the information age of the 21st century.

We've been making some progress on opportunity in Washington. Just last week, as Mr. Dingell said, I signed a bill to raise the minimum wage for 10 million Americans, including 325,000 here in Michigan. But you know, even in Michigan, the manufacturing capital of the world, there are most people working for small businesses. So that minimum wage bill also contained a tax cut for small businesses that invest more in their business to create more jobs and income, and it contained provisions making it easier for small-business people and their employees to take out pensions and to keep those pensions when they change jobs, and that's very important.

And there's a third thing that that bill contained that I believe every single American, without regard to party or conviction, can agree on; that bill did some dramatic things to encourage the adoption of children who do not have permanent homes. It gave a $5,000 tax credit to families who adopt a child, a bigger one if the child has a disability. And it removed the historic barriers to cross-racial adoption. There are hundreds of thousands of kids out there who need loving, strong parents in good homes. This bill did it. This bill was good for workers, good for business, good for families. It was a great American bill, and I'm proud of it.

I also signed the Kassebaum-Kennedy health care bill to make 25 million Americans more eligible for health insurance by simply saying you can't be denied health insurance anymore if somebody in your family gets sick and you can't lose it if you move from job to job. That is a dramatic step for guaranteeing health access to all. And I thank you, John Dingell, for your lifelong commitment to health care for all Americans. And I thank you, Senator Levin, for your support of that bill.

Now let's talk about education a minute. I have worked hard to increase the quality and the availability of education, to expand Head Start, to expand the chapter 1 program so that it helps more poor children reach their full potential, to help school districts and local schools set high standards with grassroots reforms, to give more authority to principals and teachers and parents to basically chart their own course. I will say again, I am grateful for the people who give their lives to education, and I don't think it serves the cause of education to attack the people who are educating our children and carrying our future.

We have increased college scholarships for deserving students. We have made dramatic strides in making the college student loan program more affordable and giving better repayment options so that young people can now choose to pay those loans back as a percentage of their future income, and they need never drop out of school or refuse to go just because they're worried about the burden of repaying the loans. That's a terribly important thing that has been done.

Let me say that even though we know we have got a good ways to go, there is a lot to be encouraged about in our country. National math and science scores are up. SAT scores are up. The SAT scores in math are now at a 24-year high. ACT scores have gone up 3 out of the last 4 years. And as Dr. Cole said, that's an America that is more diverse, culturally, racially, religiously, and economically, than ever before, and we're still moving forward into a bright new future with improving education.

But we have to do more. Not every child has access to the same information and learning every other child does. By the year 2000, I want to see every classroom in this country not simply have computers and teachers well-trained to teach them how to use them but connected to the information superhighway so that every child in the poorest inner-city school, the most remote rural district, the standard middle class community, and the wealthiest school districts—they all have access to the same unlimited store of information that is the key to our future.

I want to see our Nation become involved for the very first time in helping our schools rebuild their dilapidated facilities and build new ones, because we will have the largest number of young people starting school this fall of any class in the history of the United States of America, and they need to have good schools to attend.

We want to help States work to set high standards and systems of accountability, so that when people get a diploma it will mean something. We want to open the doors of college even wider. Perhaps this is the most critical thing for those of you who are already out of school or about to be out. We need, in the next 4 years, to make at least 2 years of college

as universal as a high school education is today. And that's exactly what I propose to do. I want a $1,500 tax credit refundable to every family who needs it to go to a community college, to pay for 2 years of education after high school. I want every college student, including the parents as well as the kids that are going back to college, to be able to deduct the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year. That will revolutionize the cause of education in America.

But before that, we must make sure that basic learning is taking place. I told you the good news. Now let me tell you some of the challenging news. Over the last decade, our country has worked hard to raise math and science scores, but reading scores have stayed flat. And it may be because a higher and higher percentage of our young people come from countries and families where English is not their first language. It may be because a lot of our young people live in homes where the parents are having to work two jobs, sometimes three jobs, and don't have enough time to spend with them reading. But for whatever reason, we know that our reading scores have not increased as much as our math and science scores, and we know that unless we can read, we will not be able to take advantage of the future or understand the past. That's why Justin and Elizabeth were up here, "The Little Engine That Could" pointing us the way to the future. That is what we have to have: a Justin and an Elizabeth in every single home in the United States of America.

I have come here to this wonderful community to ask all of you to join me, without regard to your political party or your views on other issues, in a simple, straightforward, critical national goal: All America's children should be able to read on their own by the third grade, every single one of them.

Look at what we know. We know that students who can't read as well as they should by the third grade are much less likely even to graduate from high school. We know that without reading, the history books are closed, the Internet is turned off, the promise of America is much harder to reach. We know the children who can read can learn from our Founding Fathers, explore the limits of the universe, and build the future of their dreams. If we're going to ensure that those are the children of America's future, they need not only the best possible teaching in school, they need individualized tutoring, help with their homework before school, after school, and over the summer, and they need more parents involved in helping them to learn to read and to keep reading.

To meet this challenge we need one million tutors ready and able to give our children the personal attention they need to catch up and get ahead. Today I propose a national literacy campaign to help our children learn to read by the third grade, a plan that offers 30,000 reading specialists and volunteer coordinators to communities that are willing to do their part, people who will mobilize the citizen army of volunteer tutors we need, America's reading corps.

We will only succeed, however, if the 30,000 are joined by legions of volunteers, seniors, and teenagers, business and civic groups, libraries and religious institutions and, above all, parents. We have to build on the groundwork we have been laying by AmeriCorps, our Nation's national service program. Today I am giving AmeriCorps a new charge: Make reading central to your mission.

Let me tell you what they have done already. Let's just take one place. In Simpson County, Kentucky, a county in rural Kentucky, 25 of our young AmeriCorps volunteers helped 128 second-grade students make up almost 3 years of reading progress in just one school year. We can do that. We can do that.

All over America, efforts like this are working. And in several places in America, organized attempts to train, galvanize, and energize parents are making a difference. We worked hard on that when I was the Governor of Arkansas, I've seen the program work in Missouri. Parents should be their children's first teachers, and we should give them the support they need to be those first teachers.

There are a lot of things you can do for your children, but nothing will do them much more good in the long run than reading to them every night. I can still remember as many of Chelsea's books as she can. Some of them I can almost remember by heart, because kids want to hear the same ones over and over and over again. But when they grow and they learn to read on their own and you see their imaginations fire and you know their lives are going to be richer because of it, then every single tired night a parent spends reading a book to a child is a night well worth it. Every dollar we spend bringing in people to help these kids after school with personal tutoring is a dollar

well worth it. We know our children have to spend more time reading and less time in front of the television set. We know—we know that if every single parent would just spend a half an hour a night reading to their children, within a matter of years there would be no issue about whether our third graders could read as they should. We know that.

We know, too, that the private sector can help. Let me say that one thing I'm really proud of in America is the way the business community is moving to change its standards of what's good for business. I was proud when I visited that Chrysler plant in Toledo that they gave their workers an average bonus of $8,000 a year last year because they all made money and they thought the workers were entitled to their fair share. I'm proud of that.

But I want you to know something else; when we passed the telecommunications bill not very long ago to create hundreds of thousands of new jobs in the telecommunications industry, we also required new TV's to give you, the parents of this country, a V-chip so that parents will be able to control what their younger children see and not see inappropriate material. But it wouldn't work if the entertainment industry hadn't stepped up to the plate and said, "We're going to start rating television shows the way we rate movies, and we're going to give that information to parents and let them make their own decisions." And now the entertainment industry is working with us to create 3 hours more of prime time educational television programming a week in the next couple of years. People are moving in the right direction. We need more of that.

So let me leave you with this thought: We've got 10 million more jobs, a million and a half fewer people on welfare; the crime rate is coming down; child support collections are going up; America is growing together and going forward; wages are rising for the first time in a decade. But the most important thing we have to do is to make sure our children are ready for the 21st century. And I want you to join with me in saying, one way we're going to do that is to make sure every single boy and girl in America can read on his or her own by the time they're in the third grade. Will you do it?

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the Bacon Memorial Public Library. In his remarks, he referred to students Justin Whitney and Elizabeth Schweye; Michigan State Representative Joey Palamara; Mayor James DeSana of Wyandotte; and Patricia Cole, superintendent, Wyandotte Public Schools.

Remarks in Royal Oak, Michigan
August 27, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you so very, very much. You have made me feel so welcome. I never dreamed when we came to Royal Oak there would be such a vast crowd. I thank you—all the way down here, back here behind us. And when Don Johnson was up here talking and he said, "Detroit, which is near here," I thought, I bet all the people in Royal Oak think of that—Detroit's a town that's near Royal Oak. [*Laughter*] I bet that's what they think.

Let me begin by thanking my good friend Bob Scully and Don Johnson and all the other law enforcement officials who are here and those throughout the Nation for their support. I'm very grateful to them, and I'm very grateful to them for joining me here today.

I want to thank Congressman Sandy Levin, your Congressman and a great Congressman. I want you to know that he has worked for you, for your jobs, for your welfare, for the strength of your communities and your values relentlessly. He talks to me all the time, and he wears me out until I finally do what he thinks I should do for you. And I hope you'll keep him in the Congress.

I'd like to thank all the other law enforcement officials who are here. I'd like to thank those who performed here, the Kimbal High School Madrigal Singers; the Stagecrafters; David Sign; the Detroit Red Wings who are here, Kris Draper and Stu Grimson; Jim McClain, the emcee. Thank you all very much. I'd like to thank some others who came with me: Congressman Dale Kildee, who's over here on my left; Congressman John Conyers is here; Attorney General Frank Kelley; former Governor Jim Blanchard; Senator Don Riegle.

I have a lot of other people from Michigan that are traveling with me on this train. We're having a good time. I also have with me an old friend of mine and one of the great American heroes of the civil rights movement, Mrs. Rosa Parks. Please give her a great hand. [*Applause*] Thank you, Rosa. God bless you. Thank you, thank you.

I'd also like to acknowledge in the audience a very brave lady, the mother of another brave woman who was to visit me in the White House next week. But Denise Marie Lazar just passed away from Huntington's disease. Her mother, Charlene Solo, is here in the audience. I'd like for you to give her a hand. [*Applause*] She's a brave lady, and she's done a good job. Charlene, where are you? Thank you.

Folks, I've had a wonderful day. We've had great crowds from West Virginia to Kentucky, all through Ohio and now in Michigan. But I don't have any idea how many folks we have here. They're way back down the street there, way off down here, way off behind us, and we're glad to see you. We're glad to see you.

I want to say to all of you that I came through here on this train for two reasons. First, I wanted to look out into this crowd and see your faces. I wanted to see the people that I have worked for for these last 4 years, and I wanted you to know I'm still working for you and I'm proud to be your President. Secondly, I wanted you to see this train. This train is not just on the right track to Chicago; it's on the right track to the 21st century, and we're going to keep it there.

You know, in 1992——

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. We need a doctor over here. We've got one here. We'll get somebody here in a minute; we've got a doctor with us. We need a doctor over here in the crowd. We'll be right there. Let me say—here we go; we're getting somebody there right now. There you go. Here's my medic; they'll be right there. Done. You all can't do anything about that. Let's go on with the program. She's going to do a good job; she's terrific.

Four years ago, when I came to Michigan, I was hoping I'd do pretty well here because half the people that lived in Arkansas in the 1950's moved to Michigan to get a job. [*Laughter*] And the dream they had was largely fulfilled, the dream of being able to find a good job and educate their children and have a secure retirement and build a good life and a strong community and a strong country.

Four years ago, I was afraid that dream was about to be lost. We had high unemployment, stagnant wages, no strategy for meeting our challenges, and a rising tide of cynicism among our people. Four years later it's a lot different. We wouldn't have this crowd here if you were cynical today, and we thank you and God bless you.

Let me also say that the reason I ran for President 4 years ago is the reason I seek reelection: I wanted to prepare our country for the 21st century. I want us to go into that next century, only 4 years away now, roaring with the American dream alive for every person, a possibility for every person to live up to their God-given abilities, for every person to live out their dreams, no matter where they live, what they start with, what their racial or their religious background is.

And we have followed a simple strategy: Create more opportunity for people, expect more responsibility from our people, and tell everybody that we have got to go forward together. We have got to go forward together. We know that this country, when we're together, never loses. And I don't know how you feel but I look around the world today—I spent so much time as your President trying to bring peace to places like Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, dealing with the slaughters in Rwanda and Burundi. Why? Because all over the world there are people who insist upon looking down on each other because of their racial, their ethnic, their religious, or their tribal differences instead of joining together hand in hand to move forward. And whenever I see that in America I want to stamp it out. That's why I have done everything I could to make us all stand up

against the church burnings. And whenever a synagogue or a Muslim center is defaced, it's wrong.

We have to fight that. The America I want for our children is one that says, we don't care anything else about you if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, you work hard, pay your taxes, obey the law and believe in our country. You're our kind of American, and we're going with you into the 21st century.

Now, this has been a great day for me, and last night was a great night when we started our convention. But I want to tell you something about our convention last night. We did something that had never been done before. We just had citizens talk. We had an autoworker from Toledo that I met with again this morning. Toledo—they work—it's the oldest auto plant in America—1910—but they're selling Jeeps in Japan with right-hand drive. It's a plant where there's a genuine partnership between workers and management, where 70 percent of the workers are in continuing education programs and they got a $8,000 bonus last year because they have people who believe that when a company makes money, the workers are entitled to their fair share. And I hope that all of you in Michigan are justly proud that for the first time since the 1970's, it is the United States that is producing more and selling more automobiles than any other country in the entire world.

We had a police officer named Mike Robbins from Chicago there. I don't know if you heard him speak, but I'll never forget when I met him and he said, "I served my country in Vietnam, in Desert Storm, and by the grace of God I was never harmed. I came home to serve my country on the streets of Chicago, and within 45 seconds I had 9 bullets in my body from an assault weapon. And when I heard the President say we all had to speak up, I decided if I got out of my hospital bed I was going to do my part." Mike Robbins is the kind of person I'm fighting for, the kind of person we need in uniform today, the kind of person that's giving his life for our people.

There was a young Puerto Rican-American girl, an immigrant to our country who dropped out of high school, who spoke. She got in AmeriCorps, our national service program. She started helping younger children to learn, and she decided she was pretty smart herself, so she went back and finished high school. And she's going to a wonderful school, Brown University, and she's going to be a doctor and give something back to her country because we gave her a chance to earn her way through college through national service. There was a retired general, who is now the superintendent of schools in Seattle, Washington, reminding us that education, too, is part of our national security. And of course, there were Jim and Sarah Brady talking about the Brady bill, and they were perfectly wonderful.

And then there was Christopher Reeve and his magnificent performance, reminding us that we dare not balance the budget on the backs of the American families with handicapped people and we dare not—dare not—walk away from our obligations to research, to find the answers to the medical and scientific mysteries that still confront us. And I tell you, I was proud of him, and I was proud of him for saying that not everybody who gets hurt like that is an actor with a comfortable income. That's why we have to preserve Medicaid for middle class families with disabilities who deserve to have that kind of help.

I say that because, folks, we want our convention to be about you, not about us. We want our convention to be about the connection between our Nation's leaders and the people who really count, people who live in places like Royal Oak, Michigan, all over the United States of America. Now, you think about where we are now compared to where we were 4 years ago, with opportunity, responsibility, and community; 10 million more jobs; a 60 percent reduction in the deficit; 4½ million new homeowners; 10 million homeowners who have refinanced their homes at lower interest rates; a couple of million college students eligible for lower cost college loans with better repayment terms; 1½ million fewer people on welfare and a 40 percent increase in child support payments in the last 4 years; 50 million more Americans breathing cleaner air; more toxic waste sites cleaned up in 3 years than in the previous 12 years. I am proud of that, and you should be, too.

But folks, we also want our convention to be about the future, the future we have to build together. And I want to talk to you about that for a few minutes. We've gotten our economic house in order. We have record exports, record small business starts, and we are in good shape overall. But you know as well as I do, there are still a lot of people working hard who'd

like a better chance to fully participate in the American dream. There are still these kids coming up that we have to get an education. And I want to focus on not what we've done the last 4 years but what we're going to do for the next four.

And let me just give you a few examples. Number one—

Audience members. No scab workers! No scab workers! No scab workers!

The President. I agree with that.

Audience members. No scab workers! No scab workers! No scab workers!

The President. Look, can I say something? Wait a minute. You know I agree with that. Get yourself a Congress that agrees with me.

So I want you to think about this. Number one, we've got to keep this economy going. And that means we have to find a way to balance the budget and protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment and not raid workers' pension funds and not raise taxes on the lowest income working people and all the other things that were in that budget I vetoed last year, and I'm glad I did.

But I want you to listen. We do have to balance the budget. Why? Why have we brought this economy back? Because for the first time since before the Civil War we brought the deficit down 4 years in a row and interest rates have been lower. What happens when interest rates go down? Your home mortgage payment, your car payment, your credit card payment is lower. More important, a business person can go to the bank, borrow money cheaper, and invest to create more jobs and higher incomes for the American people.

So I say to you, I want you to have a tax cut, but I want you to have one that we can pay for, balance the budget, and invest in education and the environment and Medicare and Medicaid. Because we have still—if we blow this deficit up again after getting it down, what will happen? Higher car payments, higher home mortgage payments, higher credit card payments, fewer jobs, a slower economy. We've got to keep this thing going on the right track, folks. We've got to have a tax cut that we can afford, that helps families to educate their children, deal with their health care problems, get that first-time home, but still keeps the economy growing and going.

The second thing we've got to do is to make sure we do an even better job of educating our children and our adults. In the next 4 years, I intend to spend a great deal of time trying to make sure that every single person in this country gets a world-class education. And I just—let me mention two or three things.

Number one, in Wyandotte earlier today, I said that I want us to have a national goal that by the year 2000, every single child in America in the third grade will be reading well at grade level and not be behind. Every one. And we can do that. We can do it.

Number two, I want us, by the year 2000, to make sure every single classroom in America and every library not only has computers, not only has teachers qualified to use the computers and teach the kids, but is hooked up to the information superhighway so everybody can know everything every other class can know. Now, you think about this. You think about this. If we can do this, it means in the poorest inner-city school, in the most remote rural mountain village, they will have access to the same information that people in the wealthiest schools do today. We can explode learning in America if we just give everybody the same resources.

Finally, we have to make it possible for everybody to go on after high school. And my goal is, by the year 2000, to have the 13th and 14th grades, at least 2 years of education after high school, as universal as high school is today. How are we going to do it? We're going to do it with a tax cut we can afford, a $1,500 refundable tax credit for the first 2 years of education after high school, a $10,000 tax deduction for all education after high school for middle class families in America to get people back in school and pay for their education.

Folks, we also have to recognize that there are other things to be done to help working people constitute their lives strong and good. Last week we had a good week for America's families. I signed the bill that raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans. But I want you to know what else it did. I want you to know what else it did. It also gave a tax break to small businesses that invest more in their business and made it easier for small-business people and their employees to take out retirement plans and for those folks to keep those retirement plans when they change from job to job. Since most people work for small businesses, that's important for America. We need for those people to be able to have a retirement.

And finally, let me tell you what the minimum wage bill did. It also gave a $5,000 tax credit to any family that adopts a child, and more if they adopt a child that has a disability. And it removed the longstanding prejudice against cross-racial adoptions. There are lots of kids out there without a home. I think we can give more of them homes now. That's pro-family, pro-business, pro-work.

The other thing that Congress did last week that I especially liked was to pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum health reform bill. What it says to 25 million Americans in this shape, nobody can deny you health insurance anymore because somebody in your family has been sick. And if you change jobs or you lose your job, they can't automatically take your health insurance away from you. That's a great thing. That's a great thing.

But we have more to do. That's a great first step. That was in the health care reform I proposed in '94. I'm so proud of the Congress for adopting it. But now we need to recognize that there are still some things we have to do. Just because you have a right to keep your health insurance doesn't mean you can afford to pay for it.

The next step is in the balanced budget plan I have presented: Give unemployed workers and their families health insurance for 6 months after they're unemployed, help them get—[*applause*]. And then, we have to find a way for small-business people to join together in pools and buy good insurance policies, like we Federal employees have, at an affordable price. And that's the next step. And there was a lady that had a sign back there I want to comment on. We also have to find a way to provide access to mental health benefits and health insurance. It's a very important thing for our country. The Vice President's wonderful wife, Tipper Gore, has worked so hard on that. So there is still a lot to do.

We passed the welfare reform bill, but let me tell you something, folks, that is the beginning, not the end of this process. The reason I signed that bill was, first of all, we've already reduced the welfare rolls by a million and a half by putting people in programs to move from welfare to work. But we need to do more.

So when the Congress said, "Okay, I'll give in"—I had to veto two of those bills first—"we'll give people on welfare their health care; we'll provide more for child care; we'll make sure the kids have food to eat," I said, now, we will give what used to be the welfare check to the States, the Federal and the State money. But they then have to decide how to move people from welfare to work. That's our next challenge. We have to get more jobs in the inner cities, more jobs in the isolated rural areas. If you're going to tell somebody they have to go to work because they're able-bodied, they have to have work to find. They have to have a job to go to, and we've got to do that.

So there's a lot to do. Let me give you another example. We worked hard to prove that you could grow the economy and clean up the environment, and I believe you can, the toxic waste sites, the clean air, the Safe Drinking Water Act. We have adopted a revolutionary pesticide protection act so that children's food will be more free of dangerous pesticides. We are moving forward. We've changed the meat and poultry inspection system of the country for the first time in 70 years, and that's important. We have to do more.

One of the most important things that we're doing that we have to continue is the work we began with the auto industry in 1993, in partnership to develop a new clean car that can get 3 times the mileage of the present cars, clean up the air, and save money for the American people and people all over the world.

So there's lots to do. We want to clean up two-thirds of the toxic waste dumps that are still out there. There's lots to do. And I want you to support that. We have an interest in America, in a clean economy—I mean, a strong economy and a clean environment, and we can do both.

Audience member. Clean up the—[*inaudible*].

The President. You can say that; I can't. [*Laughter*]

I just want to mention a couple of other things. These fine police officers have been here. In 1994, a lot of the folks that voted with them for the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban and the 100,000 police got beat when they ran for reelection. They got beat in places like Michigan and Arkansas because we live in a State—I did and you do—where probably nearly half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both. I guess I was 12 years old the first time I picked up a .22 and started shooting cans off fence posts. But you know, I couldn't figure out what they were all saying back in '94, "Well, this is a terrible thing

if we check to see if a person's got a criminal record before we give them a handgun. This is a terrible thing that we're not going to keep peddling these assault weapons that were designed to kill people." And a lot of folks said to folks in Michigan and Arkansas, "You're going to lose your rifle. Boy, they're coming after you next." Let me tell you something, folks. We've had two deer seasons since then; not a single Michigan or Arkansas hunter has lost the rifle they were hunting with in 1994. Not a one. Not a one. Not a one.

But according to what Sarah Brady said last night, 100,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did lose the right to get a handgun, and we're a safer country because of that. I would never knowingly do anything to interfere with the right of the American people to hunting and sporting use of their weapons. But I'm telling you, folks, a lot of those folks who talk about it have never seen the war zone that a lot of American children live in. I have looked into the faces of people who live on blocks where 13-year-old kids have been shot down on lark drive-by shootings. As I said last night, the convention was opened by a man who fought in Vietnam without incident and had his body riddled with 9 bullet holes in 45 seconds.

So we can find a way to hunt and to fish and to shoot in contests and to have a big time and protect people. Surely, we can. I want the Congress to ban these cop-killer bullets. They're fighting that, too.

[*An audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. We need a doctor. They'll get it. We got it. The doctor is already there.

You know, I have never seen a deer in a bulletproof vest. [*Laughter*] And if they can show me one, I'll reassess my position on this issue. But until I find a deer or a duck or a wild turkey wearing a Kevlar vest, I'm going to stick with these folks and be for banning those cop-killer bullets.

One last thing, I think one of the biggest dilemmas our people face today—I look out here and see all of you—need a doctor over there? Connie, can we send—we need someone back in the back over here. We'll be right there. Just hold up the signs where you are. Somebody hold up the sign; we'll send somebody right back there.

One of the biggest problems people face is trying to balance the demands of childrearing and work. I bet there is not a family here that can't remember a personal instance where you were torn between the demands of your job and the demands of your children. I'll bet you can't think—there is not anybody here that hasn't been through that. That's why I'm so proud that we passed the family and medical leave law. Twelve million Americans got to take some time off from work without losing their job.

One other thing, you know it hasn't hurt the economy. We've got 10¼ million new jobs and a record number of new small businesses. But 12 million families got to be there when the baby was born or the parent was sick, without losing their job. And I'd like to see that law expanded so that people could have just a little time to make those regular doctor's appointments and regular teacher's appointments with their kids or their parents.

I'd like to see the provisions of my balanced budget bill passed so that people on Medicare—that ladies can get regular mammograms who are Medicare-eligible. I'd like to see people who have someone in their families with Alzheimer's they're trying to take care of be able to access some respite care. These things will save us money. They will make us a more humane country. They will strengthen America's families.

So I ask you, if you agree we're better off than we were 4 years ago, if you agree we've got to keep working until we create opportunity for all Americans, make all communities responsible, and go forward together, I want to ask you if you will, at least in your mind and heart, will you get on this train with me for 70 days and keep us on the right track? Will you stay with me to take America into the 21st century? Do you believe we can do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I know we can.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:35 p.m. at the intersection of Sixth and Center Streets. In his remarks, he referred to Bob Scully, executive director, National Association of Police Organizations; Don Johnson, president, Detroit Police Officers Association; and Capt. Connie Mariano, USN, the President's physician. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Pontiac, Michigan
August 27, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. First of all, let me say it is wonderful to be in Pontiac. I am sorry that it's been since Harry Truman came here in 1948 since a President has been here. But I'm glad to be following in Harry Truman's footsteps with you today. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Let me begin by saying a thank you to Jay and to Jenna for their work in AmeriCorps, for the example they set for our young people, and for their proof that our young people still care about others and want our country to be a stronger, better, brighter place.

Thank you, Mayor Moore, for your enthusiastic welcome and for your leadership. I want to thank all the community leaders, all the school leaders, all the ministers, all the other folks from Pontiac who are here who've made us feel so welcome. Thank you, my good friend Rosa Parks, for being here with us and for inspiring so many people.

Thank you, Congressman Kildee, for standing up for America and standing up for the people of this district and standing against what they tried to do in that budget last year when we made our veto stick. Thank you, Senator Levin. Thank you for all your many fights on behalf of the people of Michigan and the people of the United States. I hope you all will send Carl Levin and Dale Kildee back to the United States Congress.

I want to thank all the fine people from Michigan who came with me, including your former Governor, Jim Blanchard, and your former Senator, Don Riegle, and a whole bunch of other folks who came here with us.

And I'd like to thank my friend Vinnie Johnson for being the emcee. I've never seen him emcee anything, and I was wondering if he had as many moves up here as he did on the basketball court. [*Laughter*] Did he do well?

I want to thank Alice Moore for singing the national anthem; the Anointed Voices of Praise; the GANG—God's Anointed Next Generation; the Pontiac High School Band; the Pontiac Northern High School Band; the fellow that played the saxophone, Randy Scott. Thank you all. Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm taking this train through the heartland of America. We've been in West Virginia and Kentucky, all through Ohio and now into Michigan. And I'm doing it for two reasons: First, selfishly, at this, the beginning of what will be my last campaign, to go to Chicago to once again accept the nomination of my party for President, I wanted to go through America's heartland. I wanted to look into the faces, into the eyes, and into the hearts of the people I have been working and fighting for for 4 years to make America a better place. And second, I wanted you to see that not only is this train on the right track, America is on the right track for the 21st century.

I'm proud of our convention in Chicago. I wish Hillary and Chelsea were with me. They started out with me, but Hillary had to go home to Chicago, and she's going to speak tonight. I hope you'll go home and watch it and give her a cheer. And our daughter stayed with me a little while longer, but she left me this morning in Toledo because she wanted to hear Mom give her speech, so that's where they are.

But we've had a wonderful time on this trip. You heard the mayor say we started the morning in Toledo. Last night an autoworker from Toledo was one of the American citizens speaking at the opening of the Democratic Convention. And he was speaking there because the work we have done with the auto industry to open new markets abroad helped to put 700 jobs in the oldest automobile plant in America, in Toledo, Ohio, built in 1910—an automobile plant since 1910. That 1910 auto plant is exporting over 41,000 Jeeps overseas this year, selling our cars.

And let me tell you why it happened. It happened because the UAW and the management have a partnership. It happened because they're working together. It happened because 70 percent of the people in that plant are getting continuing education, and they made so much money for Chrysler last year, the workers got an average bonus of $8,000. Now, why? Because that's a company that believes that if they make money, the workers ought to have their fair share. That's good for America. It's right for America. But guess what? It turned out to be

good for the company. For the first time in 20 years, it is the United States that is making and selling the largest number of automobiles of any country in the world.

Then we went on to Wyandotte, and there we gathered in front of a beautiful old library, about 100 years old, and a huge crowd turned out. And I was introduced by two really young people—not grown young people, I mean young people—about 8 years old, maybe 7. And we built them little platforms, and they stood up in front of the library and they read the end of that wonderful little children's book, "The Little Engine That Could." Do you know that story? The little engine had only been used for switching cars. The little engine had never been over the mountain. But the toys couldn't get to the boys and girls unless the little engine went over the mountain for the only time in its life. And the little engine kept saying "I think I can. I think I can." I still remember reading that book to Chelsea over and over and over again. [*Laughter*] But you know what? The message gets through. And that's a message every child in America, without regard to race or income or background, ought to have, because they can if we give them a chance. They can if we give them a chance.

And there in Wyandotte we made a commitment, a commitment to make sure that if this administration is returned, we are going to put out 30,000 tutors; we're going to mobilize a million volunteers. We're going to ask AmeriCorps to take as its main charge teaching children to read so that by the year 2000, every boy and girl in the third grade in America will be able to read well on their own.

And then we went to Royal Oak. I didn't see the royal oak, but I saw the biggest crowd of folks I ever saw in a long time. And there the National Association of Police Officers endorsed Bill Clinton and Al Gore in the Presidential election, because for 4 years in a row the crime rate has been coming down in America because we're putting 100,000 police on the street, because we did pass the Brady bill—and according to Mrs. Brady last night at our convention, 100,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not been able to get guns, but no hunter has lost a gun since we did that—and because we have to keep working until all of our children are free and safe.

I met one young woman police officer up on that platform who was in the D.A.R.E. program. Chelsea still talks about her fifth-grade D.A.R.E. officer. One of the things that we did that I was so proud of was to pass the safe and drug-free schools law, to give our communities the resources to send people into these schools when the children are young and try to help them stay off drugs in the first place. It's one thing that isn't going so well in this country; teenage drug use is going up. But when the Congress tried to cut the safe and drug-free schools program, I said, "No, we've got a problem. We need to do more of that." We turned it around, and we're going forward. And they stayed with us.

So it's been a wonderful day. And it's real nice now. I look around here, I look in this audience, and I see what makes America great. I want to lead this country into the 21st century with the American dream alive for every person in America. I believe that we ought to have a country where everybody has a chance to live up to their God-given abilities, everyone has a chance to live out their dreams. To do it we have to have opportunity for everybody, responsibility from everybody, and we have to recognize that we are all one country, in spite of all of our differences, and we better get used to it and like it and go forward together.

That's what AmeriCorps is about. That's what this Golden Opportunity Club is about. That's what these Scout leaders and the Scouts are all about.

Audience member. The cheerleaders!

The President. The cheerleaders. Look at the little kids. Give them a hand there. [*Applause*] And where are our veterans' leaders? We've got some veterans over here somewhere. Thank you. And here's what this is about.

Audience members. Teachers!

The President. I'm coming to you. [*Laughter*] Oh, no, no, no. I'm coming to you. I've got a special thing to say about you.

So here's what I want you to think about. I want all of you to think in your own mind: What do I want my country to look like when we start this new century? What do I want my country to look like when my children are my age? What kind of legacy do I want to leave to my grandchildren? If we have more opportunity, more responsibility, and we're one American community, there is no stopping this country. Our best days are ahead. That's what I've been working on.

Number one, I knew when I became President we had to get that deficit down to get interest rates down to put people back to work. Now we've got over 10 million new jobs, and we're just getting warmed up. We brought the deficit down 4 years in a row for the first time in a President's administration since before the Civil War. We would have a surplus today in our budget—a surplus—if it weren't for the interest we have to pay on the debt run up in the 12 years before I showed up. But I'm working on it, and I want you to let me finish the job. I want you to let me finish the job. And we did this, and we're going to balance that budget without cutting education, cutting environmental protection, and breaking the backs of Medicare and Medicaid.

And we have to make sure that ordinary Americans can benefit from this economy. We have got to do that. We had a good week for ordinary Americans last week. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million workers. The same bill contained a tax cut for small businesses, who create most of our jobs, so they can invest more in their businesses, and made it easier for them to take out pensions for themselves and their workers and for the workers in small businesses to keep those pensions when they change jobs. That was a good thing.

The same bill gave a $5,000 tax credit to adults who will adopt children, and even more if the children have disabilities. And it removed the barriers to cross-racial adoption. There's a lot of kids out there that need a happy home. That was a good thing to do, that we did.

And the Congress passed the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill that your two Members here had been working for for a long time. It says to 25 million Americans, just because somebody in your family has been sick, they can't take your insurance away from you anymore. It says you don't lose your insurance when you change jobs. This is a good thing.

But we have to do more. We have to do more. We ought now to say just because you can't lose your insurance doesn't mean you can pay for it. We ought to help families that are unemployed keep their health insurance for 6 months. I'm for that. I want to help people who have someone in their family with Alzheimer's and they're trying to care for them, get a little respite care. That's in my balanced budget plan, too, so they can keep their families and take care of them. We have to do more. And I want you to believe that we can do these things.

The most important thing we have to do is to make sure every child in this country and every adult in this country can get the education they need. And I want to say to you—I don't know about the rest of you, but I wouldn't be standing up here if it weren't for my teachers, the people that believed in me. And I know that not every school is perfect and not every class is successful, but we've still got a public education system that is doing its best to take everybody that comes in the door and give all those kids a chance. And some of these teachers are laboring under great difficulties. And so I say to you, we need to make a commitment that we're going to do what we can to take responsibility for our schools and lift up the people that are trying to make them work, not get out here and bash them day-in and day-out. We need to be lifting them up.

I want to see—I want to see every classroom in this country, every single one, in 4 years not only have the computers they need, not only have teachers trained in the computers, but I want every single classroom hooked up to the worldwide information superhighway—everyone.

Now, consider what this means. This could mean that for the first time in the history of the United States ever, children in the poorest urban classrooms, children in the most remote hill or hollow of Appalachia, would have access to the same information in the same time at the same quality as the children in the wealthiest, best financed schools in the United States of America. It has never happened before. Then we'll see what happens on those test scores. Then we'll see what happens.

I want to see an America where every young person can go to college and every adult can go to college. Four years from now, I want 2 years of education after high school, the equivalent of a community college diploma, to be just as universal as a high school diploma is today. And I want to give you a tax credit to pay for those 2 years and a deduction for all college costs to up to $10,000 a year of tuition. That's a tax cut. That's a tax cut we can pay for and a tax cut that will pay for itself many times over. We need to do that.

Well, there's a lot more I'd like to tell you, but you get the idea. We've got 10 million more jobs, 1½ million fewer people on welfare.

Twelve million people took advantage of the family and medical leave law and didn't lose their jobs, and that's a good thing for America. We've got 4½ million new homeowners, 10 million American families who refinanced their homes at lower interest rates, 50 million Americans breathing cleaner air. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. You get the picture. You get the picture?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We're on the right track. We're moving in the right direction. We've got 10 million people with a minimum wage increase. But we've got to do it.

Will you help us stay on the right track?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us all the way to November?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you stay with us all the way to 2000?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you stand with the children in your community?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:37 p.m. on the rear platform of the 21st Century Express at the Amtrak station. In his remarks, he referred to Jay LeBlanc and Jenna Blahunka, AmeriCorps volunteers; Mayor Walter Moore of Pontiac; and civil rights activist Rosa Parks.

Remarks at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan
August 27, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. It's great to be back at Michigan State. Thank you. I want to thank first Letha Miller for that wonderful introduction and for her example. Weren't you proud of her? I thought she did a great job.

I thank President McPherson and your board chairman, Bob Weiss, for welcoming me. I know the mayors of Lansing and East Lansing are here. And somewhere Senator Levin has a Lansing Lugnuts baseball cap for me. I don't know where it is, but I'm prepared to wear it. There it is. What do you think? I like it.

I would like to thank the Olympians who are here from Michigan: Paul McMullen, Eric Namesnik, and Mike Castle. I'd like to thank the Paralympian, Ed McGinnis. I'd like to thank especially my good friend Carl Levin for being here, and I hope you'll send him back to the Senate from Michigan. He's a good man who does a good job for you.

And I want to say a special word about Debbie Stabenow, who is running for Congress. I'm very proud of the fact that we put in the direct loan program to lower the cost and improve the repayment terms of college loans so no one would ever have to decline to go to college because of the loan burden. Everyone can pay it back as a percentage of their income. I'm very proud that we increased Head Start. I'm very proud that we did things for education. And I'm proud that I vetoed the budget of the Republican Congress when they tried to undo it all. And I believe a great university like Michigan State is entitled to be represented in the United States Congress by someone who believes in student loans, not someone who tries to abolish them. And I think you should make a change.

Folks, I've had a wonderful couple of days. Hillary and Chelsea and I started out on this train in West Virginia, and then Hillary went home to Chicago to start our convention, and Chelsea and I went through West Virginia, Kentucky, into Ohio. Then this morning in Toledo, Chelsea went to hear her mom speak tonight. And thank goodness, since we're a little late—I'm sorry we are, but I got to hear her mom speak tonight, too, on the train, and she was terrific. I was so proud of her.

And today we have been in Michigan. This train I'm taking across America is going across this heartland of our country for two reasons. For one thing, I really wanted to go to this

convention to accept the nomination of my party for President for the second time, to begin the last campaign I'll ever make, by looking into the eyes, the faces, the hearts of the people of this country for whom I have worked and fought these last 4 years. And you have made me happy and pleased beyond my wildest dreams. I am proud to be an American when I look out at you and I see you. But I also wanted you to see this train, and I wanted you to see that it is on the right track, not just to Chicago, we're on the right track to the 21st century, and we intend to stay right on it.

Four years ago when I came to Michigan and I asked the people here to support me in the quest for the Presidency, I did it because it was a fight for the future, a future that most of you young people will have a lot more of than those of us who now have our AARP cards. [*Laughter*] I did it because I wanted to us to go into the next century with every American able to live up to the fullest of his or her God-given capacity, every American who's willing to work for it to have a chance to live his or her dreams. That, after all, is the great promise of this country. And I didn't like the fact that our country had high unemployment and stagnant wages and increasing division and unmet challenges and rising cynicism, especially among the young, about our political system. Well, 4 years later I can come back to you and I can say, I wanted to bring hope back to America. There is more hope, more progress, because we are better off than we were 4 years ago and we're going on the right track into the 21st century.

I have a simple formula, folks, for what I've been trying to do: more opportunity for people, more responsibility from our citizens, and a strong sense of American community. The special thing about this country is that we are bound together not by race or religion but by our shared values.

In the last 4 years, I have spent so much time as your President trying to make peace in other parts of the world. And we've made a lot of progress, but we've also got a lot of challenges out there, because it is so maddening to see from the Middle East to Bosnia, to Northern Ireland, to Rwanda and Burundi and other parts of the world how many places in the world are people determined to fight and kill each other because of their different races, their different religions, their different ethnicity, their different tribal roots. Why do people have to look down on each other who are different from them? In my America, if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence and you're willing to show up and be counted every day and be good law-abiding citizens, nothing else matters. We're going into the future together.

So I say to you, you look where we are on the question of opportunity, you look where we are on the question of people taking more responsibility, you look where we are on the question of coming together, and I say to you we're on the right track.

In the last 4 years—let me just mention a few things: We have 10 million more jobs. We have 4½ million new homeowners. We have 10 million homeowners who have refinanced their mortgages at lower rates. We have 50 million Americans breathing cleaner air. We have cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. We have 1½ million fewer people on welfare. We have a 40 percent increase in child support payments. We have 2 million people now eligible for these direct student loans that you just heard about.

Just in the last week, look what happened. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. We gave the small-business people of this country a tax cut if they invest more in their business. And we made it easier for people to take out pensions for their employees. We made it easier for parents to adopt by giving a $5,000 tax credit for people who adopt a child, and even more if the child has a disability. There are so many kids out there who need a home. What we did in the minimum wage bill was pro-work, pro-family, and pro-business. It was a great day for America when we signed it.

And then we signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, which said to 25 million Americans, you can't lose your health insurance anymore if you lose your job, if you change jobs, or if somebody in your family has been sick. That's what health insurance is for. It was a great day for America.

Audience member. We love you!

The President. And so—you get the picture. We're moving in the right direction. Twelve million Americans have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law so they could take some time off without losing their job when

a baby is born or a parent is sick. We're moving in the right direction. It didn't hurt the country.

I could go on and on and on. I am proud of the progress we have made. And I'm proud of some things that didn't happen, too. I want to balance the budget. I know that the things that we have done that have sparked this economic growth, perhaps more than anything else, is to drive the terrible deficit down. It's going to be your problem, the young people in this audience, if we don't do something about it.

When I became President, we had quadrupled the national debt in 12 years. The deficit was $290 billion and headed higher. Well, 4 years later, we've got it down to $116 billion, a 60 percent reduction. And those low interest rates—those low interest rates for all of you and your families, what do they mean? They mean more investment for more jobs. They mean lower payments for credit cards, for cars, for homes. They mean a stronger future.

And I want to balance the budget as much as the next person, and more than most, and I have a plan to do it. But when the Republicans in Congress sent me that plan that said, "Take it or leave it, and if you don't take it we'll shut the Government down," I had to say no. I had to say no.

And I want to remind you again, when you make a decision about for whom to vote in the Senate race and the Congress race, I want to just remind you one more time about why I said no. Because that budget said, "If you want a balanced budget, Mr. President, you have to agree to big cuts in education funding and limits on student loans and abolishing the AmeriCorps national service program. If you want a balanced budget, Mr. President, you have to agree to huge cuts in environmental investment, and undermining the ability of the American Government to protect clean air, clean water, and take us in the future. If you want a balanced budget, Mr. President, you have to agree to strip the Federal Government of the commitment we have made for 30 years to health care for the elderly in nursing homes, for middle class families with people with disabilities in them, for people who are very poor and pregnant, and for little kids."

Last night when Christopher Reeve spoke at the Democratic Convention so movingly, one of the things that I remembered was my conversation with him in which he said, "Mr. President, I'm glad you didn't let them take Medicaid away because not everybody who gets hurt like I did has a good income like I had, and it can break anyone who is disabled." We need to continue to keep faith with the values that made America strong and great and noble and good.

And so I ask you to go with me on to Chicago and into this campaign and into the next 4 years, because we still have a lot to do. We have challenges that are unmet. We have opportunities that are unseized. We have to keep the economy growing. We have to have the right kind of tax cut, one that we can afford and still balance the budget and not hurt the things we care about, and that is focused first and foremost on education.

I want to make 2 years of college as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today. I want to give a tax deduction for families for the cost of college tuition, any kind of education after high school, undergraduate or graduate, up to $10,000 a year and a $1,500 credit for those first 2 years. That's a good tax cut. That's a tax cut that we can pay for and a tax cut that will more than pay us back in a stronger, healthier, more vibrant America.

I want to see all the high schools in this country, every schoolroom, hooked up not only to computers, with trained teachers, but hooked up to the Internet, to that information superhighway that will allow the poorest schools in America access to the same information in the same time at the same quality as the richest schools in America. It has never happened in the history of this country. We're going to make it happen in the next 4 years.

I want to tell you that it's not just on economics that we've made progress. The crime rate has been coming down for 4 years, but it is still too high. It has come down because we're putting 100,000 police on the street, because we're emphasizing prevention as well as tough punishment, because we banned assault weapons, and because we passed the Brady bill. And I want you to think about this: In Michigan, in Arkansas, some awful good people in 1994 lost their seats in Congress because they had the courage to vote for 100,000 police, a ban on assault weapons, and the Brady bill. They had the courage to vote for it, and many of their constituents were told, "The Government is going to come take your gun away. They're going to stop you from hunting. They're going to stop you from going to the sporting contests."

Well, folks, we've had two deer seasons in Michigan and two in Arkansas, and all our hunters still got the same rifles they started with. But 100,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill.

And now I say to you, we've got to keep this going. And every one of you young people, you might feel very safe tonight, you may feel very secure, but you want to bring your children into the world when you turn on the television news at night, if the lead story is a crime story, you're shocked, stunned, and surprised. Today, we take it for granted. We can change all that. We've got to keep that crime rate coming down. And I'll tell you how we're going to do it.

First of all, we ought to ban cop-killer bullets. I've been trying to do it for 2 years. I hear the same thing. I want you young people to help us do that. I hear the same thing. They say, "Oh, this is a slippery slope. Pretty soon they'll come get our ammunition." I have never seen a deer in the woods with a bulletproof vest on. [*Laughter*] I'm not trying to interfere with anybody's hunting. These bullets are designed to kill police officers, and they'll kill people, too, and we ought to ban them.

And then we ought to extend the Brady bill, in addition to felons, to incidents where violence is used in a domestic setting. If people commit domestic violence, they shouldn't be out there with guns where they can kill people in the family.

And finally let me say again—I want you to think about this when you vote for Congress—one of the reasons I vetoed that budget that they passed, one of the reasons I let them shut the Government down without caving in, is that the Congress sought to abolish—the Republican leadership sought to abolish our commitment to 100,000 police. Now, why in the world they were against it, I don't know. But they sought to abolish it once. They sought to do it again. And they're trying to restrict it today.

I'm telling you, folks, the way you make streets safer is to put police out there, let them get to know the kids, let them get to know the neighbors, let them get to know the reality of what's going on in the neighborhood, have people be friends and partners on the streets in making streets safe and stopping crime from happening. Keep the safe and drug-free schools program going. Get the law enforcement officers in there with the grade school kids, with the D.A.R.E. program and other things. Give these kids something to look forward to, something to be lifted up about. That is the key to the future, and I want you to help me do it. It's your future, your safety that is at stake, and I want you to help me fight for it.

I want you to help me fight for a clean environment. I don't want to see the proposals that were made in the last 2 years become law because there is not a President there to fight against them and to do good things. Now, we've had some very good successes here since the people have raised up their voices and said, "We don't like the weakening of the environment." We just passed the Safe Drinking Water Act. We just passed a law to improve the safety of our food and reduce pesticides. And these are very, very good things. We just overhauled the meat inspection standards for the first time in 70 years; that's a good thing. But we've got more to do. We need to clean up two-thirds of these toxic waste dumps in the next 4 years. We can do that. We need to continue to work to save our national parks. We saved Yellowstone from a gold mine; we need to save the Everglades. We need to stop the idea that we can sell our national parks. We need to build on our natural heritage. We need to build our environment.

Folks, you get the picture. We're better off than we were. We're on the right track. We've still got a lot to do. And it is your future.

The last thing I want to say is this: If you look around in this vast, wonderful, magnificent sea of people, you will see people whose ancestors came from all different places. When I went to see the Olympics and to start them off and I met with the American Olympic team, it made chills run up and down my spine. I thought to myself, if these kids didn't have the American uniform on and they were just walking out there in the Olympic Village, you wouldn't have a clue where they were from. You'd think, well, that person is on the African team and that one's on the Korean team and that one's on the Japanese team and that one's from the Caribbean somewhere and this one's from Latin America and the other one's from Europe and there's somebody from Scandinavia. You can be from anywhere and be American.

And I think one reason we like the Olympics is that everybody gets a chance, everybody plays by the rules, you don't get anywhere by badmouthing your opponent, you can't get a medal if you break your opponent's legs and break

the rules. You just got to reach down deep and do the right thing. And even if you don't win, you're better off for having tried. That's the America I'm trying to build. That's the America I want you to have.

So I want you to think about it. I want you to think about it because we have to fight that. There are always, always going to be people that'll try to pit us against one another, look down on this group or that group or the other group. And we have to say no. We have to say no. If we share the same values and we're willing to show up and be law-abiding citizens, we've all got a role to play and all got a place in America of the 21st century. There is not a nation on Earth as well-positioned for the next century as the United States.

Many of you in this audience tonight will do jobs that have not been invented yet. Many of you will do things that have not been imagined yet. The best days of this country are still before us. You will have opportunities no previous generation of people have ever had in all of human history if—if—we all do our jobs to make opportunity available to everybody, to be good, responsible citizens and to realize that we have to do this together.

We are a great country when we are together. If we let people divide us and make us small and make us look down on one another, we will never reach our potential. But if you look around this sea of folks tonight and you say, they're all my brothers and sisters, we're all Americans, and we are still the greatest country in human history and our best days are still ahead, then they will be. Will you help me? Will you walk with me? Will you stay with me for 70 days and on for 4 years and on into the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Good night. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 p.m. at West Holden Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Letha Miller, student, and M. Peter McPherson, president, Michigan State University; Bob Weiss, chairman, Michigan State University Board; Mayor David Hollister of Lansing; and Mayor Douglas Jester of East Lansing.

Remarks in Battle Creek, Michigan
August 28, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. I want to thank the people over across the street—we know you're there; we're glad you're here. Thank you. I would like to thank Kathy Bloch for her introduction and for the work she's done to support our efforts to stop the marketing, the advertising, and the distribution and the sales of tobacco to young people. That's not legal, and it ought to stop. Three thousand of our young people a day start to smoke, and 1,000 of them will die sooner because of it. It's the biggest public health problem in the country, and I think it's a good thing that Americans have taken action on it again, thanks largely to people like Kathy Bloch and young people themselves who have asked us to help them protect a healthy future for them, and I thank her for it. Thank you, Mark Schauer, for your work and your candidacy. Thank you, Kim Tunnicliff; I thought you gave a good, rousing speech.

I thought to myself when I heard Kim talking, now, if he'd been in Congress, that would have been one more vote against that budget that slashed Medicare by $270 billion and took away the guarantee of health care to the elderly in nursing homes, to poor children, to pregnant mothers, and to families with members with disabilities. He would have stopped that.

He would not have voted to cut education and the environment or to raise taxes on the lowest income working people or to let $15 billion be taken out of worker pension funds. All that was in that budget in 1995 that I vetoed. And I never did hear our friends in San Diego talking about that when they were bragging about how moderate and nice and broadminded they were. So I was glad to hear Kim remind you that there was a budget battle last year. I did veto it, and thanks to Carl Levin and others, we sustained that veto. It would be a good thing to have somebody in the Congress

that wanted to balance the budget and protect our values. I thank you for doing that, sir.

I would like to introduce another Michigan Congressman who's here with me. He represents the Upper Peninsula, and I think he is one of the most dedicated, upright, hard-working people in the Congress: Congressman Bart Stupak and his wife are both here. Congressman Stupak, come out here and wave to the folks. Governor Jim Blanchard is here, who was the very distinguished Ambassador to Canada. I thank you, Governor Blanchard. Attorney General Frank Kelley is here. I thank you, Frank, for coming and for your work. Frank Garrison, the head of the Michigan AFL–CIO is here with us. And I want to say a very special word of thanks to another son of Michigan who is here, who just completed his term as the president of the National Education Association, Keith Geiger, who was a fearless and wonderful advocate for America's teachers. Thank you, Keith Geiger, for being here.

Finally, I'd like to thank Senator Carl Levin for his leadership for Michigan and America, for his fight for America's jobs and his fight for ethics in Government, for his fight to give America the kind of direction that it needs and deserves. He deserves your reelection for his service, and I hope you'll give it to him.

I'd like to thank the Battle Creek High Band. Thank you very much for being here. And I thank the saxophone selection for raising your horns. You look good over there. Well, the rest of you can raise your horns; you don't have to be a saxophone player.

I thank Mayor Deering, from Battle Creek, and the principal of Battle Creek High School, Bruce Barney; the head of the local community action agency, Sherry Keys-Hebron; the president of the AFL–CIO for south central Michigan, Richard France; Reverend Albert Thomas; and all the others who had anything to do with this event today, including the Washington Heights Gospel Ministry, who'll give us music at the end of this event. Thank you all very much.

Folks, I'm glad to be the first President in Battle Creek since President Johnson was here in 1965. I'm glad to be the first President to come into Battle Creek on a train since President Taft was here in 1911.

This train started in West Virginia and went into Kentucky. Then we went all over Ohio. Yesterday morning, we started in Toledo and then worked our way into Michigan to Wyandotte to Royal Oak to Pontiac and last night to a rally at Michigan State University where there were over 20,000 people. It was an amazing event.

I took this train to Chicago, the 21st Century Express, for two reasons. First of all, I wanted to get a chance, as I go to Chicago to accept the nomination of my party for President and begin the last and perhaps the most important campaign of my life, to look into the faces, into the eyes, into the hearts of the people of America in the heartland for whom I have worked and fought these last 4 years. I wanted to see you to remember why we're doing all this.

And secondly, I wanted to make the point that our train is not only on the right track to Chicago, it's on the right track to the 21st century. And we need to stay on that track. But as one of these wonderful signs said, there is more to do. I was very proud of my wife last night at the Democratic Convention because she talked about the work she's done for the last 25 years, what we learned about it from raising our own daughter, and the fact that there is more to do.

Audience members. Hillary in 2000!

The President. Let me say very briefly—I want to speak with you, and I want to ask you to do something for me. I want you to vote for me, of course. I want you to stay with us. But I want to talk to you just a few moments this morning about what we've done and where we're going and ask you to spend the next 70 days talking to your friends and neighbors about it.

I ran for President 4 years ago because I wanted to lead our country into the 21st century with all Americans having the chance to live out their dreams. I ran for President because I didn't like the fact that we had high unemployment, stagnant wages. We were not meeting our challenges, cynicism was on the rise, middle class dreams were being dashed, and I knew we could do better. I knew we could do better.

So I went before the American people and said, I have a simple strategy. I want to create a country in which there is opportunity for everyone, responsibility from everyone, and where everyone who is willing to work hard and do the right thing without regard to their race, their gender, where they come from, or anything else about them. If you believe in the Constitution,

the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, you're part of my America, and you're going to be part of our America in the future.

Well, we've been at this for 4 years now, and the people can make a judgment. And they can also listen to the ideas we have for the future and know there's a darn good chance we can implement them because we've done so much of what we talked about 4 years ago.

On the economy we had a simple strategy: get the deficit down, bring the interest rates down, give tax relief to the people who need it most, expand our sales of American products around the world, invest in science and technology and, most important of all, in the education of our people.

Now, has it worked? Compared to 4 years ago, we have over 10 million new jobs, a record number of small businesses, including businesses owned by women and minorities. We have a 15-year high in homeownership. We have an all-time high in the export of American products. We have an all-time high in the creation of American small businesses. I can tell you, for the first time in a decade—maybe most important of all to me—average wages are on the rise again. We've been waiting for 10 years to see that start.

The other party always talked about being against the deficit in Government, but in the previous 12 years we increased the debt by 4 times. Since I've been President, we've cut the deficit in each of the last 4 years. It's down by 60 percent. Interest rates are down, investments are up, and the economy is growing. Tell your friends and neighbors in Battle Creek and around this area that we would have a surplus in the budget today and we could have a bigger tax cut if it weren't for the interest we're having to pay on the debt that was run up in the 12 years before I took office. We'd have a surplus.

But we have to do more. We can grow this economy faster, we can create more jobs, we can raise incomes more if we will work hard together. We have to go on and balance the budget to keep the interest rates down, but we have to do it in a way that is different from what our friends in the opposition tried to do last year. We do not have to destroy Medicare or Medicaid or turn our backs on education and the environment or do anything to let the stability of working people's pension funds be eroded. We can balance the budget and protect our values, and that is my commitment to you.

We can also cut taxes for families in America, but the tax cuts need to be targeted to what will do the most good and to something we can pay for, and people like me, who don't need it, shouldn't get them, because we have to balance the budget. We have to balance the budget and cut taxes, and we can do both.

The tax cut should be targeted. We should give a $500-a-child credit for children under 13. We should give people the right to save in an IRA with incomes going up to—family incomes of $100,000, and then withdraw that money, those savings, without any penalty if they need it for health care, to buy a first-time home, or to pay for a college education. We ought to do that.

We should continue to invest in education. We ought to have a million children in Head Start. We ought to have a million kids working their way through college on work-study. We ought to preserve my lower cost college loan program, not do away with it as the other party tried to do. And we ought to give people a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year and a tax credit worth $1,500, an outright credit, to make sure every person in America can get at least 2 years of education after high school. It ought to be as universal as a high school education is today. We ought to make sure that every classroom in America not only has computers and trained teachers but is hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000, every single classroom.

Now, folks, if you're my age and you're not the most computer-literate person in the world, it may be hard to understand what that means. But let me tell you what it means. It means that we now have the chance, for the first time in the history of the United States of America, to make sure that children in the poorest urban classroom, children in the remotest mountain village in America, children in the high plains of the West, children everywhere will have access to the same high quality information in the same time in the same understandable form that children in the wealthiest, best schools in America do. That has never happened before. That is revolutionary.

So that's our opportunity agenda. We also need to continue to fight for responsibility. But look where we are compared to 4 years ago:

The crime rate is down, the welfare rolls are down 1½ million, and child support collections are up 40 percent. We're moving in the right direction. Not a single Michigan hunter lost a weapon when the Brady bill passed, even though that's what our friends in the opposition were saying in 1994 to get votes. I don't know why they didn't repeat that in San Diego; I was listening. [*Laughter*] No, nobody lost a weapon in Michigan, but 100,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not been able to get handguns because the Brady bill passed.

We're halfway home in putting those 100,000 police on the street. And we have increased funding for safe and drug-free schools and for prevention programs and, I might add, at a time when about the only thing in this country that is not going in the right direction, I'm sad to say, is teenage tobacco and drug use; they've both been going up the last 4 years. I don't think this is a very good time to try to abolish our drug-free schools program. We need more D.A.R.E. officers in those schools. We need more people in those schools trying to keep the kids off drugs in the first place.

But we've got more to do. Very briefly, I think we ought to ban cop-killer bullets. Police officers are—[*inaudible*]—of them. No deer in the Michigan woods is wearing a Kevlar vest. Our police officers are. We ought to protect them, and they deserve it. And I think if you commit an act of domestic violence, you also shouldn't be eligible to get another handgun where you can kill somebody.

And I do not believe that we should stop putting 100,000 police on the street. We're halfway home; we need to finish the job. I don't know why our friends are interested in killing the 100,000-police program, but I do know this: More police on the streets, working with their friends and neighbors, knowing the kids, prevent crime in the first place and make it safer. We've got 4 years of a declining crime rate. We know what works. Four more years, and it will be about where it ought to be. Let's keep on going.

In the area of welfare reform, let me just say this. If every person in this country who owes child support paid it, 800,000 women and children would go off welfare tomorrow. We have to keep doing better with that. Now that we have passed the welfare reform legislation, we have guaranteed child care and health care and nutrition to poor children and their families. But if you're going to tell people they've got to be at work within 2 years, they have to have jobs that they can attend. So we now have to create jobs for these people. It is wrong to cut people off and put the kids in the street unless people have jobs as an alternative, and I am committed to that. So that's our responsibility agenda.

Now let me talk a little about what binds us together as a community. First of all, it's our families. Look where we are compared to 4 years ago. Twelve million American families have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law that we passed with the help of people like Carl Levin and Bart Stupak and over the opposition of the leaders of the other party. Twelve million Americans took a little time off when there was a baby born or a sick parent, and it didn't hurt the economy a bit. We're better off because of it.

And now we just raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. We just made 90 percent of our small businesses eligible for a tax cut if they invest more in the business and made it easier for people in small businesses, where most Americans work, to take out retirement for themselves and their employees and to keep those retirement plans if they change jobs. That's pro-family. And we adopted in the small business bill, in the minimum wage bill, a $5,000 tax credit for people who adopt a child, more if the child has a disability. There are hundreds of thousands of kids out there that need a good home. I hope more people will adopt now that we have passed this law.

In the area of health care we adopted the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill. You know what it says to 25 million Americans? "Okay, now they can't take your health insurance away from you just because somebody in your family has been sick, or if you lose your job or you change jobs you still have a right to keep your health insurance." It can help 25 million of our fellow citizens. That's pro-family.

What we're doing in implementing this rule on tobacco is pro-family. We don't say—we say to adults, you have a right to smoke; you do what you want. It's a legal product. But it's illegal in every State in America to market or sell tobacco products to children, and we're going to do our best to stop it because we want our kids to live longer. That's pro-family.

But we have to do more. On health care, we should make it possible for unemployed people not only to keep their insurance as a matter

of law but to afford it. My balanced budget plan helps unemployed people keep their health insurance for 6 months. Our balanced budget plan helps families with members with Alzheimer's they're caring for get some respite care. Our balanced budget plan says, among other things, that a mother cannot be forced to leave a hospital in sooner than 48 hours after a baby is born. And I think we have to build on the family and medical leave law. I think we ought to let people have just a little time off—not a lot, no time for abuse—but a little time off not only for a medical emergency, not only for the birth of a child but to take their children to regular doctor's appointments and to see the teacher once in a great while.

We can't be a strong community unless we have a strong environment. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air than 4 years ago. We've cleaned out more toxic waste dumps in the last 3 years than in the previous 12. We passed the Safe Drinking Water Act, the pesticide protection act. We upgraded the standards for safe meat and poultry. We're moving in the right direction, but we have to do more. And I'll be saying more about this later today, but we need to clean up at least two-thirds of the toxic waste dumps in this country in the next 4 years. We have delayed it long enough.

Let me say again, we have to do these things consistent with our values. We will not be one community if in the name of balancing the budget we give a tax cut that requires us to cut Medicare, stop Medicaid's commitment to families with members with disabilities. I thought Christopher Reeve was so moving at the Democratic Convention the other night. But let me tell you, he's right about research. We're going to spend more on research, $1 billion more, because it's important. We have doubled the life expectancy for people with AIDS or HIV infection in just the last 4 years, doubled it because of research. We may be able to extend their lives indefinitely in good, quality ways because of research.

We are about to build a computer with IBM, a supercomputer, because of research, that will do more calculations in a minute than a person with a hand-held calculator could do in 30,000 years. That is what we're getting out of research. He's right. But he's also right—when Christopher Reeve said to me—and I thank these people here for coming to be with us today—Christopher Reeve said, "You know, you've got to make that fight on Medicaid. You can't let them take away Medicaid because not everybody who gets hurt like me has been an actor, has made a good living. And even people like me can go broke. Middle class families deserve the right to keep working and caring for their family members."

So, folks, if you believe we're all in this fight together, if you agree with the First Lady that it takes a village and we're all part of it, if you believe that America's best days are ahead, if you want to stay on the right track to the 21st century, will you help us for the next 70 days?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. And will you help us for the next 4 years?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at the Old Train Depot. In his remarks, he referred to Kathy Bloch, coordinator, Calhoun County Tobacco Reduction Coalition; Mark Schauer, candidate for Michigan House of Representatives; Kim Tunnicliff, candidate for Michigan's Seventh Congressional District; James J. Blanchard, former Governor of Michigan and former U.S. Ambassador to Canada; and Reverend Albert Thomas, Jr., pastor, Second Missionary Baptist Church, Battle Creek.

Remarks in Kalamazoo, Michigan

August 28, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you all for being here and for your wonderful reception. Thank you all way over here in the corner for being here in big numbers, and back here. I think we should begin by thanking the Western Michigan University Band. They've been wonderful to us today, and we thank you. Thank you very much.

I want to thank Mayor Barbara Larson and the city and county officials who welcomed us here. I brought a lot of distinguished Michiganders with me: Congressman Bart Stupak and his wife, Laurie, from the Upper Peninsula; former Governor Blanchard, also our former Ambassador to Canada; Frank Garrison, the president of the AFL–CIO in Michigan; your attorney general, Frank Kelley; and many others. I know that before I came here there was another program. I thank Beverly Moore for emceeing it. I thank Linda Comer for what she said and for being a teacher. I thank Tim Eder of the National Wildlife Federation, Michigan chapter—that's a very important group and a very important part of our commitment to the environment in the future; your congressional candidate, Clarence Annen. I'd also like to recognize a Paralympian who is here from your community, a medal winner in the national goal ball team, Sherry Gordon. Congratulations, Sherry. Where are you? There she is. Bless you. Congratulations.

I know that I'm in Comstock Township, right? So I'd like to thank the supervisor, Joe VanBruggen, for welcoming us here. And I'd like to thank Kristi Carabula, the county Democratic chair, who helped to get a lot of you here. I thank her.

I'd like to thank the community members who are here behind me. First, I want to recognize Representative Ed LaForge. Thank you, Ed, for being here with us. I see you've got some signs here.

I want to thank these young people who are here with me today: the Comstock Boy Scout and Cub Scout Troop and Pack 221; Brownie Troop 624; the Comstock YWCA; community citizen leaders; prime-time program representatives; the Kalamazoo Recycle Rangers—I like that; that sounds good—Kalamazoo Area Math and Science Center; Vicksburg High School Adventure Club and FFA; and the Kazoo School. Thank you all for being here.

I want to thank my good friend Senator Carl Levin for being here today and supporting the environment in general and for being America's number one fighter for the Great Lakes and uniform quality standards for the Great Lakes water. By the way, I'm sure you all know we've still got some work to do on that, so we can use 6 more years of Carl Levin to finish our work on the Great Lakes.

I want to thank Katie McGinty, the Chair of our Environmental Council in the White House. She's done a wonderful job on this and many others things. And most of all, I want to thank Mary Brown and her grandson, Dan Cook. Now, to give you some idea in what happens to you when you're young, as opposed to when you're old, I asked Dan Cook how old he was, and he said, "I'm 10." And I looked at him, and I said, "Now, Dan, are you 10?" He said, "Well, I'm almost 10." [*Laughter*] Well, I'm almost 49, too—[*laughter*]—in the reverse direction. There aren't many young people his age who could have spoken so well and so forcefully. Didn't he do a good job? Thank you very, very much, Dan. And thank you, Mary Brown, for your lifetime of commitment to the quality of the environment in your State and your area.

Folks, you know, I've been on this train the last couple of days going through the heartland of America from West Virginia to Kentucky, to Ohio, to Michigan. Leaving you, I'm going on now to Michigan City, Indiana, and then I will fly to Chicago. I've been on this train for two reasons. First, I wanted to see people like you in the heartland of America, the people that really make this country go, the people I've been working for and fighting for for 4 years. But I also wanted to make the point that our train and our country are both on the right track to the 21st century.

For 4 years, I have pursued a very straightforward strategy based on a vision of what our country ought to be like. When all these children who are in this audience spend most of their life in a new century, the world will be so different from the world people my age grew up in, different in how we work and live and relate to each other, very different in how we relate to the rest of the world, vastly, vastly increased opportunities and significant new challenges. And I want us to go into that next century with every child in this country having the opportunity to live up to his or her God-given potential and live out their dreams. And I believe you want that, too.

In order to do that, our country has to create more opportunity and receive more responsibility from all of our citizens. That's the basic bargain of America. Our country has to remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I appreciate what Mary said about our role in the world. It's important for America to lead the world. It's important for Americans that we do. And most of all, our country has to come together as one community.

All over the world—this morning, as I do every morning, I started my work day with a review of the situation in the rest of the world. And I thought to myself, how much time have I spent as President dealing with problems created because other people could not get along and because they insisted on looking down on people that lived on the same piece of land they did because they had a different race, a different ethnic group, a different religion, they were of a different tribe? It happens in Africa and Rwanda and Burundi. It has consumed the Middle East for decades. It has consumed Northern Ireland for longer than that. It has rooted and caused butchery and slaughter in Bosnia we have worked so hard to end.

Why do people do this? What is special about America? We say, this is not a country about race. This is not a country about religion. This is a country where, if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you are willing to show up tomorrow and be a good citizen, it doesn't matter whatever else is special or unique or different about you; we're stronger for your difference; we're going forward together. And we have to have that commitment.

Now, we manifest that commitment in many different ways. I was so moved at our convention in Chicago when Christopher Reeve talked about his tragic accident and his determination to overcome it. And he reminded us that we not only have to continue to invest in research to try to find answers to the problems that beset us, we also need to deal humanely and decently with people who have difficulties.

Christopher Reeve came to see me in the White House, and he said, "Mr. President, I am so glad you fought to stop Congress from destroying the Medicaid program and ending its guarantee to the elderly in nursing homes, to poor children, and to people who have disabilities, because not everybody who gets a disability is a wealthy person. And even wealthy people can be driven into poverty. And if it weren't for Medicaid, middle class families wouldn't be able to maintain their lifestyles." That's a part of our community.

I have to tell you, when Tipper Gore was talking last night, I was proud of the fact that my friend and the Vice President's wife has spoken up for 20 years to try to protect our children from unhealthful, indeed, affirmatively harmful cultural influences that will make it more difficult for them to be successful people. That's a part of our community, trying to make it more possible for parents to transmit their own values, not somebody else's commercially driven values, to the children of our country. I was proud of that.

And I was proud when my wife spoke last night at the convention and pointed out that we have been very fortunate in our lives. We've always had jobs where we could take time off when Chelsea needed us, but other working families need that same time off.

We've always had the best sort of health insurance. And I was there when Chelsea was born in the delivery room and when we took her home, but Hillary had the need to stay in the hospital a little extra time. And it's wrong for women and their newborn babies to be thrown out of the hospital after a day if they're not ready to go home. They ought to be able to stay longer. That's a part of our community.

We've had a good week in Washington right before we left for this convention. A lot of things were done that will create more opportunity, give us a chance to have more responsibility, and bring us together in a community. The minimum wage went up for 10 million people. Ninety percent of the small businesses in this country got a tax cut. We made it possible for people in small businesses to save for their retirement and for employees in small businesses to keep their retirement when they move from job to job. That's all important.

We gave people a tax credit of $5,000—and more if there is a disability involved—if they will adopt children. There are hundreds of thousands of children out there in this country that need good homes. We did that. That was good.

We made 25 million Americans safer in their health care because we said you can't be denied health insurance anymore just because somebody in your family has been sick or because

you changed jobs. That was a good thing for America.

We also passed the Safe Drinking Water Act and the pesticide protection act to help improve the public health and the environment. And that was a great thing for America.

That's what I've come here to talk to you about today. We cannot go forward together as a country, a country where it works for all of us, unless we have a shared commitment to protect the environment. And unless we want to protect everybody's environment, in the end, no matter how wealthy and powerful we are, the quality of our lives will be undermined.

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. Do you need a doctor over there? Are you okay? Over here? Where's my medical team? We've got to have somebody.

Now, you think about that. It doesn't matter—I don't care if you have got a billion dollars, if you live in America, in the end, the quality of your life will be undermined unless we save the environment for everybody. We all have an interest in clean air and safe water and safe food and in preserving our national treasures.

I can tell you this, compared to 4 years ago, there are tens of millions of people in America breathing cleaner air. We've cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12.

We have revamped the meat and poultry inspection standards of this country for the first time in literally decades. We are moving in the right direction. We saved our national parks from an ill-advised congressional attempt to sell off some of them and underfund them. And that was a good thing.

We saved Yellowstone, our Nation's first and great national treasure as a park, from the ravages of mining. And we are determined to do the same thing and save the Everglades in Florida. That's important to all of us.

We have kicked dozens and dozens of dangerous chemicals out of the marketplace and quickly replaced them with safer substitutes. We have increased community's right to know about what is in their community and what kinds of chemicals they are exposed to.

All these things are important, and they matter. And we're better off because of them. We've also changed the way we do a lot of our environmental work. We've streamlined rules and regulations, challenged businesses and communities to come together and stop fighting. We've emphasized results, not punishments and regulations. We are proving that you don't have to choose between a healthy environment and a healthy economy.

In Michigan, we have worked very closely with the autoworkers in the Big Three to develop a clean car that will get 3 times the mileage of the average car today for the 21st century in a way that will put money in the pockets of American consumers, increase the quality of our environment, and maintain the dominance of our auto industry in the world for decades to come. If we can succeed in the clean car, it will be a major step forward for the cleanness of our environment and for the security of the work right here in Michigan.

But we have more to do. You all know we have more to do. You heard Mary's story of the work that is represented by this beautiful water behind us. And you know that a lot of these battles are won block by block, day by day. Carl Levin has been working on the Great Lakes for a very long time, block by block, day by day, not just lake by lake, section by section. This is hard work. And we have more to do.

I want an America, in the year 2000, where no child should have to live near a toxic waste dump, where no parent should have to worry about the safety of a child's glass of water, and no neighborhood should be put in harm's way by pollution from a nearby factory.

Today I am calling for a new national commitment to help protect all communities from toxics by the year 2000. First, I am determined that finally we clean up the toxic waste sites that scar our landscape and threaten our neighborhoods.

When I came into office, I vowed to strengthen and improve the Superfund's cleanups. In the last 3 years—in the last 3 years, not counting this year—we have cleaned up 197 toxic waste sites, more than in the previous 12 years. We're doing 3 times more a year than were done before.

And we have done it while reducing the costs of these cleanups. The Kalamazoo River here is going to be cleaned up by polluters under your State's Superfund law. And some of the cleanup has not begun. But we have to keep working on this. We cannot slow down. We need to speed up the pace. These Superfund sites have been out there too long. And the

longer they're there, the more danger there is that damage will be done. We must speed up the pace.

I am here in Michigan because 10 million American children under the age of 12 live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. And an exceptional percentage of the children who live there are children from the State of Michigan. Michigan has more at stake in this initiative than any other State, but every State's children are affected by our success. We must press ahead.

Today we must commit our Nation's willpower and resources to meet a clear goal. In the next 4 years, we will clean up another 500 toxic waste sites, nearly double the pace of the Superfund cleanups. And by the year 2000, we will clean up two-thirds—the two-thirds worst toxic waste dumps in the country. We will get them out of the neighborhoods where the children live. We will do it.

[*An audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. We need another medical team over here. We need some water and my medical team over here, wherever they are. Here we go.

Let me also say that our cities are full of what we call brownfields, urban toxic waste sites. We have proved that they can be cleaned up and turned into homes for safe businesses that create jobs in areas that thought that they would never get any new jobs again. The most important thing that I am working on with the mayors of America today is cleaning up these brownfields so we can create jobs in the city. Again I tell you, good environmental policy is good for the economy. It creates jobs. It creates a future for America, and we have to be prepared to do it.

We must bring the full force of law to bear on polluters who are willfully jeopardizing the safety of our people. I am going to send to Congress an environmental crimes bill to make it a crime to attempt to pollute, that will give us the power to catch polluters before they poison the land. The bill will increase penalties for those who intentionally pump toxics into our neighborhoods where our children will be exposed. And it will enable us to hit polluters where it hurts. It will give prosecutors the power to freeze polluters' assets and require them to clean up their messes. That is perhaps the most important thing of all.

We're also going to expand our community right-to-know law to make more information, practical information, available to families easier and faster. Right-to-know will protect you here in communities like Kalamazoo because you can find out what's dangerous to your families. Once there is a right-to-know law, companies think twice about what they do. In the decades since we've passed the first one, businesses have reported reducing toxic emission by 43 percent. Right-to-know works. Don't be fooled about it; it makes a big difference.

I have ordered the Environmental Protection Agency to give local environmental information to communities—including putting it on-line where it will be handy to computers—in one place by the year 2000, so that a parent could go to the local library or go to a school or just turn on a computer and immediately find out the chemicals in your community to which your children are exposed. That is a powerful early warning system, and it will help grassroots environmental activism clean the environment even more.

Finally, let me say, we have to take further steps to stop toxics from getting into our drinking water. I signed an Executive order that directs every Federal agency that's appropriate to join in our effort to crack down on those who would poison the waters and make them pay to clean it up. I want to see to it that Congress fully funds the Safe Drinking Water Act we just signed into law last month.

And in particular, I've made a commitment in my balanced budget plan to work with Carl Levin and others to continue to improve the quality of the Great Lakes. We've worked hard to carry out the Great Lakes water quality initiative, which Senator Levin did so much to bring about, and we'll keep right on doing it.

We are blessed with magnificent natural resources. Every time our family goes on vacation in a National Park, I thank God again for the good fortune of being an American and for all the blessings we've been given just by the grace of God. But I'll tell you, we've been given it; it's up to us to do the right things with it.

We have learned some fundamental things. Not only do you not have to hurt the economy to protect the environment—what difference does it make if you have money if you don't have clean water, clean air, a good natural environment, safe food, and a good public health system?

And finally, we now know that this is not a negative thing. We now know that one of the most effective ways to create good, high-wage jobs in the 21st century is to invest in research, in technology, and in protecting the environment. That is the direction we're going to take, and that will keep us right on track for the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. at Merrill Park. In his remarks, he referred to Beverly Moore, former mayor of Kalamazoo; Linda Comer, principal, Lincoln Magnet School; Ed LaForge, Michigan State representative; and Mary Brown, former Michigan State representative.

Remarks on Concluding a Whistlestop Tour in Michigan City, Indiana
August 28, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Wow! Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, citizens of Indiana and Michigan and Illinois. Thank you all for being here.

You know, folks, last night I called your Governor, Evan Bayh, to tell him two things. The first thing I said is, "I loved your speech. Thank you for speaking for America and for what we did." But the second thing I said was, "You know, Evan, I was just in East Lansing, Michigan, and we had over 20,000 people there." And I knew if I said that we'd have 30,000 people in Michigan City today. And sure enough, we did.

Mayor Brillson, thank you for your welcome to the city, and thank you for your leadership. The mayor told me on the way in here that she'd only been mayor 8 months, but she is not only the mayor, she is the mother of six wonderful children who are down here. And I figure anybody who can raise six kids can do any job in America, including President. And I'm glad she's here.

You know, I was interested to hear the mayor say it's been 97 years since a President has been to Michigan City. All I can say is the rest of them didn't know what they were missing. I'm glad to be here. Thank you.

I thank your Congressman, Tim Roemer, for his leadership in the House of Representatives to prove that the Democratic Party can lead America into the future, that we can be responsible with your money, we can be strong for your economy, we can be tough on crime, but we can still have a heart for those who need the heart of America that are too often left behind and forgotten. Thank you, Tim Roemer.

I want to thank Lieutenant Governor Frank O'Bannon and his wife, Judy, for being here with me. And I want to tell you something, folks, each year the job of the Governor gets a little more important. If you watched our convention, you know there's a lot of discussion about the welfare reform bill that I signed. Let me tell you this. I want you to understand just how important this decision is for Governor in Indiana.

In the welfare reform bill, we said, look, we've reduced the welfare rolls by a million and a half by working with the States to move people from welfare to work. We think we can go all the way. We can take 800,000 kids and mothers off welfare tomorrow if we just got people to pay the child support they owe. And so we changed the law to do that. So we said, here is the new deal. We're going to have national protection for the medical care for poor people and their children. We're going to have national protection for the nutritional needs of poor people and their children. We're going to have a national program that guarantees child care so when people go to work, even if they're in lower wage jobs—from welfare to work—they won't have to worry about their kids. They'll be able to pay for child care. But we said, we're going to take the money that used to be in the check itself, the Federal and the State money, and give that money to the States, and then the States will have to design a program that will

move people from welfare to work within 2 years.

Now, when you make this decision for Governor, there will be no question more important than who do you trust to really care about giving the people who have been trapped on welfare the same kind of life we want for all American families. We want people to succeed as parents and succeed as workers. Frank O'Bannon will do that, and I want you to give him the chance to do it.

Let me say, too, with some particular pride, that I have two people who work for me in the White House who come from near here. My military aide June Ryan, a lieutenant commander in the Coast Guard, whose parents live near South Bend, near here—that's not very far. I think they played football there, somebody told me. And one of my speechwriters, Carolyn Curiel's parents, Angela and Alex, live in Hammond. So I feel like I'm near home, at least, for them. Is anybody here from Hammond, Indiana? Yes, that's good.

Finally, let me say a special word of thanks to those who have participated to make me feel so welcome. There were 2,000 folks, I'll bet you, who met my train just across the river, so I'm going to count them in the mayor's crowd, or the Governor—they can fight over who got them here, but I was glad to see them. And on the way, the Michigan City ROTC High School Color Guard made me feel very welcome. I thank them.

I want to thank the Michigan City High School Band, who's playing over here. What a wonderful job they did. Thank you. I want to thank a teacher who is behind me, named Stacy Reisdorf. She and her eighth-grade class wrote me when I was coming. And I want to thank—look at all the students back there who made posters and who showed up, all the students from Michigan City. Thank you very much. I want to thank the National Guard for providing water. And if you need water, take it. I don't want anybody passing out here. I want you to be just hot enough to be excited but not any more.

And let me finally say, I know that there was an accident here earlier, and I want you to keep those folks in your prayers. As far as we know, they're okay, but we haven't gotten a final report. And let me also say to all of you, I don't think you can imagine what it means to me to see you out here, to see—when you read and you hear people say, "Well, nobody believes in the political system anymore. People are cynical," and this, that and the other thing—I don't see any cynicism here. I see America and America's future, and I like what I see.

And while we're talking about the future——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Let me say one thing about the future, before I go on. I appreciated what Governor Bayh said about the relationship that he and Susan have had with Hillary and me. It's way beyond politics and beyond the fact that we're in the same party, beyond the fact that we served as Governors together for years. They are our friends, and they're two of the finest people I have ever met. You have been very fortunate to be served by them. I don't know what the future holds for them, but I wouldn't be surprised at all if someday Evan Bayh were to come back here to Michigan City as the President of the United States. And I'd like to see you out here for him.

Folks, we've had a lot of fun at our convention, but I've had just as much fun with America. A few days ago, Hillary and Chelsea and I went to Huntington, West Virginia, and then Hillary went on home to Chicago, and Chelsea and I started this train trip through West Virginia and Kentucky and Ohio and then into Michigan and, finally, here into Indiana.

And I took that train trip for two reasons. First of all, with an enormous sense of humility, I'm on my way to Chicago to accept the nomination of my party for the Presidency for the second time. It is——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You know, unless I run for the school board or something some day, it will be the last race I ever make. And I wanted to take this trip through the heartland to look into the faces, the eyes, the hearts of the people that I ran for President to help, the people I have worked for and fought for for 4 years. And I have loved every mile of the track, all the people I have seen.

But I also wanted the American people to see, including all the people in all the little towns that came out to see the train come, all the school children standing by the road, all the people who put their pennies on the

rails so the train would give them flat pennies—[*laughter*]—all the flags, even some of the loyal opposition that came, I wanted them all to see that we were not only on the right track to Chicago, we are on the right track to the 21st century. And that's the track we're going to stay on.

You know, I told you 4 years ago if you would hire me as President I would do my best to prepare this country for the next century. It's only 4 years away now. And I want us to go into that century with the American dream alive for every single person who is willing to work for it. I want us to go into that century with this country still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

I want to go into that century—you look around this crowd today—where we can say other people in the world may be in the grips, the throes of division, other nations may be divided by race, by ethnicity, by tribe, by religion, but in America, if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, and you show up for work every day as a good citizen, you're our kind of American. We're all in this together. We're going forward together.

Well, now, you tell me—so I wanted to go out and see the people after 4 years. Four years ago, we had high unemployment, stagnant wages, a host of unmet social challenges. We had enormous growing cynicism, and we were afraid the middle class dreams that have always driven America were dying.

Four years later, we have 10 million new jobs, 4½ million new homeowners, 10 million homeowners with lower mortgage rates, a record number of new small businesses, record exports, record businesses owned by women and minorities. America is on the move. For the first time in a decade, wages are on the rise again, for the first time in 10 years in the United States.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row as we have given police officers and citizens at the local level the tools they need to make the most of their capacity for safe streets. We're putting 100,000 more police on the streets. We did pass the Brady bill, and 100,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers lost their handguns, but no hunters in Indiana or Arkansas did. We did the right thing.

We're investing more in safe and drug-free schools to try to put more of those D.A.R.E. officers in the schools and provide more education, more prevention, more treatment, as well as tougher punishment to keep our kids away from the problems that come with rising drug abuse. We have taken stands for the American family; 12 million American working families have been able to take a little time off from work for a baby's birth or a sick parent without losing their job. That's good for America.

We have moved aggressively to prove that you can clean up our environment and promote the public health and advance the economy by doing it. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in 12 years. We are moving to protect the American environment and grow the American economy. And we can do both.

And we have done this in a way that brings the American people together. We have faced a lot of tough challenges around the world, and I've had to do some things that were, frankly, unpopular with a majority of you. But because we went in to Bosnia with our allies, no soldier has fallen in combat so far there, but the slaughter has ended and the people at least are being given a chance to get over the madness of their ethnic hatreds and go on with civilized life and be a part of a free Europe and a free world. And because we have worked with the Russians to be free, to promote their democracy, to promote their economy, to get their troops out of other countries, to be a constructive partner, for the first time since nuclear weapons were developed, in the last 4 years, there is not a single nuclear weapon pointed at an American child anywhere in this country, and I am proud of that.

And let me say again how much I appreciated what Tim Roemer said and what Evan Bayh said about that budget battle I had with the Congress. Folks, I always wanted to balance the budget. I was a Governor for 12 years before I was President. I had 12 balanced budgets. I couldn't believe we quadrupled the debt of this country in just 12 years. I want you to know that tonight not only have we cut the deficit by 60 percent, your budget would have a surplus tonight if it weren't for the interest we pay on the debt run up in the 12 years before I became President. Let's don't go back and repeat that mistake again. Let's keep on going. Let's keep on going until we finish the job.

You know, every time an election rolls around they say the public doesn't really care about the deficit, it's an abstract concept. Let me tell you something, it's not abstract. It's not only whether we're going to saddle all these kids with a debt they can't pay, if you bring the deficit down the way we have, that brings interest rates down. What does that mean when interest rates come down? It means your house payment, you car payment, your credit card payment goes down, Even more important, maybe, it means business people can go borrow money, invest it in businesses, and create new jobs. That's why we have over 10 million new jobs, because we've got a healthy climate to invest and to grow and to move this country forward.

Now, folks, that's the record; that's the past. But we've got more to do. We've got to keep going until every single citizen in this country who is willing to work for it has a chance to participate in the American dream. We've got to keep going until all our streets are so safe that if you come home at night and turn on the evening news and the lead story is a crime story, you are shocked instead of numb to it. That's when we'll know we have the crime problem whipped.

We've got to keep going until every single one of our children can read well by the third grade, until every single one of our teenagers know that drugs are dangerous. They're not only illegal, they will kill you. We have got to turn that around. We've got to keep going until we solve the problems of America and take everybody into the 21st century—everybody.

We've got to keep going until every American believes that we cannot afford to look down on one another. That's why I took such a strong stand against these church burnings and why I lash out every time a synagogue or an Islamic center is defaced and why I was appalled when those African-American Special Forces personnel in North Carolina came home to find swastikas painted on their doors. I bet you we've got some former Special Forces people in this crowd today. I'll tell you what they are, they're special forces. That means tonight at midnight, if I wake them up and I tell them to go halfway around the world to put their lives on the line and defend you, they will do it and say, "Yes sir," and be glad to go. They do not deserve to have swastikas put on their doors. We've got to keep going until that is not a problem anymore. We've got to keep going.

There are 25 million Americans who were helped last week when we signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill to say you can't lose your health insurance if you got sick or if you change jobs. But we've got to keep going until unemployed families, when they lose their jobs, get a little help so they can actually afford to keep their health insurance.

We've got to keep going until small-business people in this country can not only afford to invest in their business—because we've given every single one of them a tax cut if they invest more in their business in the last 4 years—we've got to keep going until small-business people can actually afford those health insurance policies that the rest of us enjoy, for their employees and themselves.

We raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans last week, but we've got to keep going. We've got to keep going until every American has access to a good education that will lift all our income. That's why I say we ought to have a family-friendly targeted tax cut that we can afford that focuses on giving the American people the ability to take out IRA that they can save for with a family income up to $100,000 and then withdraw from to pay for a college education, to pay for a first home, to pay for medical insurance. That's the kind of tax cut we need.

We ought to give families a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition, a tax credit for a community college education for 2 years so everybody in America can have 2 years of education after high school. We can afford that. We can balance the budget. It will make us a stronger country.

I want you to support that. I want you to support 4 more years, not just of Bill Clinton and Al Gore, I want you to support 4 more years of more opportunity, more responsibility, and more community. I want you to support the idea that when the year 2000 comes around we will go roaring into the 21st century as the greatest nation in the world, with our best days before us.

Will you help me for the next 70 days? Will you stand with us for 4 more years? Will you talk to your friends and neighbors and ask them to go forward with us? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. On to Chicago. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 p.m. at the Old Lighthouse in Washington Park. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Sheila Bergerson Brillson of Michigan City.

Remarks at the University of Chicago in Chicago, Illinois
August 28, 1996

Hello! Thank you. Thank you so much. Let me say that it is great to be in Chicago. I want to say to the mayor and to Maggie and to all of the Daley family and to the Members of Congress who are here and all those who are on the committee and all the people who have worked so hard to make our Democratic Party feel at home in Chicago, this convention has succeeded beyond our wildest dreams. We thank you, Chicago; you have been wonderful. You have been wonderful.

While you've been here having a good time with all my family, I have been on a train. We've been on a train—Hillary and Chelsea and I went to West Virginia on Sunday, and then Hillary came here to be with you. And Chelsea stayed with me another day or so, and we went to Kentucky and to Ohio and to Michigan.

Last night we had—after Hillary spoke at the convention last night—and I thought she did a great job—last night we had over 20,000 people at Michigan State University in East Lansing to meet our train. And then after the convention last night I called Governor Bayh from Indiana, and I said—I said two things. I said, one, "I liked your speech, and thank you for giving it," and I said, "but you know I just was in East Lansing, and we had over 20,000 people there." So when we got to Indiana today, we had 30,000 people in Indiana. [*Laughter*]

It's been a wonderful, wonderful trip. I took that trip for two reasons. As all of you know, when I accept the nomination of our party tomorrow night and start this campaign, it will be the first American campaign for the 21st century and the last campaign for Bill Clinton. I wanted to be on that track because I wanted to look into the eyes, into the faces, and into the hearts of people who live in the heartland of America, the people I have worked for and fought for for the last 4 years. And I liked what I saw. And I wanted them to see that our train was not only on the right track to Chicago, we're on the right track to the 21st century. And that's what this convention and this campaign is all about.

To all of you who've been here, to all of those who've spoken, I have been immensely proud of everything I've seen. I've followed all of the proceedings as well as I could. I've been up too late watching the replays to see what everyone said and what everyone did. And I don't want to give my speech tomorrow night here tonight, but just let me say the best is yet to come, the best days of America, the best days of the Clinton/Gore administration, the best days of our efforts together to lift up our country and move forward.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:22 p.m. at the university baseball field. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago and his wife, Margaret.

Statement on the Resignation of Political Consultant Dick Morris
August 29, 1996

Dick Morris is my friend, and he is a superb political strategist. I am, and always will be, grateful for the great contributions he has made to my campaigns and for the invaluable work he has done for me over the last 2 years.

Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago

August 29, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, my fellow Democrats, and my fellow Americans, thank you for your nomination. I don't know if I can find a fancy way to say this, but I accept. [*Applause*] Thank you.

So many have contributed to the record we have made for the American people, but one above all, my partner, my friend, and the best Vice President in our history, Al Gore.

Tonight I thank the city of Chicago, its great mayor, and its wonderful people for this magnificent convention. I love Chicago for many reasons, for your powerful spirit, your sports teams, your lively politics, but most of all for the love and light of my life, Chicago's daughter, Hillary.

Four years ago, you and I set forth on a journey to bring our vision to our country, to keep the American dream alive for all who were willing to work for it, to make our American community stronger, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

Four years ago, with high unemployment, stagnant wages, crime, welfare, and the deficit on the rise, with a host of unmet challenges and a rising tide of cynicism, I told you about a place I was born, and I told you that I still believed in a place called Hope.

Well, for 4 years now, to realize our vision we have pursued a simple but profound strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a strong united American community.

Four days ago, as you were making your way here, I began a train ride to make my way to Chicago through America's heartland. I wanted to see the faces, I wanted to hear the voices of the people for whom I have worked and fought these last 4 years. And did I ever see them.

I met an ingenious business woman who was once on welfare in West Virginia; a brave police officer, shot and paralyzed, now a civic leader in Kentucky; an autoworker in Ohio, once unemployed, now proud to be working in the oldest auto plant in America to help make America number one in auto production again for the first time in 20 years. I met a grandmother fighting for her grandson's environment in Michigan. And I stood with two wonderful little children proudly reading from their favorite book, "The Little Engine That Could."

At every stop, large and exuberant crowds greeted me. And maybe more important, when we just rolled through little towns, there were always schoolchildren there waving their American flags, all of them believing in America and its future. I would not have missed that trip for all the world, for that trip showed me that hope is back in America. We are on the right track to the 21st century. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Look at the facts. Just look at the facts: 4.4 million Americans now living in a home of their own for the first time; hundreds of thousands of women have started their own new businesses; more minorities own businesses than ever before; record numbers of new small businesses and exports.

Look at what's happened. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years. Look at what happened: 10 million new jobs, over half of them high-wage jobs; 10 million workers getting the raise they deserve with the minimum wage law; 25 million people now having protection in their health insurance because the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill says you can't lose your insurance anymore when you change jobs, even if somebody in your family has been sick; 40 million Americans with more pension security; a tax cut for 15 million of our hardest working, hardest pressed Americans, and all small businesses; 12 million Americans—12 million of them—taking advantage of the family and medical leave law so they can be good parents and good workers. Ten million students have saved money on their college loans. We are making our democracy work.

We have also passed political reform, the line item veto, the motor voter bill, tougher registration laws for lobbyists, making Congress live under the laws they impose on the private sector, stopping unfunded mandates to State and local government. We've come a long way; we've got one more thing to do. Will you help me

get campaign finance reform in the next 4 years? [*Applause*] Thank you.

We have increased our investments in research and technology. We have increased investments in breast cancer research dramatically. We are developing a supercomputer—a supercomputer that will do more calculating in a second than a person with a hand-held calculator can do in 30,000 years. More rapid development of drugs to deal with HIV and AIDS and moving them to the market quicker have almost doubled life expectancy in only 4 years. And we are looking at no limit in sight to that. We'll keep going until normal life is returned to people who deal with this.

Our country is still the strongest force for peace and freedom on Earth. On issues that once before tore us apart, we have changed the old politics of Washington. For too long, leaders in Washington asked who's to blame. But we asked, what are we going to do?

On crime, we're putting 100,000 police on the streets. We made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land. We stopped 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns under the Brady bill. We banned assault rifles. We supported tougher punishment and prevention programs to keep our children from drugs and gangs and violence. Four years now—for four years now—the crime rate in America has gone down.

On welfare, we worked with States to launch a quiet revolution. Today there are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took the oath of office. We are moving people from welfare to work.

We have increased child support collections by 40 percent. The Federal work force is the smallest it has been since John Kennedy. And the deficit has come down for 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War, down 60 percent on the way to zero. We will do it.

We are on the right track to the 21st century. We are on the right track, but our work is not finished. What should we do? First, let us consider how to proceed. Again I say, the question is no longer who's to blame but what to do.

I believe that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp and Ross Perot love our country, and they have worked hard to serve it. It is legitimate, even necessary, to compare our record with theirs, our proposals for the future with theirs. And I expect them to make a vigorous effort to do the same. But I will not attack. I will not attack them personally or permit others to do it in this party if I can prevent it. [*Applause*] Thank you. My fellow Americans, this must be—this must be—a campaign of ideas, not a campaign of insults. The American people deserve it.

Now, here's the main idea. I love and revere the rich and proud history of America, and I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, we do not need to build a bridge to the past; we need to build a bridge to the future. And that is what I commit to you to do.

So tonight, tonight let us resolve to build that bridge to the 21st century, to meet our challenges and protect our values. Let us build a bridge to help our parents raise their children, to help young people and adults to get the education and training they need, to make our streets safer, to help Americans succeed at home and at work, to break the cycle of poverty and dependence, to protect our environment for generations to come, and to maintain our world leadership for peace and freedom. Let us resolve to build that bridge.

Tonight, my fellow Americans, I ask all of our fellow citizens to join me and to join you in building that bridge to the 21st century. Four years from now, just 4 years from now—think of it—we begin a new century, full of enormous possibilities. We have to give the American people the tools they need to make the most of their God-given potential. We must make the basic bargain of opportunity and responsibility available to all Americans, not just a few. That is the promise of the Democratic Party. That is the promise of America.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we expand opportunity through education, where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our students, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say, "I can read it myself."

By the year 2000, the single most critical thing we can do is to give every single American who wants it the chance to go to college. We must make 2 years of college just as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today. And we can do it. We can do it, and we should cut taxes to do it.

I propose a $1,500-a-year tuition tax credit for Americans, a HOPE scholarship for the first

2 years of college to make the typical community college education available to every American. I believe every working family ought also to be able to deduct up to $10,000 in college tuition costs per year for education after that. I believe the families of this country ought to be able to save money for college in a tax-free IRA, save it year-in and year-out, withdraw it for college education without penalty. We should not tax middle income Americans for the money they spend on college. We'll get the money back down the road many times over.

I want to say here, before I go further, that these tax cuts and every other one I mention tonight are all fully paid for in my balanced budget plan, line by line, dime by dime, and they focus on education.

Now, one thing so many of our fellow Americans are learning is that education no longer stops on graduation day. I have proposed a new "GI bill" for American workers, a $2,600 grant for unemployed and underemployed Americans so that they can get the training and the skills they need to go back to work at better paying jobs, good high-skilled jobs for a good future.

But we must demand excellence at every level of education. We must insist that our students learn the old basics we learned and the new basics they have to know for the next century. Tonight let us set a clear national goal: All children should be able to read on their own by the third grade. When 40 percent of our 8-year-olds cannot read as well as they should, we have to do something. I want to send 30,000 reading specialists and national service corps members to mobilize a volunteer army of one million reading tutors for third graders all across America. They will teach our young children to read.

Let me say to our parents: You have to lead the way. Every tired night you spend reading a book to your child will be worth it many times over. I know that Hillary and I still talk about the books we read to Chelsea when we were so tired we could hardly stay awake. We still remember them, and more important, so does she. But we're going to help the parents of this country make every child able to read for himself or herself by the age of 8, by the third grade. Do you believe we can do that? Will you help us do that? [*Applause*] Thank you.

We must give parents, all parents, the right to choose which public school their children will attend and to let teachers form new charter schools with a charter they can keep only if they do a good job. We must keep our schools open late so that young people have someplace to go and something to say yes to and stay off the street.

We must require that our students pass tough tests to keep moving up in school. A diploma has to mean something when they get out. We should reward teachers that are doing a good job, remove those who don't measure up, but in every case, never forget that none of us would be here tonight if it weren't for our teachers. I know I wouldn't. We ought to lift them up, not tear them down.

We need schools that will take our children into the next century. We need schools that are rebuilt and modernized with an unprecedented commitment from the National Government to increase school construction and with every single library and classroom in America connected to the information superhighway by the year 2000.

Now, folks, if we do these things, every 8-year-old will be able to read, every 12-year-old will be able to log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old will be able to go to college, and all Americans will have the knowledge they need to cross that bridge to the 21st century.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we create a strong and growing economy to preserve the legacy of opportunity for the next generation, by balancing our budget in a way that protects our values and ensuring that every family will be able to own and protect the value of their most important asset, their home.

Tonight let us proclaim to the American people, we will balance the budget. And let us also proclaim, we will do it in a way that preserves Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, the integrity of our pensions, the strength of our people.

Now, last year when the Republican Congress sent me a budget that violated those values and principles, I vetoed it. And I would do it again tomorrow. I could never allow cuts that devastate education for our children, that pollute our environment, that end the guarantee of health care for those who are served under Medicaid, that end our duty or violate our duty to our parents through Medicare. I just couldn't do that. As long as I'm President, I'll never let it happen. And it doesn't matter if they try

again, as they did before, to use the blackmail threat of a shutdown of the Federal Government to force these things on the American people. We didn't let it happen before. We won't let it happen again.

Of course, there is a better answer to this dilemma. We could have the right kind of balanced budget with a new Congress, a Democratic Congress.

I want to balance the budget with real cuts in Government, in waste. I want a plan that invests in education, as mine does, in technology, and yes, in research, as Christopher Reeve so powerfully reminded us we must do.

And my plan gives Americans tax cuts that will help our economy to grow. I want to expand IRA's so that young people can save tax-free to buy a first home. Tonight I propose a new tax cut for homeownership that says to every middle income working family in this country, if you sell your home, you will not have to pay a capital gains tax on it ever, not ever. I want every American to be able to hear those beautiful words, "Welcome home."

Let me say again, every tax cut I call for tonight is targeted, it's responsible, and it is paid for within my balanced budget plan. My tax cuts will not undermine our economy, they will speed economic growth.

We should cut taxes for the family sending a child to college, for the worker returning to college, for the family saving to buy a home or for long-term health care, and a $500-per-child credit for middle income families raising their children who need help with child care and what the children will do after school. That is the right way to cut taxes: pro-family, pro-education, pro-economic growth.

Now, our opponents have put forward a very different plan, a risky $550 billion tax scheme that will force them to ask for even bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than they passed and I vetoed last year. But even then they will not cover the costs of their scheme, so that even then this plan will explode the deficit, which will increase interest rates by 2 percent, according to their own estimates last year. It will require huge cuts in the very investments we need to grow and to grow together and, at the same time, slow down the economy.

You know what higher interest rates mean? To you it means a higher mortgage payment, a higher car payment, a higher credit card payment. To our economy it means business people will not borrow as much money, invest as much money, create as many new jobs, create as much wealth, raise as many wages. Do we really want to make that same mistake all over again?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we really want to stop economic growth again?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we really want to start piling up another mountain of debt?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we want to bring back the recession of 1991 and '92?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we want to weaken our bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Of course we don't. We have an obligation, you and I, to leave our children a legacy of opportunity, not a legacy of debt. Our budget would be balanced today, we would have a surplus today, if we didn't have to make the interest payments on the debt run up in the 12 years before the Clinton/Gore administration took office.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. So let me say, this is one of those areas in which I respectfully disagree with my opponent. I don't believe we should bet the farm, and I certainly don't believe we should bet the country. We should stay on the right track to the 21st century.

Opportunity alone is not enough. I want to build an America in the 21st century in which all Americans take personal responsibility for themselves, their families, their communities, and their country. I want our Nation to take responsibility to make sure that every single child can look out the window in the morning and see a whole community getting up and going to work.

We want these young people to know the thrill of the first paycheck, the challenge of starting that first business, the pride in following in a parent's footsteps. The welfare reform law I signed last week gives America a chance, but not a guarantee, to have that kind of new beginning, to have a new social bargain with the poor, guaranteeing health care, child care, and nutrition for the children but requiring able-bodied parents to work for the income.

Now, I say to all of you, whether you supported the law or opposed it, but especially to those who supported it, we have a responsibility, we have a moral obligation to make sure the people who are being required to work have the opportunity to work. We must make sure the jobs are there. There should be one million new jobs for welfare recipients by the year 2000. States under this law can now take the money that was spent on the welfare check and use it to help businesses provide paychecks. I challenge every State to do it soon.

I propose also to give businesses a tax credit for every person hired off welfare and kept employed. I propose to offer private job placement firms a bonus for every welfare recipient they place in a job who stays in it. And more important, I want to help communities put welfare recipients to work right now, without delay, repairing schools, making their neighborhoods clean and safe, making them shine again. There's lots of work to be done out there. Our cities can find ways to put people to work and bring dignity and strength back to these families.

My fellow Americans, I have spent an enormous amount of time with our dear friend, the late Ron Brown, and with Secretary Kantor and others, opening markets for America around the world. And I'm proud of every one we opened. But let us never forget, the greatest untapped market for American enterprise is right here in America, in the inner cities, in the rural areas, who have not felt this recovery. With investment and business and jobs, they can become our partners in the future. And it's a great opportunity we ought not to pass up.

I propose more empowerment zones like the one we have right here in Chicago to draw business into poor neighborhoods. I propose more community development banks, like the South Shore Bank right here in Chicago, to help people in those neighborhoods start their own small businesses. More jobs, more incomes, new markets for America right here at home making welfare reform a reality. [*Applause*]

Now, folks, you cheered—and I thank you—but the Government can only do so much. The private sector has to provide most of these jobs. So I want to say again, tonight I challenge every business person in America who has ever complained about the failure of the welfare system to try to hire somebody off welfare and try hard. [*Applause*] Thank you. After all, the welfare system you used to complain about is not here anymore. There is no more "who's to blame" on welfare. Now the only question is what to do. And we all have a responsibility, especially those who have criticized what was passed and who have asked for a change and who have the ability to give poor people a chance to grow and support their families. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that ends the permanent under class, that lifts up the poor and ends their isolation, their exile. And they're not forgotten anymore. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where our children are not killing other children anymore, where children's lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard, where a generation of young people are not left to raise themselves on the streets.

With more police and punishment and prevention, the crime rate has dropped for 4 years in a row now. But we cannot rest, because we know it's still too high. We cannot rest until crime is a shocking exception to our daily lives, not news as usual. Will you stay with me until we reach that good day? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, we all owe a great debt to Sarah and Jim Brady, and I'm glad they took their wrong turn and wound up in Chicago. I was glad to see that. It is to them we owe the good news that 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get handguns because of the Brady bill. But not a single hunter in Arkansas or New Hampshire or Illinois or anyplace else missed a hunting season.

But now I say we should extend the Brady bill, because anyone who has committed an act of domestic violence against a spouse or a child should not buy a gun. And we must ban those cop-killer bullets. They are designed for one reason only, to kill police officers. We asked the police to keep us safe. We owe it to them to help keep them safe while they do their job for us.

We should pass a victims' rights constitutional amendment because victims deserve to be heard; they need to know when an assailant is released. They need to know these things, and the only way to guarantee them is through a constitutional amendment.

We have made a great deal of progress. Even the crime rate among young people is finally

coming down. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among young people is up. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man, and I hate them. He fought back. He's here tonight with his wife, his little boy is here, and I'm really proud of him. But I learned something—I learned something in going through that long nightmare with our family. And I can tell you, something has happened to some of our young people; they simply don't think these drugs are dangerous anymore, or they think the risk is acceptable. So beginning with our parents, and without regard to our party, we have to renew our energy to teach this generation of young people the hard, cold truth: Drugs are deadly; drugs are wrong; drugs can cost you your life.

General Barry McCaffrey, the four-star general who led our fight against drugs in Latin America, now leads our crusade against drugs at home: stopping more drugs at our borders, cracking down on those who sell them, and most important of all, pursuing a national antidrug strategy whose primary aim is to turn our children away from drugs. I call on Congress to give him every cent of funding we have requested for this strategy and to do it now.

There is more we will do. We should say to parolees: We will test you for drugs; if you go back on them, we will send you back to jail. We will say to gangs: We will break you with the same antiracketeering law we used to put mob bosses in jail. You're not going to kill our kids anymore or turn them into murderers before they're teenagers. My fellow Americans, if we're going to build that bridge to the 21st century we have to make our children free, free of the vise grip of guns and gangs and drugs, free to build lives of hope.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong American community, beginning with strong families, an America where all children are cherished and protected from destructive forces, where parents can succeed at home and at work. Everywhere I've gone in America, people come up and talk to me about their struggle with the demands of work and their desire to do a better job with their children. The very first person I ever saw fight that battle was here with me 4 years ago, and tonight I miss her very, very much. My irrepressible, hard-working, always optimistic mother did the best she could for her brother and me, often against very stiff odds. I learned from her just how much love and determination can overcome. But from her and from our life, I also learned that no parent can do it alone. And no parent should have to. She had the kind of help every parent deserves, from our neighbors, our friends, our teachers, our pastors, our doctors, and so many more.

You know, when I started out in public life with a lot of my friends from the Arkansas delegation down here, there used to be a saying from time to time that every man who runs for public office will claim that he was born in a log cabin he built with his own hands. [*Laughter*] Well, my mother knew better. And she made sure I did, too. Long before she even met Hillary, my mother knew it takes a village, and she was grateful for the support she got.

As Tipper Gore and Hillary said on Tuesday, we have, all of us in our administration, worked hard to support families in raising their children and succeeding at work. But we must do more. We should extend the family and medical leave law to give parents some time off to take their children to regular doctor's appointments or attend those parent-teacher conferences at school. That is a key determination of their success. We should pass a flextime law that allows employees to take their overtime pay in money or in time off, depending on what's better for their family.

The FDA has adopted new measures to reduce advertising and sales of cigarettes to children. The Vice President spoke so movingly of it last night. But let me remind you, my fellow Americans, that is very much an issue in this election because that battle is far from over and the two candidates have different views. I pledge to America's parents that I will see this effort all the way through.

Working with the entertainment industry, we're giving parents the V-chip. TV shows are being rated for content so parents will be able to make a judgment about whether their small children should see them. And 3 hours of quality children's programming every week, on every network, are on the way.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum law says every American can keep his or her health insurance if they have to change jobs, even if someone in their family has been sick. That is a very important thing. But tonight we should spell out the next steps. The first thing we ought to do is to extend the benefits of health care to people who are unemployed. I propose in

my balanced budget plan, paid for, to help unemployed families keep their health insurance for up to 6 months. A parent may be without a job, but no child should be without a doctor. And let me say again, as the First Lady did on Tuesday, we should protect mothers and newborn babies from being forced out of the hospital in less than 48 hours.

We respect the individual conscience of every American on the painful issue of abortion but believe as a matter of law that this decision should be left to a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her God. But abortion should not only be safe and legal, it should be rare. That's why I helped to establish and support a national effort to reduce out-of-wedlock teen pregnancy, and that is why we must promote adoption.

Last week the minimum wage bill I signed contained a $5,000 credit to families who adopt children, even more if the children have disabilities. It put an end to racial discrimination in the adoption process. It was a good thing for America. My fellow Americans, already there are tens of thousands of children out there who need a good home with loving parents. I hope more of them will find it now.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a clean and safe environment. We are making our food safer from pesticides. We're protecting our drinking water and our air from poisons. We saved Yellowstone from mining. We established the largest national park south of Alaska in the Mojave Desert in California. We are working to save the precious Florida Everglades. And when the leaders of this Congress invited the polluters into the back room to roll back 25 years of environmental protections that both parties had always supported, I said no.

But we must do more. Today, 10 million children live within just 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. We have cleaned up 197 of those dumps in the last 3 years, more than in the previous 12 years combined. In the next 4 years, we propose to clean up 500 more, two-thirds of all that are left and the most dangerous ones. Our children should grow up next to parks, not poison.

We should make it a crime even to attempt to pollute. We should freeze the serious polluter's property until they clean up the problems they create. We should make it easier for families to find out about toxic chemicals in their neighborhoods so they can do more to protect their own children. These are the things that we must do to build that bridge to the 21st century.

My fellow Americans, I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that makes sure we are still the nation with the world's strongest defense, that our foreign policy still advances the values of our American community in the community of nations. Our bridge to the future must include bridges to other nations, because we remain the world's indispensable nation to advance prosperity, peace, and freedom and to keep our own children safe from the dangers of terror and weapons of mass destruction.

We have helped to bring democracy to Haiti and peace to Bosnia. Now the peace signed on the White House lawn between the Israelis and the Palestinians must embrace more of Israel's neighbors. The deep desire for peace that Hillary and I felt when we walked the streets of Belfast and Derry must become real for all the people of Northern Ireland. And Cuba must finally join the community of democracies.

Nothing in our lifetime has been more heartening than when people of the former Soviet Union and Central Europe broke the grip of communism. We have aided their progress, and I am proud of it. And I will continue our strong partnership with a democratic Russia. And we will bring some of Central Europe's new democracies into NATO so that they will never question their own freedom in the future.

Our American exports are at record levels. In the next 4 years, we have to break down even more barriers to them, reaching out to Latin America, to Africa, to other countries in Asia, making sure that our workers and our products, the world's finest, have the benefit of free and fair trade.

In the last 4 years, we have frozen North Korea's nuclear weapons program. And I am proud to say that tonight there is not a single Russian nuclear missile pointed at an American child. Now we must enforce and ratify without delay measures that further reduce nuclear arsenals, banish poison gas, and ban nuclear tests once and for all.

We have made investments, new investments, in our most important defense asset, our magnificent men and women in uniform. By the year 2000, we also will have increased funding to modernize our weapons systems by 40 percent. These commitments will make sure that our military remains the best trained, best equipped fighting force in the entire world. We

are developing a sensible national missile defense, but we must not, not now, not by the year 2000, squander $60 billion on an unproved, ineffective Star Wars program that could be obsolete tomorrow.

We are fighting terrorism on all fronts with a three-pronged strategy. First, we are working to rally a world coalition with zero tolerance for terrorism. Just this month, I signed a law imposing harsh sanctions on foreign companies that invest in key sectors of the Iranian and Libyan economies. As long as Iran trains, supports, and protects terrorists, as long as Libya refuses to give up the people who blew up Pan Am 103, they will pay a price from the United States.

Second, we must give law enforcement the tools they need to take the fight to terrorists. We need new laws to crack down on money laundering and to prosecute and punish those who commit violent acts against American citizens abroad, to add chemical markers or taggants to gunpowder used in bombs so we can crack the bombmakers, to extend the same power police now have against organized crime to save lives by tapping all the phones that terrorists use. Terrorists are as big a threat to our future, perhaps bigger, than organized crime. Why should we have two different standards for a common threat to the safety of America and our children? We need, in short, the laws that Congress refused to pass. And I ask them again, please, as an American, not a partisan matter, pass these laws now.

Third, we will improve airport and air travel security. I have asked the Vice President to establish a commission and report back to me on ways to do this. But now we will install the most sophisticated bomb-detection equipment in all our major airports. We will search every airplane flying to or from America from another nation, every flight, every cargo hold, every cabin, every time.

My fellow Democrats and my fellow Americans, I know that in most election seasons foreign policy is not a matter of great interest in the debates in the barbershops and the cafes of America, on the plant floors and at the bowling alleys. But there are times, there are times when only America can make the difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between life and death. We cannot save all the world's children, but we can save many of them. We cannot become the world's policeman, but where our values and our interests are at stake and where we can make a difference, we must act and we must lead. That is our job, and we are better, stronger, and safer because we are doing it.

My fellow Americans, let me say one last time, we can only build our bridge to the 21st century if we build it together and if we're willing to walk arm in arm across that bridge together. I have spent so much of your time that you gave me these last 4 years to be your President worrying about the problems of Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi. What do these places have in common? People are killing each other and butchering children because they are different from one another. They share the same piece of land, but they are different from one another. They hate their race, their tribe, their ethnic group, their religion.

We have seen the terrible, terrible price that people pay when they insist on fighting and killing their neighbors over their differences. In our own country, we have seen America pay a terrible price for any form of discrimination. And we have seen us grow stronger as we have steadily let more and more of our hatreds and our fears go, as we have given more and more of our people the chance to live their dreams.

That is why the flame of our Statue of Liberty, like the Olympic flame carried all across America by thousands of citizen heroes, will always, always burn brighter than the fires that burn our churches, our synagogues, our mosques—always.

Look around this hall tonight—and to our fellow Americans watching on television, you look around this hall tonight—there is every conceivable difference here among the people who are gathered. If we want to build that bridge to the 21st century we have to be willing to say loud and clear: If you believe in the values of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to work hard and play by the rules, you are part of our family and we're proud to be with you. [*Applause*] You cheer now, because you know this is true. You know this is true. When you walk out of this hall, think about it. Live by it.

We still have too many Americans who give in to their fears of those who are different from them. Not so long ago, swastikas were painted on the doors of some African-American mem-

bers of our Special Forces at Fort Bragg. Folks, for those of you who don't know what they do, the Special Forces are just what the name says: they are special forces. If I walk off this stage tonight and call them on the telephone and tell them to go halfway around the world and risk their lives for you and be there by tomorrow at noon, they will do it. They do not deserve to have swastikas on their doors.

So look around here, look around here: Old or young, healthy as a horse or a person with a disability that hasn't kept you down, man or woman, Native American, native born, immigrant, straight or gay, whatever, the test ought to be, I believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence; I believe in religious liberty; I believe in freedom of speech; I believe in working hard and playing by the rules; I'm showing up for work tomorrow; I'm building that bridge to the 21st century. That ought to be the test.

My fellow Americans, 68 nights from tonight the American people will face once again a critical moment of decision. We're going to choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But the real choice is not that. The real choice is whether we will build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past, about whether we believe our best days are still out there or our best days are behind us, about whether we want a country of people all working together or one where you're on your own.

Let us commit ourselves this night to rise up and build the bridge we know we ought to build all the way to the 21st century. Let us have faith, American faith that we are not leaving our greatness behind. We're going to carry it right on with us into that new century, a century of new challenge and unlimited promise. Let us, in short, do the work that is before us, so that when our time here is over, we will all watch the sun go down, as we all must, and say truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.

My fellow Americans, after these 4 good, hard years, I still believe in a place called Hope, a place called America.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. at United Center. In his remarks, he referred to actor Christopher Reeve, who was paralyzed in an equestrian accident; and Sarah Brady, head of Hand Gun Control, Inc., wife of former White House Press Secretary James S. Brady, who was wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan.

Remarks at the Democratic National Committee Post-Convention Celebration in Chicago

August 30, 1996

Thank you, thank you very much. Well, I can't believe we're all still standing. [*Laughter*] I'd like to join the Vice President and Hillary and Tipper in thanking the leadership of our party, Don Fowler and Chris Dodd and Marvin Rosen—who had a birthday yesterday but has really put 15 or 20 years on his life since he took this modest little part-time job as the finance chairman of our party—and all the other people from the DNC. And I thank the committee here tonight.

I would like to say to Carl Lewis, thank you for being here. We're honored by your presence, and we were thrilled by your last victory and every other one you had in your career.

And Candice Bergen, thank you so much for what you said. When you and Chloe came to visit us at the White House and Ron Brown and our other friends had just been killed in that plane crash, I don't think you know what a wonderful thing it was for me to meet a person like your daughter and remind us that life goes on and we have to think about that. So I think she helped me get through those 2 days a lot more than I helped you by being around the White House. And thank you for your gracious comments tonight.

I would like to just thank two other groups of people. First of all, Mr. Mayor and Maggie and Bill Daley and Dick Notebaert and the entire committee of people from Chicago did a

magnificent job with this convention, and we thank them. [*Applause*] We thank you.

You know, when it's all over and it looks good, it's easy to say it was easy, but the truth is there were some considerable risks for the mayor and the city for taking on this convention after what happened here so long ago. At least we all were afraid of that. But I spent a lot of time in Chicago in the last several years; I've seen how it works, and I see how it continues to work better and better. And I believe that America should see this. And I think America has seen it. And I hope that, in addition to whatever benefit the Vice President and I and our Democratic candidates for Congress and Governor and the other races have received from this convention, I hope that Chicago got its just due. And I believe it did. And we thank you.

Finally, and most importantly, we should recognize the people who pulled this convention off. And I would like for Debra DeLee and every person here on the convention staff to please stand and receive a warm applause. You all were magnificent, and we thank you. Thank you, Debra, and thanks to everyone else. You were wonderful, wonderful, wonderful.

I have a very emotional feeling about being here tonight not only because of my wife's roots in Chicago, but on Saint Patrick's Day in 1992 we were here in Chicago when we won the primaries in Illinois and in Michigan and virtually sealed the Democratic nomination. And David Wilhelm, my campaign manager in 1992, of course, is from Chicago, and so many other people who were then on our staff or people like Kevin O'Keefe who are still there. This is a wonderful town, and I am very grateful to everyone here and throughout the State of Illinois.

Just to show you we're not taking this for granted, we're actually going to start this bus trip again tomorrow. After I finished the speech—and I can see I've almost lost my voice from being on the train—I figured that in the 3½ days on the train we saw at least 150,000 people in the events alone. It was unbelievable.

So I said to Al Gore tonight, I said, "Man, I'm dog-tired. Why in the world are we getting on that bus tomorrow?" [*Laughter*] "Why aren't we taking our kids to the Shed Aquarium tomorrow? Why aren't we sort of just chilling out tomorrow?" And he looked at me with that inevitable sense of humor of his and he deadpanned, "We do not want Mr. Dole to be President of the United States." So I said, "Okay, but when I get up in the morning and I'm whining about this and talking about how I'm older than you are and I hurt everywhere, just say that again so I'll remember why I'm doing this." [*Laughter*]

We're going to do our best to make you proud. We've all worked so hard this last year and a half or so. I was looking out in this crowd tonight just really feeling bad that I couldn't go to every table and shake every hand and thank every person personally, because I just look at you and I know that we wouldn't be here if you hadn't been there for us. And many of you were there when nobody gave us a prayer of coming back, when people did not believe in what we were trying to do and did not believe that it would ever work or did not believe it would ever be apparent to the American people. And you all know who you are.

And I can't be at your table tonight, and I can't tonight—when I would especially like to do it—look into your eyes and thank you. But you know who you are, and tonight I want you to be very, very proud. And tomorrow I want you to be determined that tonight will not have been in vain. We'll celebrate in November.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 a.m. at the Sheraton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, and Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, Democratic National Committee; U.S. Olympic athlete Carl Lewis; actress Candice Bergen and her daughter, Chloe; Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago, his wife, Margaret, and his brother William; Richard C. Notebaert, cochair, Chicago '96; and Debra DeLee, chief executive officer, Democratic National Convention Committee.

Remarks to the Annual General Session of the Democratic National Committee in Chicago

August 30, 1996

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, you just heard a speech from the part of our ticket who got the most sleep last night. [*Laughter*]

I asked Al last night, after the convention adjourned and I was just drained, you know—and you all were so wonderful to me, and I thank you very much—but I said, "Gosh, I wish tomorrow we were getting up and taking the kids to the aquarium and the zoo and just kind of looking around Chicago, a wonderful town; I hadn't spent any time here. Why are we going out on that bus?" [*Laughter*] "Why are we doing that tomorrow?" Totally deadpan, you know, just like he did in the speech, he said in his version of the macarena, you know, that dead stare—[*laughter*]—he said, "Because we do not wish Senator Dole to win the election." [*Laughter*] So I said, "Okay, when I get up tomorrow and my back hurts and I'm whining around, you remind me of that so I can be in a good humor." [*Laughter*]

Rabbi, Reverend Barrow, ladies and gentlemen, I just want to echo, if I might for a moment, a lot of what has been said and make two brief points about our party and our future. First, I want to thank Don Fowler for a lifetime of devotion to our party and for doing the hard work—out of the limelight and keeps going. I want to thank B.J. Thornberry and the staff at the Democratic National Committee who have worked hard to bring our party back.

I thank Chris Dodd for his tirelessness and his eloquence. By the time he got through nominating me the other night I felt like a real President. [*Laughter*] I thought it was quite wonderful, and I thank you, sir.

I want to thank Marvin Rosen and Scott Pastrick and all the folks that have worked so hard in raising our funds that for a year enabled us to be on television debating the different visions of the future that we and our opponents have.

I feel deeply indebted to you, Debra DeLee, and to all the people who worked on the Chicago convention—a lot of people left the White House, volunteers came from all over the country. They did a wonderful job. I said before how very much I appreciate what Mayor Daley and Maggie did and the magnificent job that Bill Daley did in mustering a broad base of support for the Democratic Convention in Chicago, and I'm very grateful to them.

I'd also like to remind you all that we had a lot of support and help from the entire State of Illinois, and I'd like to thank the chairman of the Illinois Democratic Party, Gary LaPaille, and all the Illinois Democrats for the support they gave us. Thank you, sir. Thank you all.

I thank all the Members of Congress for being here. And all of you—some of you here—Joel Ferguson I see—were on the train with me. I thank you for riding the train. That was one of the great experiences of my life, and I think everybody who was on there enjoyed it.

Reverend Jackson, I thank you for what you said at the convention, for what you said about the First Lady, and I thank you for being there with your son. You know, I saw Congressman Jackson and his father, and I watched them together, and I thought, family values. I thought, family values. It was a beautiful thing.

I thank Mayor Archer for being here and for your great speech, sir, and for the example you have set in Detroit. If you can get $2 billion of private sector commitments to invest in the inner city of Detroit, we can do that everywhere in America, and we can put the people of this country back to work and give people a future.

I don't know if Mayor Brown from San Francisco is still here, but I thought he was here before, and I thank him for being here. He was one of our most eloquent spokespeople on television. I saw him from time to time.

I wanted to say two things. First of all, I want you to know how I felt, not only as a President, as a Democrat but as an American, about our convention. I had two responses to it. First of all, our friends in the other party, they had a very successful convention in San Diego, but there was a difference in theirs and ours, and I was really proud of it. We were proud of our platform, proud of our record, proud of all of our leaders, and glad to put them before the American people. But more importantly, we did not try to hide the fact

that we have differences but that those differences can be constructive.

If you're not going to ever have a debate and a difference of opinion, what's the purpose of getting together? If we all knew the truth, there would be no point in talking. If there was nothing to learn, there would be no point in listening.

And the one thing I have to tell you, over the last 20 years of public life, where I've had the opportunity now to work for 20 years on the great issues that are still before us today—can you reform education so that everyone achieves excellence; can you develop the right mix in a criminal justice system so that you not only catch the people who should be caught and sent to prison but you actually find a way to reduce crime by preventing it in the first place; can you find a way to change the dynamics of the welfare system so we end the 30 years steadily growing isolation of an economic under class in America—what I have learned is that we all need a little humility here. If these things were easy, somebody would have done it already.

That's why I was so upset to hear our teachers condemned at the other convention. You know, they ought to try it sometime. They ought to try it sometime. Most of our children turn out fine; most of them learn a lot; most of them are doing great; a lot of them are doing great against all the odds.

But when we embark on this great enterprise, we should not only have confidence and energy, we should have a little humility. And that humility should make us welcome the chance together as a party and to express our honest differences, and then to explain to the American people why we're still Democrats and why we're still moving forward and what it is that we agree on, which is what our platform is all about.

I'd give anything if—I know political platforms are sort of out of date—I'd give anything if we could convince 20 or 30 or 40 million Americans to read that platform. It's not very long. And it says about all we need to say about why we're not a party of the past but a party of the future. And I just want you to know I'm proud of you, every one of you, and grateful to you.

And so I ask you to go out to the American people with that sense of confidence and hope and also honest humility. We came in here on a train. We're going to fly out of here and get on a bus. But by train or bus, we're still going to have the same message: We are on the right track to the 21st century, and we are going to build that bridge to the future, and we're going to do it together.

And let me just say one or two things. The Vice President went over the substantive issues, but if you think about it, we have to keep the economy strong, and then we've got to offer educational opportunity to everybody if everyone is going to have a chance to participate. That's our opportunity agenda, and it's a good one.

We have to keep the crime rate coming down, but we have to find a way to prevent crime in the first place. We have to try to change the welfare system with this law, but in order to do it there have to be jobs there in the first place. And let me say, I have seen with these empowerment zones that if we put a lot more of them out there, we can get more investment into our cities.

I can see with our brownfields initiative—that's a strange word to a lot of people—but the truth is we can't invest in a lot of our cities because there are environmental problems. If we clean them up, in many cases the investments that can be made will be less expensive in some of our high unemployment areas; in other areas, we can help in that way. We can give employers incentives to hire people on welfare. All those welfare checks can now be used to help create jobs in the private sector.

But the thing that I think is most important for us to say is what I said last night: Welfare for years has been a political football. Everybody had an opinion about it, even people that never talked to anybody on welfare, had never been in a welfare office, had never seen how any of these programs worked. Their sense was right—their sense was right, that somehow we had isolated a group of people in our country that we weren't bringing back in. That was true. But a lot of the specific things people said about it were dead wrong, starting with the fact that most everybody who is trapped in dependence is dying to be independent and wants to be out of it.

Now there is none of that left. No person can fairly argue the welfare issue one party against another. No person can fairly say, "I'm a politician. I'm going to get you to vote for me by condemning poor people who just want a handout." That's over. No one can do that anymore. All that stuff that people said just sort

of on automatic for the last 20 years, it is over now. And if you hear anybody saying it now, you can say, "When's the last time you hired somebody? What are you going to do? What is your responsibility? We have changed this. Get off the dime. Let's go to work. Let's do this."

This is going to be a great opportunity for us to bring that message. I know that it was Reverend Jackson who first said to me the line I said to America last night, which is that the greatest market for our country are all the underemployed and unemployed people in America. If you brought investment back into the isolated rural areas and the inner cities of America and gave people there the chance to work and earn a good living, they would buy more American products than any country that we can presently open a market to in the next 2 or 3 years. That is the important message here. That's a very important message.

Now, I leave you with this thought. This is the beginning of the campaign, not the end of it. I want to get in there with everyone else who said that. I don't know how many sporting events I've watched in my lifetime—a golfer I admire blow a several-shot lead—not maybe blow it, maybe somebody else just played better that day; a basketball team 20 points ahead lose the lead in 8 minutes and lose the game. Any contest is not over until it's over. And this is a contest, and it's not over. It's just starting.

So I want you to share this message. And I do want you to help us register more of our voters, but I want you to help us get the people to vote who should. The thing that encouraged me about the train trip was that I felt that there's no way that many people could have come out with that level of interest, enthusiasm, and commitment unless they felt again that there was a connection between what we were doing in Washington and how they were living in the heartland. That is the connection we have to keep alive. That is the connection that drives people to the polls.

But it is critical that people know that we're building that bridge to the 21st century, that we're going to meet our challenges, and we're going to protect our values. Our party was founded by Thomas Jefferson. I think it's important to note that Thomas Jefferson was succeeded by Madison and Monroe, that by the time John Quincy Adams got ready to be President, he was not part of the party of his father. Everybody had to be part of Jefferson's party. They just had two different factions. Then we had Andrew Jackson who was a more populist part of the party that Thomas Jefferson had founded.

I'm making this point for this reason: if this party represents most of the people, embodies the values of this country, and is always willing to take on the new challenges, we can be the party that we were in our beginning. We can be the party that we were for Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. We can be the party that we were for John Kennedy and President Johnson. We can be the party we started to be with President Carter, and circumstances intervened there. We can do that if we have that kind of discipline.

I was reading that magnificent book about the Lewis and Clark expedition and all the people in the other party who were against Thomas Jefferson buying the Louisiana Territory. And Thomas Jefferson said, "Well, I'm for limited Government but, my goodness, this is America, this is our future." So he spent the equivalent of one year of the Federal budget to buy Louisiana. Can you imagine what they'd do to me in Washington if I spent the equivalent of one year of the Federal budget on anything? A whole year of the Federal budget he spent to buy Louisiana. If he hadn't done it, I wouldn't be here today. [*Laughter*]

You think about that. I say that to say we must always keep our eye on the future. We should be proud of what we have done. We should be proud of what we have done, but we can't undo yesterday. We can be proud of our accomplishments, and we have to find a way to let our failures go because we can't undo it. And we've got to focus on the future.

So if you will help me in these next 68 days, we'll take this message to the people. Yes, we're on the right track, but we're not stopping the train. We're going on. We're building that bridge to the 21st century. We're building it for all Americans, and we want all Americans to join the Democrats and get the job done.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:49 a.m. at the Sheraton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Rabbi Herman Schaalmau and Rev. Willie Barrow, who delivered the invocations; Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, B.J. Thornberry, executive director, Senator Christopher J. Dodd, gen-

eral chairman, Marvin Rosen, national finance chairman, and Scott Pastrick, treasurer, Democratic National Committee; Debra DeLee, chief executive officer, Democratic National Convention Committee; Joel Ferguson, businessman and former Michigan State University trustee; civil rights leader Rev. Jesse L. Jackson and his son, Representative Jesse Jackson, Jr., of Illinois; Mayor Dennis W. Archer of Detroit, MI; and Mayor Willie Brown of San Francisco, CA. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks on Beginning a Bus Tour in Cape Girardeau, Missouri

August 30, 1996

The President. Thank you so much. Ladies and gentlemen, first of all I am thrilled to see you here in such large numbers and with such enthusiasm. It's good to be in Cape Girardeau. It's not the first time I've ever been here, but it's the first time I've ever been here as President. And the last time I was here as a private citizen, I just stopped and got a Coke and nobody came out to see me. It's pretty nice to be here with 30,000 of our best friends. Thank you. Thank you.

I want to say a word of thanks to some folks who haven't been recognized yet, but I used to do this, and they're the people that provided our music. They're over there in those hot uniforms: the Southeast Missouri State Band, the Cape Girardeau Central High School Band, the Jackson High School Band, the Fredericktown High School Band, the Farmington High School Band. Thank you for the music. Thank you. You were great, and we appreciate you.

Thank you, Governor Carnahan, for being my friend and being a great leader for Missouri, for creating jobs and advancing education and moving people from welfare to work. I want to say one thing about Mel Carnahan. While there was a lot of political rhetoric in Washington about welfare reform, Mel Carnahan developed an idea, a plan to help move people from welfare to work. We approved it. He's implementing it. And I want you to know there are, in addition to 10 million more Americans at work, there are 1.8 million Americans fewer on welfare than there were the day I became President, thanks in part to the leadership of people like Mel Carnahan.

Thank you, Emily Firebaugh, for presenting yourself as a candidate for Congress, for undergoing the rigors of the campaign, and for understanding what is at stake. Ladies and gentlemen, what she said is true. And what I said to the convention last night is true. Last year there was, and this year there has been, a competition of balanced budget plans. Let me remind you that they always talked about balancing the budget, but when I became President, the debt of this country had been quadrupled in 12 years. We cut it by 60 percent in 4 years. And you would have a surplus today if it weren't for the interest we have to pay on the debt run up in the 12 years before I became President.

And so, I said, "Here's a balanced budget plan. It has a tax cut to pay for education and childrearing. It's targeted to middle class families. It invests in education. It invests in the environment. It invests in research and technology for the future. It protects Medicaid for the elderly in nursing homes or poor children, for families with members with disabilities. And it protects Medicare. Take it."

They said, "No. Here's a balanced budget plan. It cuts Medicare too much. It cuts Medicaid too much. It divides Medicare into a two-class system. It removes the guarantee of Medicaid coverage for people in nursing homes, for families with disabilities, and for poor children. It cuts education. It cuts the environment. It lets companies raid $15 billion of their workers' pension funds. And it raises taxes on the hardest working, lowest paid working people with children in this country. You take that, or we'll shut the Government down."

I said no. I said no. But as I said yesterday, I have done my best to change the politics of Washington, DC, to make it more like life in Cape Girardeau. I am sick and tired of Washington taking up the headlines over who's to blame. I think the question is not who's to blame; it's what are we going to do to make America a

better country and to give our children a better future?

So it's not enough to blame and to say no. We have to say yes. We have to have the right kind of balanced budget. That's one of the decisions we can make if we had people like Emily Firebaugh in the United States Congress. I hope you'll send her up there and give her a chance to serve.

I want to also, if I might, echo something Hillary said. I know that we're pretty close to Arkansas here. And if I had doubted it, there's a bunch of my friends from northeast Arkansas in this crowd. I thank you for coming, all the people who came up from Arkansas that are over here to my left.

We've got some water here. And if anybody passes out in the heat, we've also got a bunch of medics here. So just wave your hand; they're all looking for you. What did she say?

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]

The President. Thank you. That we have a lot of nurses here, that's what they were saying.

Ladies and gentlemen, I came into Chicago on a train from West Virginia to Kentucky, to Ohio, to Michigan, to Indiana, and then into Chicago. I did it to say that America is on the right track to the 21st century, but I did it to see people like you, the people we've been working and fighting for for 4 years. We left Chicago on a bus to get back on the roads that we drove in 1992 because Hillary and I and Al and Tipper, we want to see the face of America, and we want you to know that we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century that all of you can walk across with your families, with your children, and with your neighbors.

I want to do every single solitary thing I talked about last night, to create more opportunity, to inspire more responsibility in our people, and to build a stronger sense of community. I don't want to go over all that, but I do want to remind you of a couple of things that we are going to do to build that bridge.

We're going to make 2 years of college as universal in the next 4 years as a high school education is today. We're going to give America's families a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year. We're going to enlist 30,000 mentors to mobilize an army of one million people to work with parents to help their children read so that when we get to the year 2000, there will not be 40 percent of our third graders unable to read on their own. Every third grader in America will be able to read a book on his or her own.

We're going to pass the right kind of tax cut, a tax cut involving a credit for $500 for children 13 and under, a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition, a $1,500 tax credit for the cost of community college, an IRA that families making family incomes up to $100,000 can take out every year and then withdraw tax-free to pay for health insurance, a first-time home, or the cost of a college education. This is the right sort of tax program for America.

And we're going to say to middle income families, we're going to help you get in your home. We've got the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years. We've got the highest rate of minority homeownership in the history of America. We're going to take it in the next 4 years—over two-thirds of the American people will be in their own homes. And we want to say when you sell that home and move into another one, if we have our way you will never owe any taxes on the gain you have when your home goes up again for that.

But folks, these tax cuts are paid for line by line, dime by dime. We've still got to balance the budget. That's why our friends and our opponents' tax plan, which is 5 times bigger and sounds sweeter, is just flat wrong because it will require us to make even bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than the budget I vetoed. You don't want that, do you?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. And when they get through with that, they still won't have balanced the budget, so they'll blow a hole in the deficit. Now, that's boring compared to a check in your pocket. But let me ask it to you this way: Would you go to the bank in Cape Girardeau and borrow money to give yourself a tax cut?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Well, why would you hire somebody to do it for you? Now, you think about it. What happens is, if you borrow the money to give yourself a tax cut, everybody else is borrowing money, you're going to drive interest rates up; your car payment, your credit card payment, your home mortgage payment will be higher.

Last year our Republican friends said it would be higher by 2 percent. That means they'll take your tax cut away, weaken the economy and, most important, it will be harder for business

people here and throughout the country to borrow money, to expand their businesses, to start new businesses, to hire new people, to raise their wages. Let's have the right kind of tax cut, balance the budget, keep the interest rates down, keep the economy of Missouri and the United States of America going. That is the right thing to do.

We're going to prove you can protect the environment and grow the economy. There are 10 million kids living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. If you vote for us, we're going to clean up two-thirds of them in the next 4 years and make our kids grow up next to parks, not poison. That's the right thing to do for America's children.

We're going to build on our efforts to strengthen America's families and to help people succeed at work and at home. In all the crowds that I have been before over the last 4 years, when real Americans, ordinary Americans, hard-working Americans, the backbone of this country come out, I look and talk to people, and I don't ever meet a family that hasn't had some point in their lives where there's been a real challenge between the duty to raise their children well and their obligations at work.

That's why we passed the family and medical leave law and gave 12 million Americans a chance to take some time off for a baby's birth or a parent's sickness without losing their jobs. And that's why we want to expand the family and medical leave law, so people can take a little time off to go to those parent-teacher conferences and the regular doctor's appointment with their kids. And we think there ought to be flextime rules so that if you earn overtime, depending on what's best for your family, you get to decide whether to take the overtime in money or extra time off if your children need it. That's the kind of America we're trying to build, stronger families for a brighter future working together.

Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you say that in America, if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to work hard and play by the rules, we don't care what your race is, what your gender is, what your income is, where you're from, or where you started, you're all going across that bridge together with us, we're going arm in arm, together and strong? Can we do that? Will you help us for 68 days, all the way to November?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:57 p.m. at Capaha Park. In his remarks, he referred to Emily Firebaugh, candidate for Missouri's Eighth Congressional District.

Message on the Observance of Labor Day, 1996

August 30, 1996

Warm greetings to all Americans as we commemorate our nation's 102nd Labor Day holiday.

Each Labor Day we celebrate the accomplishments of our working men and women. Jobs drive our economy and ensure that the blessings of freedom will benefit generations to come. Labor Day is an opportunity to recognize those who began the fight to improve working conditions and labor laws for Americans, as well as those who continue to ensure dignity in the workplace, integrity in our society, and honor in the global marketplace.

This Labor Day, we have much to cheer, including 10 million new jobs created in the past three and a half years and better and safer pensions for 40 million workers and retirees. The Family and Medical Leave Act has permitted countless workers to care for loved ones without fear of losing their jobs or their seniority. And employees are now guaranteed that when they change jobs, they can take their health care coverage with them.

We observe this day knowing that the best is yet to come. Working together, management and labor can improve quality and efficiency,

reduce production costs, promote new job opportunities, and ensure safe and healthy working conditions.

As we pause to reflect on the contributions of America's workers, we should remember those who seek a job—who seek a piece of the American Dream—and rededicate ourselves to making that dream possible for all Americans to achieve.

Best wishes to all for a memorable holiday.

BILL CLINTON

Interview With Tabitha Soren of MTV

August 30, 1996

Ms. Soren. Welcome, Mr. President, to our Choose or Lose bus.

The President. Thank you.

Antidrug Efforts

Ms. Soren. Thank you very much for taking the time to do this on your bus tour.

In your speech last night you said that drugs were wrong and deadly. But on MTV a couple of years ago, someone asked you if you could inhale—if you could do it over again, would you inhale, and you said, "Yeah, I tried the first time."

The President. That was true.

Ms. Soren. Do you wish that you had answered differently? Because Republicans are planning on using this to attack you.

The President. Oh, they're using it, but all I said was—I was just trying to make the point that I had never—when I answered the question I told the truth. I just told the truth about the question.

Ms. Soren. It was a joke?

The President. Yes.

Ms. Soren. The question was, in context, it was a light-hearted——

The President. It was a light-hearted question, and it wasn't in the context of some sort of endorsement of drug use, and they know that. If you look at the record I established as Governor, the record I've established as President, the things I've worked on, and if you look at the terrible price my own family has paid and my brother's problem which literally nearly killed him, I think that my position on this is clear.

I'm very concerned about it really because every so often, you know, years go by and we see drug use going down. We still see drug use going down among adults; that's the interesting thing. In the last 4 years, drug use among people 18 to 34 has gone down because people have begun to think more about their own lives, their responsibilities then when they have children, and they began to be concerned about the risks.

But every few years, apparently, younger people believe it's not dangerous anymore and believe that the risks, if there are any, can be borne. The risks of, let's say, cocaine, heroin, and hallucinogens and marijuana are different kinds of risks, but there are real risks associated with all of them. And I'm very hopeful, now that General McCaffrey has come on and agreed to be our drug czar and we're focusing now—I wouldn't say exclusively but clearly primarily on people under 18, that we and people around the country will be able to do something about this.

Democratic National Convention

Ms. Soren. I wanted to ask you another question about the convention. I think a lot of people were confused by what they saw at both conventions; they saw singing Senators and delegates macarena-ing. Obviously it's a party, you know, but many people didn't hear the message coming from the conventions.

For instance, obviously Christopher Reeve has done a lot of good for people who suffer from his disability, but why is his disability an argument to vote for you?

The President. For two reasons. One is, Christopher Reeve made an impassioned plea for research. In my budget we have consistently invested more in research, both in health care areas like spinal cord disease, breast cancer, HIV, and AIDS, and also in science and technology. We're now building with IBM a computer, a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than a person with a handheld calculator could do in 30,000 years—30,000

years. It's unbelievable. And I believe that it's very important to vote for a President who believes in the future and who is really committed to science and technology and research.

The second reason is, as Christopher Reeve so eloquently told me when we were visiting in the Oval Office, not everyone who gets a serious injury and becomes disabled is wealthy; most people aren't, and even wealthy people can quickly be bankrupted by the cost of care. The Medicaid program which the Federal Government has maintained for 30 years contains a guarantee of aid to families with disabilities who are middle class or below, to enable them to maintain a middle class life, to keep their jobs, and still give their disabled family member some help.

In the budget—which I vetoed—of the Republican Congress, which Senator Dole and Mr. Gingrich led through Congress, they would have removed that guarantee, just sent some money to the States, put a lid on it, and then let the States decide what to do. And I think it's highly likely that the first people to be sacrificed would have been people with disabilities.

So those are the two reasons that his being there embodied the human connection to the President and his actions, the Congress, and what happens to people's lives. And every other person that was there on Monday night, the same thing. The Brady bill, it was obvious because they talked about it. Mike Robbins, the Chicago police officer, was riddled with bullets by an assault weapon. The young AmeriCorps girl was important because the Republicans have tried to abolish AmeriCorps twice. The educator is important because they wanted to cut back on educational aid; I wanted to invest more money in education. So everybody there—the Toledo autoworker was important because we've opened new markets to Japan and other parts in the world and America is number one in auto production again.

So we started our convention in a very different way. We had a whole series of citizens speaking to establish the connection between their vote and their lives.

1996 Election

Ms. Soren. Speaking of Senator Dole and the Republicans, the Republicans are accusing you of theft of their values agenda, stealing their ideas and making them your own. How do you plead?

The President. Well, the Republicans tried for years to convince the American people that only one party had values. And unfortunately—I believe it was unfortunate—they were too often rewarded for that. But I never believed that only Republicans could stand up for the American family. I never believed that only Republicans could be tough on crime. I thought those were American issues.

But if we were going to argue that they belonged to one party or another—I mean, here's a fact: The first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave Act. My predecessor, my Republican predecessor, vetoed it twice, and Senator Dole led the fight against it. Now, who is the more pro-family?

I fought the crime bill through, which put 100,000 police on the street, banned assault weapons, and had tougher punishment programs and prevention programs for young people. The bitterest, I mean really, literally, bitterest opponent of the crime bill in the entire Congress was Senator Dole. Now, who is strong against crime? We've got 4 years of declining crime.

So I didn't steal their values. On welfare reform, long before they ever passed a bill, 3 months into my Presidency I granted the first waiver to a State to try a welfare-to-work experiment. We now have 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than we did the day I took office—before this welfare bill takes effect.

So I didn't steal their values agenda. I believe they're American values, and I did something about it. And I think they're angry because they made so many votes for years just by talking about it and not doing anything about it. So we did something about it, and they're complaining about it.

Ms. Soren. Are you afraid of being seen as sort of—are you afraid of your politics being perceived as sort of Republican-like, a less radical approach to their ideas?

The President. No. Let me just take one other example.

Ms. Soren. The only reason I ask is because people are wondering if you're the same person they elected in '92.

The President. If you look at what we talked about at the convention, if you look at what we've done over the last 4 years—including in the last 2 years—the budget that I passed, I put the Democrats on the side of deficit reduction and balancing the budget, because I believe that. That's what I ran on. But all the Repub-

licans voted against our budget because it also made the Tax Code fairer. It lowered taxes on 15 million working people, asked those of us in the highest income groups, the top one percent of us, to pay a little more.

They opposed me on family and medical leave, most of them did. They opposed my education reforms, all progressive things. They opposed the crime bill. Then when we finally got some action out of this last Congress, there was—the health care reform proposal was a big part of my health care reform bill that I signed. The minimum wage bill, the pension relief for small businesses, was legislation that I always advocated. So I think it sounds good. But what was the biggest thing I did in the last 2 years? I vetoed their budget.

So I don't see how they can say I'm Republican-like. I just think that they like saying, "We're for a balanced budget; the Democrats are big spenders. We're tough on crime; the Democrats are weak on crime. We're for work instead of welfare; the Democrats are for welfare instead of work." And even some of our own commentators kind of got hung up in that.

If we protect children and we give families the right to and the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, we should be for a balanced budget, a growing economy, work instead of welfare, and tough on crime. So I feel very good about it, and I don't think it's inconsistent.

Political Consultant Dick Morris

Ms. Soren. Dick Morris helped you make a political comeback over the last 2 years, and he's been running, according to just about everyone, a phenomenal campaign. Now he's resigned. Will you still be talking to him on the phone about politics?

The President. I don't plan to do that, no. But we do have a good team, and we all work together.

Ms. Soren. You're not worried at all with him not being there?

The President. No, because we have a good team. And everybody had a role to play, and we all agreed early on on a strategy. And then when we—we had a decisionmaking process which I think is very good, which I'm just going to keep in place. I'm going to keep the team I've got. I'm going to keep the decisionmaking process in place. And I think we'll do very well.

Ms. Soren. So you won't be communicating with him anymore?

The President. I don't have any plans to do that. I don't say I won't communicate with him. My wife and I and the Vice President all called him and just had a purely personal conversation.

But this campaign is now the product of a record we have made and the proposals we have out there and the fact that we—our administration stood against what Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Dole tried to do in '95 and early '96. And those will be the salient elements that the American people will have to decide on, and we'll do the best we can. But I feel good about it.

1996 Election

Ms. Soren. There's talk in Republican circles of renewing character attacks on you because of their opinion that you surround yourself with questionable people. How are you going to respond?

The President. I'm not. I'm going to keep doing my job. I think the reason that talk is there, though, is that way they don't have to talk about over 10 million new jobs; they don't have to talk about the fact that my Democratic administration is the first one to reduce the deficit in all 4 of its years, since before the Civil War; that our budget would be in surplus today if it weren't for the interest we pay on the debt run up in the 12 years of the Republican Presidencies before me; that we have made college loans more available and more affordable, and they tried to cut back on it; that the crime rate has come down under our strategy, and they opposed it. They don't have to talk about those things, but I'm going to talk about what is right for the American people.

The American people will make their judgments about—and probably already have made their judgments about that. And I do not intend to respond in kind. I'm going to keep saying what I said before: I like Senator Dole. I've had a good relationship with him. I honor the 35 years he gave this country in Congress, and I respect him for the way he fought back from his injury in the war. And I just don't think that it's good for America, and I'm going to try to make this election about big things that touch the people we just saw on the side of the road there.

Ms. Soren. Or little things that touch them, too.

The President. And the little things that touch them.

Ms. Soren. You captured the imagination of young people in 1992, along with their votes. I saw young people at the MTV Inaugural Ball weeping when you arrived. Maybe their expectations were too high, but even with national service and all your educational programs, a lot of them feel just as disconnected today as they did 4 years ago. Do you feel like you've let people down? Have you not gotten your message out as clearly as you could have?

The President. Well, I think the campaign will help. But all I can say is——

Ms. Soren. Were their expectations too high?

The President. I don't know, because I don't know what their expectations were. I want them to be high. But if you look at what happened on this train trip, that was my first real—I don't think polls can tell you these things. I don't think you can poll this. But when we were out there, and on this train trip we stopped—most of our rallies were in very small towns. We only had 2 stops where there were fewer than 10,000 people there. There were more than 150,000 total people who came to our rallies in those 3 days on the train. And then there were hundreds and hundreds of people, place after place after place, just on the side of the road as we were going. We had 30,000 in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, today, our first bus stop.

I think people do feel connected. Look, I think they feel like they're part of something bigger than themselves. I think they think the country is moving again. I do believe in the first 2 years that—one of the things that I've learned over many years is that there is a time lag between when a President or a Governor or a Congress takes an action and when it can be felt in the lives of the American people. So that we saw real economic growth coming from 1993 on, but there was no evidence until really about 8 months ago that the American people were beginning to feel it in their own lives, when paychecks finally started to go up again, when people saw that there were enough new jobs to make a difference in the local economy.

It's the same thing with education. Now we're beginning—we've got a critical mass of young people who have been either in national service or even many, many more are getting the new college loans, the direct loans that they can pay back as a percentage of their income. We've reduced the welfare rolls by enough now that people are beginning to perceive it. The crime rate has come down now 4 years in a row so that people are finally beginning to perceive it. Their streets are safer, even though the crime rate in America is far too high still.

I think that's a part of it. And so I think that my obligation is to go back to the young people of America and say, here's what I said I'd do 4 years ago; here's what we've done; here's what we're going to do in the next 4 years. And that's a lot of what we tried to do at our convention.

Campaign Financing

Ms. Soren. Young people are alienated from politics. Young people think politics is rigged by money, and they're right. Democrats received tens of millions of dollars in corporate contributions. What are those corporations getting for their money?

The President. Well, I think it's fair to say that most of the corporations that contribute to either party agree with their policies. But keep in mind, almost all the wealthy individuals and some of the corporations that contributed to the Democratic Party are doing so even though their tax bills went up, because only the top 1.2 percent of individuals and corporations with incomes over $10 million a year had an income tax increase under our tax bill. And a lot of them supported us anyway, first of all because they knew I was right, that to get the deficit down, get interest rates down—they'd all do better with a healthier economy. I don't believe that any of them have supported me for some sort of bad or unseemly reason.

On the other hand, I think it would be better if we had a campaign finance reform system that would enable people in public life to spend less time raising money and to be less dependent on it. But the only way you can do it is to give greater access to the airwaves, to candidates or parties, because it just costs so much to communicate.

Ms. Soren. So it's our fault. [*Laughter*]

The President. No, no, it's not your fault. No, no, I don't mean it that way.

Ms. Soren. I'm just kidding.

The President. Look, here's a country with a $1.5 trillion budget, an annual income of over $6 trillion. So you talk about a party raising and spending $150 million in a year and a half for an election, it sounds like a lot of money.

Against that, it doesn't sound like so much money. It just costs a lot of money to communicate. The communications costs—not just on television—radio, print, mail, travel, it's very high.

Ms. Soren. Right. Do you think—so corporations aren't getting access? I read a report that they get to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom once in a while, CEO's or——

The President. Well, the people who sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom are people I personally invite, who have been my friends, and a lot of them have supported me. But I don't think any President has made a habit of inviting his opponents to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom. I mean, I think you normally invite your supporters.

Ms. Soren. Sure.

The President. But I can say this: There's never been any attempt to raise any money with the promise that you can spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom. I have invited people who have been helpful to me to spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom, but it was never a quid pro quo there.

Politics and Personal Attacks

Ms. Soren. No, I'm not trying to imply that.

You're doing really well in the polls, but there's a certain percentage of people who not only don't support you but they seem to actively dislike you. Why do some people dislike you so much? Nobody is——

The President. Well, I think—there's a sign on the side of your bus; it's a quote of Bill Cosby's that I just love. He says, "I don't know the secret of success. But I know the secret of failure is trying to please everybody." And I have always believed that in public life, when you were given an office, you should outline the major challenges and go after them and really try to get something done. And you should enlist the energies of people and try to bring them together and do it.

And I have always had a certain core of people who have opposed me. When I was Governor of my State, I got elected five times and would regularly get nearly two-thirds of the vote. There would always be a core of people who were intensely opposed to my policies.

Ms. Soren. But people didn't necessarily like Reagan's policies, either, but it didn't seem to get as personal. Do you think it has to do with your generation?

The President. Perhaps. And it may be—well, I just don't know. I don't know. It may have more to do with the comparative tactics of the two parties. I have no idea. It may have more to do with the way people are talked about now.

One of the reasons I have tried so hard—especially since the Oklahoma City bombing, which I say had a profound impact on our country and on me—I have really tried hard to bring a sense of civility and decency back into public discourse. I went back and read some of my own speeches in '92, and while they're not rough at all by the standards of today, I thought, well, I want to elevate what I'm saying and how I'm saying it a little more now.

I just think that politics has always been a rough-and-tumble business, and people have always disagreed. And if you go back to the early 1800's, for example, it's a period of real tumult in our country, what was said and done and how much people had it pretty rough. I mean, when Thomas Jefferson was elected President, the John Adams party—because Mr. Adams was trying to hold onto the Presidency—said that he would kill religion in America, he would end godliness among the American people. So we've always had some of this, but I think we need to resist it.

Ms. Soren. I remember a very proud group of your inner circle of friends at the convention 4 years ago walking around boasting FOB pins. How does it make you feel that bad things have happened to those who have helped you get where you are today: Jim Guy Tucker, Vince Foster, Webb Hubbell, even the First Lady?

The President. Well, I feel very badly, obviously, about Vince Foster because he was my longtime friend, and it's always tragic when someone commits suicide. And I do feel that a lot of people were targeted just because they were from Arkansas. Governor Tucker, for example, had—he was my Lieutenant Governor, we had been friends for a long time, but he'd never been part of my political life. But he was targeted, and I feel badly about that. And the country is going to have to evaluate, when this whole thing is over and there will be time for a fair accounting, whether they think it was the right thing to do. And I feel very badly about Hillary and a lot of her staff have been subject to, because it was just pure naked politics from the get-go.

But that's what I'm talking about. That's sort of the way of the cycle. It's the cost of doing business in Washington. I mean, the people——

Ms. Soren. Was that a surprise to you, that it was as harsh as it was?

The President. Well, it's just gotten worse and worse. It's been deteriorating over time. Yes, it surprised me that you could be exonerated from one thing after another and it would never be noticed and then just another set of charges just to keep these going. That bothered me.

But you know, the thing I think is important that I'd ask the American people to look at is that all these folks in our administration sustained all these hits, and we kept producing for the American people. We said, we can't control this, we can't do anything about it; all we can do is get up tomorrow and try to do our job. Why did we come here? We came here to help move the country forward and bring the country together, and that's what we're going to do. And our convention showed how productive our administration had been and our country had been in the last 4 years. And I think the fact that we could do it while having people like Senator D'Amato on us day-in and day-out I think is a tribute to the character and the public devotion of the people in this administration. I'm proud of them.

Ms. Soren. That's what I wanted to ask you. If you can just—try to take this in the way that I mean it, but you've suffered incessant character assassination over the past 4 years. Your family has been maligned. You get up, there's another funeral; you've probably only had a couple hours of sleep that night. Between the funeral, a scandal, another country maybe going to war, why do you want 4 more years? I mean, what are you thinking?

The President. Well, first of all, there's been a lot more good than bad.

Ms. Soren. Really?

The President. Oh, yes. It is the most rewarding thing in the world for a citizen of our country, who loves our country and believes in the promise of its people, to be President. To look back on the last 4 years and to go out here as I did on the train ride or on this bus trip, and you look into the eyes of people and you go through these crowds, and somebody will say, "I've got a home because of one of your programs"; "I've gotten a job since you were here"; "I'm on one of your college loans"; "I'm an AmeriCorps student"—when you see how the country is changing for the better, it's immensely rewarding.

And in this day and time—you know, as I said, we've had periods like this in our politics before. In the early 1800's, Mr. Jefferson faced many of the same things. When you live in a time which is really rough, with no holds barred, and a lot of people seek personal advantage by what I call the politics of destruction, you have to be always, always, always defining yourself and the quality of your life by what is inside. And you can't confuse who you are and the quality of your own life with whatever is going on in the day-to-day headlines. It's destructive. Otherwise, you shrivel and become little.

The President should always be trying to be bigger than he is and lifting the country up. And you just have to keep putting that out of your mind; you just have to let it go. I can't do anything about anything that happened yesterday or even an hour ago; you just have to let that stuff go and keep trying to lift the country up.

Ms. Soren. Well, thank you very much.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview began at 6:12 p.m. aboard the MTV Choose or Lose bus. In his remarks, the President referred to Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.), Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy; actor Christopher Reeve; comedian Bill Cosby; and Jim Guy Tucker, former Arkansas Governor. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks in Cairo, Illinois

August 30, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentle-

men, thank you. I want to thank the mayor and everybody who's worked so hard to make this day happen. I thank those who sang and performed before, especially the Egyptian High School Band—let's give them a hand over there—[*applause*]—the Jerry Ford Combo. I understand Helen Bishaw made this wonderful long sign, beautiful sign. Thank you very much.

Folks, I love to come to southern Illinois. When I was Governor of my State, I chaired a study of the lower Mississippi Valley, and I used to come to southern Illinois. And I know that Senator Paul Simon's home is not far from here. And you know, he's retiring from the Senate, and I hope you'll elect Dick Durbin to take his place, because we need him desperately there. But Paul Simon has served you and the United States with dignity and honor and distinction. And I want him to come up here and say just 2 minutes of thanks to you and make a few comments because he is retiring after a great career, and you need to express your appreciation to him.

Senator Simon.

[*At this point, Senator Paul Simon made brief remarks.*]

The President. Thank you, Senator, and to Congressman Costello, Congressman Poshard, all these legislative candidates and university officials and others who are up on the stage with me.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be back here. I loved coming in on the bus. And I looked at the beanfields and the river bottoms, and when I came into town, I felt like I was home. And I saw the big welcome on the Laborers Building. It even had a billboard up there. I appreciated that. Then their leader was back here saying, "You know, we're closer to Arkansas than Chicago. These people talk like you do. You don't have an accent here, Mr. President. You don't have an accent here."

We have had a wonderful week. I started off on a train going from West Virginia to Kentucky to Ohio to Michigan to Indiana to the Democratic Convention in Chicago to prove that we're on the right track to the 21st century, but also to see people like you who never see a President. And then we came back to our bus so we could come down here. I learned today that the last Presidents who came to Cairo were Teddy Roosevelt in 1907 and William Howard Taft in 1909. I don't know what the others were doing, but I'm glad to be back. And it's high time.

My fellow Americans, last night I had a chance to talk at the Democratic Convention about what we were going to do in the next 4 years to build that bridge to the 21st century. And tonight I just want to say again to you, the choice here is about more than a choice between two candidates. It is a choice between the future and the past, a choice between a philosophy that we're all in this together—we have an obligation to help each other make the most of our own lives—and a theory that you're on your own and we hope you do well. It's a choice between people who believe, as Al Gore and I do, that we have a responsibility to help you make this a strong community and help give your children the best lives.

I was asking here—right just when I was standing here—the Congressman said, "Half of the police department in this town was funded by the crime bill." I fought hard for it. They fought against it. We were right.

We have invested a lot of money in this area in job retraining. I think there ought to be more of it. They think there ought to be less of it. That's a clear signal. You cannot expect people to go through the changes we have had in the American economy unless we do more, and more quickly, to give people immediate access, no matter their age, to whatever education and training they need to get a new job and a better job. It is critical to our future. I'm told you have the best Job Corps retraining center in the country right here. That's the kind of thing we need to do for everybody.

And let me just say, you're going to have some races for the legislature here. I want to talk about how all of these races fit together. If we're going to build a bridge to the next century, we have to keep growing this economy until it reaches every Delta town and every inner-city neighborhood in the United States. It's not enough to say there are 10 million more jobs. We want to know there's a job for everybody that lives in the Mississippi Delta who wants to go to work, and a good job.

Last night I said to the American people—I say to you again here tonight—we changed the welfare laws, and we said we're going to have a new bargain with people who are poor and out of work and able-bodied with little children. We will guarantee health care. We will guarantee food. We will guarantee child care.

But now the income has to come from effort. Well, that's fine. Now, I say we have to go out and create the jobs.

And I outlined a plan last night in Chicago to the American people to invest several billion dollars—all of it paid for in my balanced budget plan—in poor rural areas and small towns, in our inner cities to create jobs, to give incentives to invest in those areas. The best untapped market for the United States today is those parts of the United States which haven't gotten investment, which haven't fully recovered, which need more jobs. That's what we need to do. And we have a strategy to do it.

I want everybody walking across that bridge to the 21st century. I don't intend to see the lower Mississippi Valley left behind. I want your children to have the best education, your parents to have the best jobs, and your people to have the best future. That is my commitment to you.

Let me just say a word about education. Al Gore and I, in the next 4 years, are committed to seeing that every classroom in America, in the remotest mountain village, in the poorest city neighborhood, up and down this Delta, every single classroom and library not only has the computers they need with the teachers trained to help use them but is connected to an information superhighway that will give, for the first time in the history of this country, every child, rich or poor, immediate access to the highest quality information available on any subject, to any child, in any school in the United States or in the world. That is worth fighting for.

We are committed to the right kind of tax cuts for working families: a tax cut in the form of a $500 credit for young children; a tax cut in the form of a $1,500 credit to make 2 years of education after high school as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today. We ought to make it possible for every family to go to a community college, at least, and have it paid for and not have to worry about it through tax cuts. We ought to give every family with a child in college or a parent in college a deduction for the cost of tuition up to $10,000 a year. We ought to educate America and do it now.

So I say to you, if you want that kind of future, if you want the feeling you have tonight on this beautiful lawn of this magnificent old library to carry you through, if you want to feel on election day the way the Vice President says and feel that way all through the next 4 years, you have to help me build that bridge to the 21st century. Will you do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us for 68 days to talk to your friends and neighbors about going into the future instead of going back? Will you do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. God bless you. Stay with us and we will make the kind of future you and your children deserve. Thank you. We're delighted to be here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:26 p.m. at the Stafford Public Library. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor James Wilson of Cairo.

Remarks in La Center, Kentucky

August 30, 1996

The President. Thank you. Boy, I'm glad to see you here. I never dreamed there would be such a crowd. I thank you. I thank Governor Patton and Senator Ford for being here. I thank Steve Beshear. I hope he will be your next Senator from Kentucky, and I hope you'll elect him and Dennis Null, a candidate for Congress.

Ladies and gentlemen, you can probably tell I'm a little hoarse. I said everything I had to say last night. I've had a wonderful week. I came into Chicago on a train that went through West Virginia and Kentucky and Ohio and Michigan and Indiana. And now we're on this bus to see the people I've been working for for the last 4 years, to tell you America is on the right track to the 21st century. And we're going to build a bridge right there if you'll help us.

We are going to keep this economy growing. We're going to keep the economy growing and

create more jobs, lower interest rates. To do it, we're going to balance the budget and give the American people a tax cut they can afford, targeted to education and rearing their children. We're going to make the first 2 years of education after high school just as universal in the next 4 years as a high school education is today, with a tax credit of $1,500 to send every person to community college in the country for 2 years.

We're going to give even more incentives to invest in our economy and to create more jobs where we need them. We're going to prove again that you can grow the economy and protect the environment by cleaning up two-thirds of the toxic waste dumps in the country. We are going to move this country forward. We're going to move it forward in helping families.

Folks, our administration is committed to helping you make the most of your own lives. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us for the next 68 days to talk to your friends and neighbors?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us for the next 4 years to build a bridge all Americans can walk across?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We need you. We're glad to see you. Thank you. God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:58 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Paul E. Patton of Kentucky and Dennis Null, candidate for Kentucky's First Congressional District. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in Paducah, Kentucky
August 30, 1996

The President. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. I'm glad to be back in Paducah. Folks, I don't know if you remember this, but on the day before the election in 1992, I flew to Paducah and I didn't have any voice at all. I've still got a little left now. And I could only get up and say to you, "Folks, I have lost my voice, but if you folks in Paducah and Kentucky will vote for me, I'll be your voice for the next 4 years."

Well, folks, I'm here tonight with what the crowd counters tell me is 25,000 of our good friends and Americans to tell you I have been your voice. Compared to 4 years ago, we are better off. We are on the right track, but we still have work to do. And I want you tonight, for the next 4 years, to help me build that bridge to the 21st century. Will you do it? Will you do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want to thank Governor Patton and Mrs. Patton for being here, for their leadership and their energy. I want to thank our good friend Senator Wendell Ford, a great leader in the Senate and an immensely respected man. I don't know how many times I've thought to myself, if we just had about 10 people like Wendell Ford in the Senate we could solve half the country's problems in a month or two.

I want to thank Lieutenant Governor Steve Henry for being here. I want to thank Steve Beshear and join in what has been said about him. When I was looking at him speak tonight, I thought, boy, Kentucky would be better off if he were the United States Senator, along with Wendell Ford.

You know, it's really too bad that a person like Steve Beshear or our fine candidate for Congress, Dennis Null, whom I urge you to help elect—it's too bad that they have to get up and give campaign speeches, with so much to be done in this country, about what they have to help stop. It's too bad that they have to talk about—here it is, 1996—that a Congress in 1996 actually tried to break apart Medicare into a two-tier system; that a leader of the Congress, now a nominee for President, actually bragged about—in 1996, not before—actually bragged about being one of the only 12 people to vote against Medicare in the House; that they tried to take away the guarantee that Medicaid gives not just to elderly folks in nursing homes, not just to pregnant women and poor little kids

but also to a lot of middle class families that happen to have a family member with a disability.

A lot of you saw Christopher Reeve and his magnificent speech to the convention. But, you know, one of the most moving conversations I've had in the last several months was with Mr. Reeve when he said, "A lot of people with my disability don't have the income of movie stars, and even movie stars can go broke caring for something like this. Don't ever let anything happen to Medicaid, Mr. President." We need for working middle class families to be able to care for their children, their brothers, their parents, their spouses if they have a disability without going broke and going to the poorhouse. We ought not to have to defend that against these congressional leaders.

At a time when we know we need to be doing more for education, we ought not have to defend our education programs. Why would anybody want to make student loans more expensive and have fewer people in Head Start? We ought not to have to defend that. At a time when we have proved in this administration that you can grow the economy and save the environment at the same time, and create more high-wage jobs, we ought not have to deal with people coming in and trying to repeal 25 years of bipartisan environment protection. We ought not to have to do that.

Now, if you don't want to have to worry about that anymore, I want you to send Steve Beshear and Dennis Null to the Congress to advance your interests, and you won't have to worry about those negative things happening to you anymore.

I want to thank my colleagues—former colleagues Martha Layne Collins and Julian Carroll for being here. Mayor Jones, I'm delighted to be here in your community. I want to thank your county executive, Danny Orazine, and J.W. Cleary, the president of the Paducah NAACP; all the Kentucky legislators who are here; the chairman of our party, Bob Babbage; Sandra Higgins, the vice chair of our party, a native of western Kentucky; Glenn Dowdy, the head of the western Kentucky AFL–CIO, is here.

I want to mention one other person here just for personal reasons. Nearly 20 years ago, or anyway, more than 15 years ago, I spent the night in western Kentucky in a nearby county where I met Mike Miller, the Marshall County judge. Now, folks, he kept me up half the night talking about western Kentucky. And that's why I got gray so young in my life. [*Laughter*] That's the only reason Al Gore's got dark hair and I've got gray hair; I had to stay up half the night with Mike Miller a long time ago. [*Laughter*] And I am here to deliver a report: Governor Patton and Senator Ford have made absolutely sure that the administration is perfectly aware that we are all for getting your new locks on the Kentucky Down, Judge. We are there. I have reported. Now, the next time I come to your county, I want to get a good night's sleep. Thank you very much.

Folks, when I asked—oh, one other thing. I'm an old band boy. Let's give a hand to the Murray State Band. They were great. They were great. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Folks, when I asked the American people last night—hello, folks. Keep playing; you're great.

When I asked the American people last night, all of you, to help me build a bridge to the 21st century, that's not just a slogan with me. The Vice President will tell you that the thing that dominates our thinking and has for 4 years is the plain fact that our whole country is going through such a period of rapid change, how we work, how we live, how we relate to each other, how we're relating to the rest of the world. Most of these changes are very good, but not all of them are.

We have enormous new opportunities and some stiff new challenges. And all the time I'm thinking, we're only 4 years from a new century. What's this country going to look like when we start that century? What's this country going to look like when our children are our age? What's it going to look like when our grandchildren are our age?

This is the greatest country in human history. We've been around here for over 220 years now because more than half the time, in times of profound change, our people were both good and smart and did the right thing. And I'm telling you, the issue now is, are we going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Do we believe we have to go forward together and help each other to make the most of our own lives, or would we be better off saying you're on your own?

I believe the answer is clear. We said in the convention a lot that Hillary's book was right, that it does take a village. And I believe that is right. We ought to go forward together.

And so tonight I say to you again, I want to build a bridge to the future with a strong economy. That means that we have to keep these interest rates down, investment going, keep the wages rising. That means we do have to balance the budget. But don't let anybody tell you any different, we do not have to balance the budget by breaking Medicare, turning away from our commitments in Medicaid, undermining our investments in our children's future, wrecking the environment, allowing $15 billion to be taken out of worker's pension funds, turning our backs on the research and development that is critical to our future here in western Kentucky. I got asked—I heard it tonight from the platform—what we want for the Technology Center in western Kentucky. We have to invest in these things, folks. So I say again, yes, balance the budget, but, no, don't compromise our future or divide our people. Do it consistent with our values. We'll grow the economy.

And should we have a tax cut? Yes, we should. But it ought to be the right kind. It ought to be a tax cut we can afford. It ought to be targeted to people who need it. And it ought to be targeted to things that will grow the economy, educating our children and caring for our children, helping people to buy that first home, helping them get in another home, helping them to save for health care costs. That is what this tax cut ought to be.

And I want to say again to you, any tax cut I propose to you in the election will be paid for line by line, dime by dime. I am not going to let this country go back to exploding the debt. I learned what happened. We quadrupled the debt of this country in 12 years before we took office, and today your budget would be in surplus—in surplus—and we could have a bigger tax cut but for the interest we are still paying on the debt we ran up in the 12 years before Bill Clinton and Al Gore took over the White House. That is a fact. We cannot go back.

Now, our opponents say the way to go to the 21st century is to have a tax cut that's 5 times that big, that's undifferentiated, that can't be paid for. Well, I want to tell you something, if they got their way there would be even bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than the ones I vetoed that Steve talked about, number one. And still it wouldn't cover it, so we would blow up the deficit anyway.

Now, what does that mean? Who cares what happens to the deficit? You should. Why? Because if the Government borrows more money, then your interest rates will go up: what you paid for your home mortgage, your car payment, your credit card payment, what every small-business person in Paducah and all over western Kentucky has to pay to borrow money to start a new business or expand a business and hire new people.

So I am telling you, let's keep the economy going and growing and wages rising and jobs coming in with the right kind of tax cut targeted to educating our people, raising our families, meeting their health care costs, and fully paid for in a balanced budget. That's my part of the bridge to the 21st century.

I want you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century where we've got the best educated people in the world; where every person, no matter where they live, because of technology now has a chance, now has a chance to get a world-class education. I want you to support my initiative to make sure every third grader in this country can read on his or her own by the year 2000, with more tutors, support for teachers, support for parents.

I want you to support our idea which will have phenomenal consequences in places like Kentucky and rural Tennessee and my native State of Arkansas. We are going to see, by the year 2000, that every classroom and every library in every school in this country not only has computers, not only has the teachers trained to teach the students how to use the computers but is hooked up to the information superhighway, so that for the first time in history, in the poorest hill and hollow in Appalachia, in the poorest inner-city school district in any city in this country, they have access at the same time to the same information children in the wealthiest school districts in America do. It has never happened before. We're going to make it happen if you help us. Will you help us do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us build that bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. By the year 2000, I want us to make sure that 2 years of college education, at least a community college education, is just as universal in America as a high school education is today, by giving people a tax credit

for the cost of that community college tuition for 2 years. We ought to do that.

I want us to make sure that every student in this country who wants to go to college, whether they're young, middle-aged, or older, who needs to do it can do it. I want to preserve our good student loan program, and I want to give people a $10,000 deduction for the cost of college tuition every year they're in school.

I want us to make sure that we don't short-change education, as our friends in the opposition tried to do in the budget I vetoed. I want us to do more with education. You know as well as I do, we will never, never, never give every American a chance to participate in tomorrow's economy unless we give every American a chance to get a world-class education. And I want you to help me.

And I might say, the Vice President talked about how we're going to run a civil campaign and just talk about our disagreements. I disagree with the condemnation of teachers which I heard at their convention. I think we ought to be lifting our teachers up and supporting them and supporting their efforts with our children and helping them to do a better job.

I want us to build a bridge to the future that breaks the cycle of welfare dependency. I am proud of the fact that there are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare today than on the day I took the oath of office as President of the United States. I am proud of the fact that child support collections have increased by $3 billion, 40 percent, since we took office. We're supporting more children. But I'm telling you, we can do more. If everybody paid the child support they owed, 800,000 women and children would leave welfare tomorrow.

It's all very well for us to sign a welfare reform bill, and I was glad to do it, but you cannot make people go to work unless there is a job for them to take. So in the next 4 years let us resolve that we are not only going to tell people who are poor but able-bodied on welfare, "We'll support your children with health care and child care and nutrition, but you have to go to work." Let's resolve to make sure we do everything we can to create the jobs wherever they're needed so people have the jobs to work at. That's a Democratic idea, and we owe it to them.

Let me say just one other thing. We can't build a bridge to the future unless we go there together. More than any other issues, the things that symbolize what we have to do as a community to me are, first, helping families to make the most of their own lives and to succeed at home and at work. Of the many achievements of our administration, I am perhaps most proud, among the top two or three, certainly, of the family and medical leave law because it has enabled 12 million—think about this—12 million American working folks to take a little time off when their babies were born or their parents were sick without losing their jobs. And it hasn't hurt our economy a bit. We are a stronger economy today because we're standing up for families and working people.

So I want to expand the family and medical leave law a little bit to say to these same working people, you can take a little time off to go to regular parent-teacher conferences, because that's important to our future, and to take your kids to the doctor or your parents to the doctor. And I want to say to people, if you earn overtime you ought to have the option—not anybody else—you ought to have the option to take that overtime in money or in extra time with your family, with your children, with your sick parents, with an uncle or an aunt with Alzheimer's, whatever you need, whatever is best for the family. We need to do what we can to make sure every single American can succeed as a parent and as a worker. That's important.

Last thing I want to say is, we can protect the environment and grow the economy. We still have 10 million kids living within 4 miles of toxic waste dumps. If you give Bill Clinton and Al Gore 4 more years, one of the ways we're going to build that bridge to the future is to clean up two-thirds of those dumps, the two-thirds worst of them. We want our kids to be living next to parks, not poison. And that will create jobs, not cost them. Will you help us build that bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Folks, on this beautiful, soft summer night, where there are more people than I ever dreamed I'd see—and I'm sorry you had to wait so long, but a lot of your fellow Kentuckians and folks from Illinois and folks from Missouri were waiting along the side of the road, too—I just want you to think about what kind of world our children can live in.

The children in this audience today, many of them will be doing jobs that have not been

invented yet. Some of them will be doing jobs that no one has imagined yet. Right now, not sometime in the future, right now we are involved in a project with IBM—now, listen to this—to create a supercomputer within the next couple of years that will be able to do as many calculations in one second as you could do with a hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

No one knows how many opportunities are going to explode for our people. But if we want the kind of America I believe we do, we have to say, we can't make it unless we've got opportunity for everybody. We can't make it until everyone is responsible. And we can't make it unless we recognize we have an obligation to help all of our people make the most of their own lives to build strong families and strong communities so we can go forward together.

Now, I want you to go home and think about that tonight. Our children are going to live in the age of greatest possibility in human history if we simply have the courage to meet our challenges and protect our values. It's going to be a wonderful ride. And I just want, in this last campaign of my life, to do whatever I can to make sure that we build that bridge to the future sturdy, strong, beautiful, and straight, and wide enough for everybody to walk across. Will you help me?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. For 68 more days will you help?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. And 4 years after that will you help?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I need you, and we'll do it for America. Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 p.m. at Harbor Plaza. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Paul E. Patton of Kentucky and his wife, Judi; Steven Beshear, Kentucky senatorial candidate; Dennis Null, candidate for Kentucky's First Congressional District; Martha Layne Collins and Julian Carroll, former Governors of Kentucky; and Mayor Albert Jones of Paducah.

The President's Radio Address

August 31, 1996

Good morning. On this bright Labor Day weekend I'm speaking to you from America's heartland, where Vice President Gore, Hillary, Tipper, and I are traveling by bus through the small towns and lush farmland of Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and my home State of Arkansas.

I took my train trip to Chicago and this bus trip after Chicago because I wanted to look into the faces, the eyes, the hearts of the people of our country who work so hard every day, the people I've been working hard for and fighting for the last 4 years. I just wish every American could have been with me—could have been with me just to see the hope and the courage of the people I've met. We're meeting a lot of people with big dreams, American dreams. And our American community should help these people to realize their dreams. Today I want to talk to you about what we can do to help America's working families make the most of their own lives.

It is clearer to me than ever before we are on the right track to the 21st century. Our economy is growing, creating opportunity for people. Just this week we got new news of how our economy is moving forward and creating opportunity. Consumer confidence is the highest in years, and in the most recent statistics, economic growth hit 4.8 percent.

In the past couple of weeks we've made real progress for working families. Ten million Americans got an increase in their incomes when we increased the minimum wage law. The same law also protected the pensions of small-business people and made it easier for employees of small businesses to get retirement security and to keep it when they move from job to job.

We passed a $5,000 tax credit to encourage people to adopt children. We passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill so you don't lose your health insurance if you move from job to job or if a member of your family has been sick. This Labor Day, it's a time of real progress

and real opportunity for America's working people.

But all this progress doesn't mean we can stand still. We still have a lot to do to get ready for the 21st century. As I told our Nation Thursday night, we can have an America with safe streets, good schools, thriving businesses, healthy families, and a strong, clean environment. That's the America that I want to build a bridge to, a bridge to the 21st century.

We should make college available to all young Americans. Now that we've ended welfare as we know it, it must be a national mission to provide jobs for the people who will move off welfare. We must clean up two-thirds of the toxic waste sites in America, so our children live near parks, not poison.

We can do more, much more, to give every American family the security that comes from owning their own home. A home of your own has always been at the center of American life. It gives families security and pride. For most families it's the main form of financial savings. Owning a home gives every young couple a stake in the American dream.

Our administration has put in place a comprehensive strategy to increase homeownership, including dramatically bringing down mortgage rates. In the last 4 years, 4.4 million more Americans became homeowners; that's the highest level in 15 years. Home sales are rising over twice as fast this year as in each of the past 3 years. I'm especially pleased by this good news because it shows that our comprehensive strategy for homeownership is working.

By cutting paperwork at the FHA and giving families a break, we're cutting the average closing costs for first-time homebuyers by about $1,000. By cutting the Federal budget deficit by more than 60 percent, we've had on average the lowest home mortgage rates in 30 years. And as interest rates dropped, 10 million homeowners refinanced their mortgages, all of them together saving as much as $25 billion.

This week I propose to do even more. We should say that if a couple sells their home and the increase in value is up to $500,000, they will not have to pay any tax on the gain from the sale of that home. This can help millions of American older couples selling their homes to retire, middle class families who have to move from community to community for work, residents in inner-city neighborhoods where home prices are low but may go higher. It will spur home sales in an already strong housing market.

For working families, their home is the most important asset, their biggest financial investment. Our tax cut means that working families will never have to pay taxes when they sell their homes. That's the right kind of tax cut for America.

This tax cut, like every one I've proposed, is fully paid for in my balanced budget plan. We won't bust the budget to pay for tax cuts. We'll cut spending and close corporate loopholes. That way we'll keep interest rates coming down as we balance the budget, so the economy can grow even faster and stronger.

We should cut taxes to help working families meet their real needs for education, for medical expenses, to help raise children, and for homebuying. These tax cuts will help our economy. It will help to keep America growing. I look forward to taking our argument for opportunity, responsibility, and community to the American people.

On this Labor Day weekend, I know that our values are strong, our confidence is high, and hope is back in America. We are on the right track. This will be an age of great possibility for our people. If we give every American the tools to thrive, the chance to own their own home, this coming century can be the greatest moment in American history. We need to build a bridge to it.

Happy Labor Day, and thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 4:30 p.m. on August 30 aboard the President's bus, Greyhound One, in Capaha Park in Cape Girardeau, MO, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on August 31.

Remarks in Mayfield, Kentucky

August 31, 1996

The President. Good morning. Thank you. Thank you so much. First of all, I want to thank Governor Patton and Senator Ford for making us feel so very welcome in Kentucky, and my former colleague Governor Martha Layne Collins, with whom I served, and all the other Kentuckians that are traveling with us. I want to thank them.

Mr. Mayor, I'm delighted to be in your city. And I'm glad to know that I'm the first President to come here. The others didn't know what they were missing. I'm glad to see you.

I'm delighted to see you all here. I thank you especially for bringing the children. It is for them that this election is being fought, for them and the values that have made our country great and the future that they deserve. I said on Thursday night that I wanted to ask the American people to join with me in building a bridge to the 21st century that we can all walk across. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*]

We have to build a bridge with the world's best education system for all our people, whether they live in poor inner cities, small rural communities, or the wealthiest places in America. If you help us for 4 more years, one of the things we intend to do is to make sure that every classroom in America, including right here in Mayfield, not only has the computers our students need and the teachers have the training they need but that they are hooked up to the information superhighway so our children have the same information, the same learning resources wherever they live for the first time in the history of America. Will you help us build that kind of a bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want to make sure that we truly have education for a lifetime in America. I want the first 2 years of college in the next 4 years to become just as universal as a high school education is today, with tax credits for the first 2 years in any community college in the country. Will you help us do that and build that kind of bridge? [*Applause*]

I want to establish a "GI bill" for American workers so that whenever a person who's a breadwinner loses a job or is grossly underemployed, they can get a skill grant from the Government and take it to the nearest community college or other training facility so that no matter how old you are, if you need new training to get a better job or to keep the job you have and to keep supporting your family, you'll have it from your Government. Will you help us build that kind of a bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

You know, in just the last couple of weeks, as the election has gotten closer, a lot of the things we Democrats have tried to do for the last 4 years have finally gotten through this Congress. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million working Americans. We made 25 million Americans, including, I might say, some families we've met alongside the road here when we started this bus trip in Missouri and Illinois and coming into Kentucky and going on to Tennessee—we've met some people alongside the road that have been helped by the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says that you don't lose your health insurance anymore just because somebody in your family has been sick or you have to change jobs—25 million Americans.

Now we need to say a big part of a strong family is keeping working people's health care. In our balanced budget plan we provide assistance to help unemployed families keep their health insurance for their kids for 6 months. That's the next thing we need to do. Will you help us do that in the next 4 years? [*Applause*]

We want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong economy. That means we have to keep bringing down the deficit. Now, our friends in the other party, they made a big thing of that, but now they don't think it's so important. But it is important. It's important in Mayfield. Why? Not only because you don't want to saddle your kids with debt but because if we turn away from our plan to balance the budget, it means that interest rates will go up, interest rates on your home mortgage, your car payment, your credit card payments, interest rates for the businesses you want to borrow money and hire people and give their employees a raise. So we can't afford to do that.

My plan will balance the budget. It will give tax cuts to families: for children under the age

of 13, a $500 credit; for a $1,500 credit to go to the first 2 years of college; a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of college tuition; an IRA you can withdraw from without penalty to buy a first home, to meet a medical emergency, or to pay for education. But it's all paid for; we can still balance the budget without cutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, without raiding the pension funds of our workers. We can do these things. That's the right way to balance the budget.

Now, our friends in the opposition will say, "We're going to give you more money." And that's true, they do offer more money in their tax cut. They offer it to people like me who don't need it. They offer it without being able to pay for it, and they know—I wish you hadn't said "amen" when I said I didn't need it. [*Laughter*] But it's true.

And what's going to happen? If they had their plan, what would they do? They'd cut Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, more than they did in that budget I vetoed. That would divide us and weaken our progress. And they still wouldn't be able to pay for it, which means a higher deficit, higher interest rates, and a slower economy. Do we want to make that same old mistake all over again?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. We want to build a new bridge to the 21st century, and that's what we're going to do. Folks, I want us to build that bridge by working together. I want us to build that bridge by saying everybody's got a place. We worked very hard, for example, to help our bigger businesses sell their products abroad. I was proud just a few days ago at our convention when an autoworker from Toledo, Ohio, working in a plant that was opened in 1910, got up and said that he was making Jeeps and they were selling 41,000 overseas, and we were number one again, and 700 people like him had jobs. I was proud of that.

But we also have to have small businesses in places like Mayfield. I'm proud of the fact that we have made every small business in the country eligible for a tax cut if they invest more in their businesses, increasing their annual write-off from $10,000 to $25,000 a year. I'm proud of the fact that in that minimum wage bill we made it possible for small businesses—made it much easier to take out retirement plans for the owners and employees and then for the employees to keep those retirement savings when they move from job to job. People that work for small businesses ought to be able to have a secure retirement, too, and so should people who change jobs. I'm proud of that.

Let me say this: We have to build a bridge to the 21st century where people can succeed at work and at home, can be good parents, most of all. That does mean health care. It does mean retirement security. It does mean higher wages and better jobs. It also means things like the family and medical leave law, the first bill I signed as President. Twelve million American families got to take a little time off from work without losing their job when a baby was born or a parent was sick. I want to expand that to say that parents ought to go to their parent-teacher conferences and their regular doctor's appointments. I want to expand that to say that when a parent earns overtime, the parent should be able to decide to take the overtime in pay or in time with their kids, depending on what they need for the family.

And I'm very proud of the fact that in that minimum wage law we also gave a $5,000 tax credit to families who will adopt children, and more if the children have disabilities. There are tens of thousands of children out there that need a home with stable parents, and I hope more people will take advantage of this.

That's the kind of bridge I want to build to the future. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*] It starts in the Mayfields all over America. It starts in the places the politicians don't visit. It starts with the values and the work and the family that you're building.

I love these signs. Hillary and Tipper and Al and I are delighted to be here. We ask for your help, your prayers, your support for 68 more days and for 4 years beyond. We can build that bridge to the 21st century wide enough for all of us to walk across.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Paul E. Patton of Kentucky and Mayor Arthur Byrn of Mayfield.

Remarks in Fulton, Kentucky
August 31, 1996

The President. Good morning!

Audience members. Good morning!

The President. Thank you for coming out. Thank you for waiting. I want to thank the mayors of both these communities. I'm glad to be in Kentucky and Tennessee, and I want to thank all of you who worked hard on this event. I see a lot of work has been done on the buildings. I see a lot of work has been done to make us feel welcome in these two proud communities and I thank you. I am glad to be here, and I am glad to see you.

We are fighting for your future. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us send Steve Beshear and Houston Gordon to the United States Senate and Steve Null to the Congress to help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us make 2 years of college education as universal as a high school education is now in the next 4 years?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us close two-thirds of the toxic waste dumps so our kids live near parks and not poison in the next 4 years?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us balance the budget without doing what our friends in the opposition want to do, without hurting Medicare, Medicaid, our commitment to education, and the environment? Will you help us do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Folks, this country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago. We are on the right track to the 21st century. But we still have work to do. On Thursday night in Chicago, I outlined the direction that the Vice President and I and our administration will take, and I want you to help us. This is an election about whether we're going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past, about whether we believe we're all in this together and everybody has a role to play and a place, or whether we ought to say you're on your own.

I believe that my job is to give you the tools you need and the conditions you need to make the most of your own lives, your family's lives, your community's lives. I think that's our responsibility. That's what we've been doing for 4 years. That's why we're on the right track. But we have got more to do.

We need to build a big, strong bridge that's wide enough for everybody to walk across so every child in this audience will have a good, good life in the 21st century. Will you help us?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. For 68 days will you help us?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you. We're glad to see you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:58 a.m. in the Town Square. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Elaine Forrester of Fulton, KY; Mayor Kent Greer of South Fulton, TN; Steven Beshear, Kentucky senatorial candidate; Houston Gordon, Tennessee senatorial candidate; and Dennis Null, candidate for Kentucky's First Congressional District.

Remarks in Troy, Tennessee
August 31, 1996

The President. Thank you. Mr. Vice President, it's great to be here in your State of Tennessee with Governor McWherter, Congressman Tanner, Houston Gordon, all of our legislative and other leaders. Hillary and Tipper and Al and I love these bus trips, but the closer to home they get, the better we like them. [*Laughter*]

And let me also say a special word of honor and appreciation to Congressman Ed Jones and his wife, Lou. After Ed Jones left the Congress,

Ned McWherter appointed him to work with the then-Governor of Arkansas to try to find ways to redevelop the Mississippi River region. He was my partner and my friend, and I developed just as much respect and love for him as all of you have. And Mr. Ed, it's great to see you today, sir. Thank you.

I also want to make one other introductory remark. I shook hands with Mrs. Jim Bob Robertson. She said, "I'm 101 years old. I've never missed an election, and you're the first President I've ever met." [*Laughter*] And I said, "Well, it's high time." [*Laughter*] And then she leaned over and kissed me. And I can tell you, she may be 101, but she still kisses real good. I appreciate that. I thank her.

Ladies and gentlemen, before I make my remarks I want to report to you on a development in another country that you may not have heard about. Early this morning, the military forces of Iraq overran the city of Irbil, which is in the portion of northern Iraq controlled and populated by the Kurds. The situation there remains unclear. There are reports of heavy fighting and firing in populated areas. There are indications that some Kurdish elements may be involved in the operation with Iraq. These developments, however, cause me grave concern. I have placed our forces in the region on high alert, and they are now being reinforced.

It is premature at this time, and I want to emphasize that, entirely premature to speculate on any response we might have. But we are prepared to deal with these developments. We will be working hard with others in the international community who share our concern.

And let me just say in closing, I hope all of you are as proud as I am that we have the quality and strength of the men and women in uniform we have serving us all around the world. And I hope you'll say an extra prayer for them tonight. Thank you.

We're glad to be here. We didn't expect that this many of you would be here, and we're awfully glad to see you.

On Thursday night, I had the opportunity to speak from Chicago in our Democratic Convention to the American people about what Al Gore and I would like to do if you give us 4 more years. The fundamental question is whether we're going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past. Will you help us build a bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. A bridge with world-class jobs, world-class education, a clean environment, with a growing economy; a bridge where families can be strong in raising their children, succeeding at work and home; a bridge where communities know that the crime rate is going to come down every year because there are more police officers on the street and because we're all taking more responsibilities to keep our kids out of trouble in the first place—will you help us build that kind of bridge? [*Applause*] Will you help us for the next 68 days in this election? [*Applause*] And then for 4 more years after that? [*Applause*]

Let me tell you, folks—I said this at the convention, I want to say it again—politicians are always known for overstating. It is no overstating when I tell you that Albert Gore from Tennessee is the finest, most effective Vice President in the history of the United States of America. And if you'll give us a chance to build that bridge and you'll build it with us, we'll all walk over it in the year 2000.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Ned Ray McWherter, former Tennessee Governor, and Houston Gordon, Tennessee senatorial candidate.

Remarks in Dyersburg, Tennessee
August 31, 1996

The President. Thank you. Wow! Well, I asked you not to leave, and you didn't. Thanks for staying. We got here as quick as we could.

I want to thank the mayor and everyone who worked hard to make this event possible today. I thank the two bands for bringing us the music. Thank you very much.

I think you can see that Tipper and Hillary and Al and I have a good time when we're out together, when we're on the road, and when we're with the people who put us in the White House that we've been working for and fighting for for 4 years. And we thank you for being here today. It's wonderful to just to look out here and see you.

I want to thank Congressman Tanner and Governor McWherter, Houston Gordon, Bill Purcell, Lois DeBerry, all the other people in Tennessee that are going across Tennessee with us. It is great to be back here in western Tennessee. I want to thank my friends from Arkansas who came across the border. There's a sign over there that says, "Rector, Arkansas, is still Clinton country." And that's good. I'll be home for a barbecue Labor Day 2001, I hope. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, Thursday night I had the enormous honor of addressing the American people from Chicago when I accepted the nomination of my party for a second term as President. I want to say to you again, briefly, what I said then. The choice in this election is whether we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century or try to build a bridge to the past, whether we think we have to go forward together as one people, helping each other to make the most of our own lives, or whether we're going to say, well, you're on your own and we hope you make it.

I think the choice is clear. Look where we were 4 years ago. Four years ago when Al Gore and I came and asked the people of Tennessee to give us a chance to lead this country, unemployment was higher, wages were stagnant, crime was rising, our problems were being unaddressed, we had a rising wave of cynicism in this country, and we were literally in danger of losing the middle class dreams that made America great.

Four years later, we have 10 million more jobs, 4½ million new homeowners, 12 million people have taken advantage of the family leave law to have babies or take care of their folks without losing their jobs. October 1st, 10 million Americans are going to get an increase in their minimum wage. Twenty-five million Americans, because of the health reform bill I signed last week, are going to be able to change jobs or even to lose a job without having their health insurance taken away from them even if somebody in their family's been sick or is still sick.

We've upgraded the standards for food, for limiting pesticides that are dangerous on food. We've got 50 million more Americans breathing cleaner air than we had 4 years ago. I'm telling you, folks, this country is on the right track to the 21st century. We don't need to change tracks now. We need to keep on going down that track.

But we all know there is more to do. We all know there's more to do. The first thing we've got to do to build the right bridge to the 21st century is to make sure every single American has the chance to live up to his or her God-given potential. And that means we have to increase educational opportunity and performance in the United States.

Thursday night I proposed a program to put 30,000 tutors together with our AmeriCorps volunteers to mobilize a million people to make sure that every single American child can read on his or her own by the time they're in the third grade. It will revolutionize their performance later on.

I propose that by the year 2000 every classroom and library in every school in America will not only have the computers and trained teachers to use the computers we need but will also be hooked up to the information superhighway so that kids in every classroom in Dyersburg, Tennessee, for the first time in the history of the country can get the same information in the same time in the same way that children in the wealthiest school districts in the United States do. It has never happened before.

I propose by the year 2000 to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school education is today, a tax credit for the cost of community college in every State in America. We can do that and make community college education universal.

I propose to give a $10,000 tax credit for the cost of college tuition, and I believe that would be the best money we ever spent. If you're old or young or middle-aged and you need to go back to school to get more education and training, we ought to give you the chance to do it to help your families and build a strong America.

The second thing we've got to do to build a bridge is to keep this economy growing and keep it stronger. That means we have to balance the budget but do it in the right way, without gutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, or weakening the potential protection

of our people as they tried to do when I vetoed their budget last year, even after they shut the Government down. Will you stay with me in building that kind of bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. And I do believe you can have tax cuts—look, the weather is a lot better than if it was so hot people were falling out. When I was on the train trip, we took 30 people out of one rally, it was so hot. They were all fine; they just needed a little water. So we're going to get a little water in advance. Crop prices are up; this won't hurt them any. This is good.

We can have a tax cut, folks, but it needs to be targeted to the people who need it for the purposes we need it, to childrearing, to education, to buying that first-time home. I'm for an IRA that you can withdraw from without penalty to buy a home, to educate a child, to deal with a health problem. I think you ought to be able to sell your home and never pay any taxes on the gain. I think you ought to be able to send yourselves to college or your children to college and never have to pay taxes on that money. That's our plan. But we pay for it all and balance the budget.

Our friends say, "We're going to give you more money. We'll give you a lot more money." They're going to throw money at you; that's what they say. But what they don't say is, in order to pay for their tax cut, they have to have much bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than I vetoed the last time. They still won't pay for it. That means a bigger deficit.

What does that mean in Dyersburg, Tennessee, a bigger deficit? Well, look around here. It means a higher home mortgage payment because interest rates will go up. It means a higher car payment. It means higher credit card payments. And look at all these little businesses here. It means every time they want to borrow money they will have to pay 2 percent more on their money. It means fewer investments in small business and fewer jobs. We have to have a healthy small-business economy if we're going to grow America, especially in the small towns. We want to keep interest rates low, not up.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that will enable all Americans to take care of their families. That's why we worked on health care reform and why, in our budget plan, we're going to be able to help families who lose their jobs to keep their health insurance for at least 6 months. That's why we're helping small businesses to make it simpler to take out pension plans for themselves and their employees and to keep them when you move from job to job. That's why we want to change the family leave law to say you ought to be able to take a little time off from work to go to your kid's parent-teacher conference or take your child to a regular doctor's appointment. That's the kind of thing we need to do to build this country. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Folks, I love seeing all of you here. I want to get out here and shake a few hands. But I want to ask you one more time. We want a bridge that's big enough, strong enough, and wide enough for everybody to walk across together. Will you help us build it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us build it for 68 more days in this campaign?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us build it for 4 years after that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Do you believe our best days are still ahead?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. God bless you. Let's go bring them home to America. Thank you. Bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. at the Courthouse Square. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Bill Revell of Dyersburg; Ned Ray McWherter, former Tennessee Governor; Houston Gordon, Tennessee senatorial candidate; and Bill Purcell, majority leader, and Lois DeBerry, speaker pro tempore, Tennessee House of Representatives.

Remarks in Covington, Tennessee
August 31, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. You know, not only is Al Gore the most influential and effective Vice President in the history of this country, he now makes me look stiff. [*Laughter*] But I can deal with it. Thank you, Mr. Vice President. I think you can all see that Hillary and Tipper and Al and I love coming across this country and especially coming into western Kentucky.

I want to thank Mayor Bailey and the people of Covington; your great native son, Speaker Naifeh; and Houston Gordon and all the other people from western Tennessee for making us feel so welcome. Thank you, and God bless you.

Now, I know you've been waiting a long time, and I appreciate that, but there were so many people alongside the road we had to stop and shake hands with a few of them. There were thousands of them. They're Tennesseans, too, and they're Americans, too. I thank Congressman Tanner and Governor McWherter for being with us all along this way. I'm glad Mr. Trotter and Mr. Ford are with us; Lois DeBerry, who has been with us all along the way; Bill Purcell.

Ladies and gentlemen, I won't take a lot of your time. I spoke to the Nation on Thursday night from Chicago, and I said what I had to say. But I would like just to ask you a simple question. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want to build a bridge that everyone has a chance to walk across, which means we've got to have the best education system in the world for all of our children. Will you help me build it? [*Applause*]

The Vice President said that we do respect not only Senator Dole for his 35 years in Congress and his service to the Nation but also Mr. Kemp and Mr. Perot. But we have differences. In the last 4 years, we worked hard to make college loans more affordable to all of our people. We worked hard to give school districts more money for safe and drug-free schools and more money to stay open after school to give our kids something to do if they needed it in communities. We worked hard to put more children in Head Start.

We worked hard, in short, from beginning to end. And the people who led the fight against what we tried to do are the people who are now leading the fight against us in this Presidential campaign, including the nominee of the other party. I believe we were right and they were wrong, and I think we're right for the future. I want to build a country in which every single third grader in the entire United States can read a book on their own. Will you help me do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want us to have an education system in which by the year 2000, in Covington, Kentucky, and every—now, wait a minute—in Covington, Kentucky, in Covington, Tennessee, Covington, Massachusetts, in every Covington in America, every single one, every child will have access not only to computers with trained teachers but with computers that are hooked up to the information superhighway so that everybody in America, whether in the poorest districts or the richest, has access for the first time ever to the same information in the same time at a level of quality never before true in our history. Will you help me build that bridge to the future?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want to build a bridge to the future in which 2 years of education after high school becomes just as normal as a high school education is today because we give a tax credit worth the tuition cost for the typical community college in every State in America, so we will finance 2 years of community college education for everybody who needs it. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

I want to give the American people a tax deduction for the cost of any college tuition up to $10,000 a year. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the future built on a strong and growing economy. Four years ago, we had a record deficit. It was going higher. We had high interest rates, high unemployment, and stagnant wages. Four years later, we've had 10 million new jobs, 4½ million new homeowners, a record number of new small

businesses, the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation and home mortgages in 28 years. That is something our opponents can't say anything about, it's just the truth. It happened.

Now, it happened because in 1993 we took the hard decisions to bring down the deficit, bring down interest rates, while protecting education and the environment and our research and Medicare and Medicaid. That's how we did it. Now what I ask you to do is to help me balance the budget—to keep interest rates down, to keep your home mortgage payments, your car payments, and your credit card payments down, to make money available for people to start businesses—but don't hurt Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment; protect it.

Can we have a tax cut? You bet we can. But it ought to be a tax cut targeted to the people who need it and targeted to things that will strengthen families and education: a tax cut for children under 13 to help parents care for them; a tax cut for college tuition; a tax cut in the form of an IRA you can take money out of to buy that first home, deal with a medical emergency, educate your children. We can pay for that kind of tax cut. And no one should have to pay taxes when they sell a home on the gain they get from selling their homes. We can pay for that, and we ought to have it.

Now, our opponents say, "We will give you more money. Vote for us." But what they don't say is this: If they cut taxes as much as they say—let's just assume they could do it—if they did, they'd have to cut Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment more than they did in the budget that Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich passed that I vetoed. Do you want that?

Audience members. No–o–o!

The President. And even then they wouldn't pay for it. So what would happen? Bigger deficits. We have worked so hard to move toward a balanced budget. We're going to throw it all out the window, let interest rates go up again, let your home payments, your car payments, your credit card payment go up again, let business loan costs go up again? I don't think so.

Will you help me build a bridge to the future with the right kind of tax cuts and a balanced budget and a growing economy? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the future with the crime rate coming down. I am sick and tired of going to any place in the United States of America and turning on the evening news and the first story is always a crime story. I want it to be the last story on the news. I want there to be no crime stories on the news.

Folks, I'm proud of the fact that the crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row in America. I'm proud of the fact that we passed a crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street. I'm proud of the fact that when my opponent and Speaker Gingrich tried to repeal our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street, I vetoed it and we're still putting the police out there and the crime rate is still coming down. And I want you to help me keep those 100,000 police going on the street. Will you help me build a bridge to the future with safe streets and police officers? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the future where families that work hard and do their best to raise their kids can succeed at home and at work. I'm proud of the fact that the first bill I signed has now given 12 million American families the chance for the adults to take a little time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick without losing their jobs. It was good, and I was for it. My opponent led the fight against it. We were right.

I want to extend the family leave law to say you can take a little time off without losing your job to go to a parent-teacher conference or take your children to a doctor's appointment. I want to make it possible for people who earn overtime to make up their own mind about whether to take the overtime in cash or time with their families, depending on what that family needs. I want us to succeed at home and at work. That's what my commitment is. Will you help me build an America where we can do that? [*Applause*]

I want us to build an America where we prove we can protect our God-given environment and grow our economy. We have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in the last 3 years than the previous administration did in 12. I want to clean up two-thirds more by the year 2000, the worst, because 10 million kids live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. These children here ought to be growing up next to parks, not poison, everywhere in the United States. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

Finally, let me just make one last point. I want us to build a bridge to the future that is strong enough and wide enough for every

one of us to walk across. On Tipper Gore's birthday and my birthday and that beautiful 3-year-old girl's birthday over there, August 19th, we came to west Tennessee and we visited a white church and a black church that had been burned. And Hillary and Tipper and Al and I worked on rebuilding the African-American church. And I've done a lot to try to sensitize the American people about how terrible it is to burn churches or deface synagogues or mosques or any other religious institutions in this country and how terrible it is for us to look down on other people because they are of a different race or religion than we are. That's not America.

I have spent a lot of time as your President dealing with problems that we have as Americans around the world, because other people refuse to get along with one another, because other people—whether it's in the Middle East or Northern Ireland or Bosnia or Africa or you name it—insist on killing each other because they're of a different race, a different tribe, a different ethnic group, a different religion. In America, we say all you have to do is believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, be willing to work hard and play by the rules. You're our kind of person. We're going arm in arm with you into the future.

Will you help me build that kind of America? Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? Will you do it for the next 68 days? Will you do it for 4 years after that? Will you talk to your friends and neighbors and ask them? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. I'm proud to be here in Covington. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Russell B. Bailey of Covington; Jimmy Naifeh, speaker, Tennessee House of Representatives; Houston Gordon, Tennessee senatorial candidate; Ned Ray McWherter, former Tennessee Governor; Don Trotter and Harold E. Ford, Jr., candidates for Tennessee's Seventh and Ninth Congressional Districts, respectively; and Lois DeBerry, speaker pro tempore, and Bill Purcell, majority leader, Tennessee House of Representatives.

Remarks on Concluding a Bus Tour in Memphis, Tennessee

August 31, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you for waiting. You have made us very happy tonight. It's wonderful to see you. I want to thank Mayor Herenton and everyone else here in Memphis who worked hard to make this night a reality.

Hillary and Tipper and Al and I, we kind of like doing this. Can you tell that? [*Applause*] And when we look out and see you, the people we've been working for and fighting for for the last 4 years, it makes it all worth it. We can see what it is we've been doing in the hope, in the spirit, in the energy, in the happiness of your reception. Thank you so much.

I want to thank Lois DeBerry and Bill Purcell and Speaker Naifeh and all the members of the Tennessee Legislature who are here. Chairman Farris, thank you for being here. I want to thank all these Congressmen-to-be. Congressman Ford, thank you for your friendship and your service in the Congress. And about-to-be Congressman Ford, thank you for that barn-burning speech and what you want to do.

Mr. Trotter, thank you, and I want you to help him. Those of you who live in his district, he needs your help and he has votes around here. We need your help. Houston Gordon, thank you for your speeches and for being brave enough and good enough to get out here and make this run for the Senate. We need you there.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me just say one thing before I get into my remarks here. You heard the Vice President say what he did. You remember the awful budget fight we had. We wanted to balance the budget. We brought the deficit down. But we said, we're not going to balance the budget on the backs of the people that we depend upon to carry us into the future or that got us here. We're not going to cut education. We're not going to hurt the environment. We're not going to wreck Medicare and

Medicaid. We don't have to do it, and we're not going to do it.

And then they said, "All right, if you don't do it our way we'll shut the Government down, and we'll see how you like that." And I said, "I don't believe the American people like blackmail. You can shut it down, but I'm still going to veto that budget. It's wrong for America." And I did.

But folks, you don't want the President just to say no, you want us to say yes. I need—but more importantly by far, you need people in the Congress who will both balance the budget and keep the economy going and protect our values, who will meet our challenges, protect our values, and move us forward together. All these people will.

But I want to introduce one more person who is here today because those of you who live in Memphis know that over in Arkansas a bunch of us who lived in the eastern part of the State basically believe that Memphis is the capital of the Mississippi Delta, and we're sort of a part of it. And eastern Arkansas and that congressional district over there, we're about to make a change, and 15 to 20 percent of the people who vote over there get all their news from over here.

And we have a Democratic nominee for Congress in eastern Arkansas who was an official in our Agriculture Department, who has been a friend of mine for 20 years, who is one of the finest people I have ever known. And I want to remind the farmers, our administration has been good for American agriculture. We've opened more markets. We've had more exports. Farm prices are high. And we have supported rural development to help people out in the country who can't make a living on the farm anymore. A major architect of those policies is now the nominee of our party for Congress in eastern Arkansas, Mr. Marion Berry. I'd like to ask him to come up here, and you all give him a good Memphis welcome. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want him to say just a word. Thank you.

[*At this point, Marion Berry, candidate for Arkansas' First Congressional District, made brief remarks.*]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, on Thursday night, from Chicago, I had the honor of accepting our party's nomination for President for the second time and laying before the American people what Al Gore and I will try to do as specifically as I could if you give us 4 more years. But what the Vice President said is absolutely true. This is a choice between building a bridge to the past and building a bridge to the future. It's a choice between people who believe we should say you're on your own, and those of us who believe, yes, it does take a village, we ought to help each other to make the most of our own lives, to build strong lives, strong families, strong communities, and a strong country.

I want to build that bridge based on opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community that includes everybody—everybody. We cannot go forward as Americans unless we're willing to go forward together, arm in arm.

And what I want to say to you tonight is, we've been working on this for 4 years, so you don't really have to guess. Four years ago we had high unemployment, stagnant wages, rising crime, problems unmet, cynicism on the rise, middle class dreams in danger. Four years later, because we changed the politics of Washington from the old politics—which was just pointing fingers at people and saying who is to blame—to what I think you want us to do, which is to say, forget about who's to blame. What are we going to do about it? How are we going to move forward?

And I appreciated what the Vice President said about Senator Dole. We're not interested in a campaign of insults. We want a campaign of ideas. We'll put our record and our ideas against their record and their ideas, and we trust you to make the decision.

But look where we are compared to 4 years ago. Let me just give you a few things. You just think about this: 10 million more Americans at work; 4½ million Americans moving into their first home; 12 million Americans getting family and medical leave so they can take some time off when a baby is born or a parent's sick; 1.8 million Americans go from welfare to work; child support collections go up $3 billion, by 40 percent; 40 million working Americans have their pensions protected; 15 million of our hardest pressed working families get tax cuts; and every small business in the country qualifies for a tax cut if they invest more in their business to make it more productive or hire somebody else.

And in October, 10 million more Americans will get a pay raise when the minimum wage goes up on October 1. Twenty-five million Americans will be helped, including a lot of people in this audience, because we passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill that says you cannot be denied health insurance or have it jerked from you just because somebody in your family has been sick or you've changed jobs. It is a good thing to do.

Fifty million more Americans are breathing clean air, and we've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous administration did in 12.

And let's talk about some of their issues. Four years in a row, the crime rate has come down. We passed the ban on assault weapons. We passed the Brady bill. Not a single Tennessee or Arkansas hunter lost their rifle, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns to hurt people in their neighborhoods.

We have reduced the deficit in every one of our years of this administration. And the Clinton/Gore administration is the first administration to reduce the deficit in all 4 years since the 1840's, before the Civil War. We have the smallest Federal Government since John Kennedy was President. And there would be a surplus in the budget today if it weren't for the interest payments we're making on the 12 years of debt run up before we went to Washington to try to turn this country around. I'd say that's a pretty good record. Will you help us build on that record?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Folks, we have to do more. We do have to build a bridge to the future. The children in this audience will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many of them will be working at things that have not even been imagined yet. Let me give you just one little example. Just a few weeks ago the Vice President and I announced that the United States Government was going to do a research project or a development project with IBM to build a supercomputer in the next couple of years—now listen to this—a supercomputer in the next couple of years that will do in one second what it would take you, going home with your hand-held pocket calculator, 30,000 years to do. That is an example of where we are going and how fast we are going.

We can create a future in the 21st century where more people have more chances to live out their dreams than ever. We can also do something with technology we've never done before, which is to give poor people and people isolated in our inner cities and our poor rural areas, who haven't had a break in 30 years in terms of economic opportunity, a chance to fully participate in the American dream for the first time in a generation, if we do it right. We can do that.

But we have to make the right decisions. The first thing we've got to do is to make up our mind our bridge is going to be built with the finest educational system in the world available to every single person. And let me just mention three things. Number one, we have a plan to take our AmeriCorps volunteers, 30,000 mentors, and a million more volunteers to make sure that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in America can read on his or her own so they can learn the rest of the way through school.

Number two, we have a plan by the year 2000 to make sure that every classroom in America, in the poorest inner city and the most remote mountain village, every single solitary one is hooked up, not only with computers and trained teachers but hooked up to the information superhighway so that, for the first time in the history of America, the kids in the poorest districts can get immediately the same quality of information and learning that the kids in the wealthiest districts in America can get. We're going to do that by the year 2000.

And finally, we want to make college available to everybody who wants to go, and we want to say that by the year 2000, 2 years of college in a community college will be as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today, because we're going to pay for it by giving you a tax credit for the cost of the tuition to a community college for 2 years. And we want to give every person in college, every person in any kind of post-high school education, a tax deduction for tuition up to $10,000 a year.

And we want to give workers who are unemployed or underemployed access to a "GI bill" that will be worth over $2,000 in educational benefits to them so they can get a better job. It's not just young people that need an education. Anybody that loses their job in this country ought to be able to go back to school and get a better job with a better future because they're willing to work.

Now, that's a strong bridge to the 21st century. We want to build a bridge to the 21st

century with a growing economy. That means that we have to continue to balance the budget.

I don't know how many times I've been told, "Mr. President, don't go to a good old-fashioned Democratic crowd and talk to them about balancing the budget. It bores them to death." What's that got to do with Memphis? Who cares? I'll tell you why you should care. If we have to go start borrowing more money and you're trying to borrow money, what happens? Interest rates go up. What does that mean? Your car payment, your credit card payment, your home mortgage payment goes up. Even more important for your future, it means that business people have to pay more to borrow money, which means they don't create as many new businesses and they don't start as many and they don't hire as many.

One of the things that I am proudest of in the last 4 years is that in each year we have had a record number of new businesses start, including now, in America, a record number of businesses owned and operated by minorities and women. I'm proud of that. We need more of it. That's why we need to keep these interest rates down.

That means that our tax cut proposal is better than theirs, because ours is targeted. It's targeted to raising your children. It's targeted to education. It says you can take out an IRA and then you can withdraw from it without penalty for a medical emergency, to buy a first home, to educate your family; says you shouldn't pay any taxes on the gain from the home you sell. But we can pay for it. Every bit of it is paid for.

Now, they're saying, "But we'll give you more money. Oh, yes, we'll give you more money." Well, how are you going to pay for it? "Well, we're going to cut Medicare and Medicaid, education and the environment even more than we did in that budget the President vetoed." Do you want that?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. And then they still won't be able to pay for it so then they'll have to increase the deficit, which means higher interest rates and a weaker economy. So we get the worst of both worlds.

So I say, I want you to help us build a bridge to the 21st century with more economic growth, not less, and economic growth which comes here to help you. Will you do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Now, there has been a lot of talk about responsibility and a lot of debate about welfare. Let me tell you what this new welfare law does. First of all, I'll say again, we have 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than we did when I took office. What does that mean? If you give people a job, they will take it. People don't want to be on welfare. They want to go to work. They want to go to work.

So here is what the new law says. It says we're going to keep giving children and their parents health care, nutrition through food stamps, the guaranteed school lunch program, and child care if they get a job. But what used to be in the check can now be sent to the State and they can use the money to create jobs.

Now, what I say to you is, we talked a lot about responsibility. The State of Tennessee, the State of Arkansas, and all the rest of us, we now have a responsibility to create those jobs in the inner cities and in those poor delta towns and in other places where people are on welfare because there aren't any jobs. And I have a plan to let us all be responsible by investing in these places to create new jobs where there have not been any. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the future?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We can't be responsible unless our streets are safe. I have fought against the efforts by my opponent and Mr. Gingrich to cut back on the safe and drug-free schools money, to cut back on the funds we give to schools to stay open later because our kids need something to say yes to, not just something to say no to. We shouldn't leave children out here on the street raising themselves. If we need to keep the schools open, we need more funds to keep them open, not less. We need to be supporting our teachers, not tearing them down. We need to be bringing them in here.

Well, I'll tell you something, folks, one big reason—you can ask the mayor here, you can ask any mayor in America—one big reason this crime rate has come down for 4 years is that we're putting more policemen back in the neighborhoods where they can know the folks, they can know the children, they can be partners. They can not only catch criminals, but they can stop crime from happening in the first place.

Now, they all voted against, the other folks did, including my opponent—they all voted against creating 100,000 policemen. Then they

tried to take it away. Now they're trying to restrict it again. I say to you, why would we stop something that's working? We've got the crime rate coming down for 4 years. We need it coming down for 4 more years and it might be low enough to be tolerable. Will you help me stay with 100,000 police on the street? [*Applause*]

The last thing I want to say is we've got to go forward as one community. And that starts with strong families. A lot of people talk about family values, but as the First Lady said in our convention, it's time we advocated things that show we value family. We've got to help people succeed, raising their children and going to work.

I propose to expand the family and medical leave law so that you can take a little time off without losing your job to go to a parent-teacher conference or take your kid to the doctor. I propose letting people choose how to take their overtime. If they've got problems at home, if a child needs some care, if the parent has Alzheimer's, if there's some other trouble, I think people who earn overtime ought to have a choice to take it in money or time with their families, depending on what they need. Will you help me build that kind of pro-family policy as a bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

Finally, let me say this: The Vice President and I have worked as hard as we know how to prove you can protect the environment and grow the economy. And I can't thank Al Gore enough for all the things he's taught me about how to protect the environment and grow the economy. But we passed the Safe Drinking Water Act. We passed an act to purify our food from pesticides that every farm organization in America supported. We have upgraded the meat standards of this country. We improved the clean air laws. We cleaned up all these toxic waste dumps.

We've still got a lot to do. You want to know one way you can grow Memphis' economy and every other city? If we cleaned up every environment problem in every city in this country, we would make those places prime targets for new investments and new jobs. We're going to clean up the environment of the cities and grow the economy.

We're going to clean up—there are 10 million kids in this country that live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. We're going to clean up the two-thirds worst ones if you'll help us so that our children can grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

Finally, let me say again, you think about the bridge that connects Memphis and West Memphis, Arkansas. You imagine that being a bridge to the future. That bridge has got to be strong enough and wide enough for all of us to walk across. That's why, when Tipper and I celebrated our birthdays, Al and Hillary and the two of us came out here to Tennessee to try to rebuild that church that had been burned. Every time somebody burns a church or defaces a synagogue or a mosque, they deface the idea of America. And as I said Thursday night, the real flame that embodies America is the flame on the Statue of Liberty, the flame that the Olympic torch—carried by citizens, heroes all across America—embodied.

You've got this Olympic Gold Medal winner. Why do we love the Olympics? I'll tell you why. Because everybody has got to play by the rules. You can't get a gold medal by breaking in your opponent's room the night before and breaking their legs. [*Laughter*] Nobody brags on you if you stand up behind a microphone and bad-mouth your opponent. You can only win if you reach down deep inside and do your best and give your all. And then if you do that, even if you don't get a medal you're better off. And we think the world ought to work that way. That's why we liked the Olympics. That's why we liked the Olympics.

So I tell you, my friends, you just think about that. The United States cannot afford to let racial bigotry get back into our lives. We cannot afford to let religious bigotry back into our lives. We cannot afford any kind of discrimination. We need to say to the whole world—and most important, in the privacy of our own rooms at night as we say our prayers to God, we need it to be true in our hearts—if you believe in the Declaration of Independence, if you believe in the Constitution, if you believe in the Bill of Rights, if you get up tomorrow and do your work and you obey the law and you play by the rules, you're my kind of American. I don't care what else there is about you. We're going to cross that bridge together. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the future?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us for 68 more days?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us for 4 more years?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We need you. We love you. Thank you, and God bless you. Let's go get it. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:53 p.m. at City Hall Plaza. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Willie W. Herenton of Memphis; Lois DeBerry, speaker pro tempore, Bill Purcell, majority leader, and Jimmy Naifeh, speaker, Tennessee House of Representatives; Bill Farris, Shelby County Democratic Party chair; and Harold E. Ford, Jr., and Don Trotter, candidates for Tennessee's Ninth and Seventh Congressional Districts, respectively. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Reception for Harold E. Ford, Jr., in Memphis
August 31, 1996

The President. Thank you. First of all, I'd like to—let me say to all of you who are here—Bishop, the pastors, Bill Farris, John, the political leaders who are here—I could sit over there with Hillary all night long and watch this. I mean, I've known Harold Ford a long time, and I saw him get up, and he did his little thing. And then his son got up, and he sort of turned it up a notch. [*Laughter*] And then Al Gore got up and talked about how dynasties were a good thing in Tennessee. [*Laughter*] And I sort of felt like I was watching the three greatest ballet dancers of all time do the Tennessee waltz.

The Vice President. Or the macarena.

The President. Or the macarena, he said. If you'd indulge me just one thing, I'd like to introduce one other person. I introduced him at our rally, but my candidate for Congress in the Mississippi Delta of eastern Arkansas is here, my longtime friend and former official at the Department of Agriculture in our administration, Marion Berry, and his wife, Carolyn. Will you please make them welcome here. [*Applause*] Thank you. And over there next to them is the man I hope will be your next Senator from Tennessee, Houston Gordon. Thank you, Houston.

Now, folks, let me say a special word of thanks, too, as President, to Harold Ford, Sr., who as—he does not look old enough to me to be retiring from Congress. But his son has so much talent, it may just be like baseball, you know, it's just time to go and do something else. [*Laughter*] But I can tell you that I had a chance to begin working with Harold Ford nearly 10 years ago when I was a Governor, and we were trying to find a humane way to make it possible for more people to move from work to welfare. And I was impressed then by his keen intellect and his enormous energy. I've also learned something in years since about his determination and never-say-die attitude—something that I have had to have a little bit of myself from time to time. [*Laughter*]

I see the pride in his eyes about his son, and I have been able to observe Harold Ford, Jr., speak and campaign. And I empathize with what Al Gore said about his own career: Our country is better off that both Gores served, and our country will be better off that both Fords served.

And you know, I just turned 50, and Al never lets me forget about it. And I got my AARP card, you know; I'm a certified old guy now. [*Laughter*] And I was looking at Harold, Jr., up here, thinking I was about his age when I first ran for Congress. I got beat, but I got over it. [*Laughter*] He's not going to get beat. You're going to send him to Congress.

Let me just make one final, highly personal remark. There is underlying all great elections a big idea. Sometimes it's clear, and sometimes it's not. And in this election we said that the big idea was whether we're going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past. But that may not be quite as explicit as I'd like to be, thinking about this young man starting his career in Congress, listening to the conviction, passion, and eloquence of his words tonight.

When I was a boy growing up in Arkansas, the year I was born our per capita income was 56 percent of the national average. Only Mis-

sissippi was poorer; it was like 48 percent of the national average. We spent the first 30 years of my life, most of us in this delta region, just struggling to try to pull ourselves up, so we could all make sure our kids got educated and everybody had a decent job and we could try to join the mainstream of America, and trying to overcome the awful burden of our racist past. But no one ever thought there was a dichotomy between working hard and doing your best to raise your children and build strong families and trying to help your neighbors, trying to help your neighbors directly, and trying to help your neighbors indirectly by having Government not give us anything but to give us the chance to make more of our own lives.

Since the election in 1994, the American people have finally had a chance to see explicitly the debate that's really been going on in our country now for 15 or 20 years, which is: Is Government the enemy, the problem; would we be all better off being on our own out there in this new global economy which is moving fast and is far less bureaucratic? Or is Government just another part of our village—if I could use Hillary's term—is it just another part, a reflection of ourselves, and are there some things that should be done by our Government simply because it's either not convenient, not efficient, or not even possible for us to do those things in any other way?

I have always believed that the role of Government was not to undermine self-reliance but to reinforce it; not to weaken families but to help them grow stronger; not to do what could be done at the grassroots community level or at the State level but to empower States and communities to do what they ought to do. And now the American people have had 4 years of our administration, and they saw about a year and a half of the alternative, and they're in a position to make up their minds.

But when candidate Harold Ford was up there speaking tonight, I said, thank goodness that there's a young person and a young generation who believes that, yes, he got where he did partly because he worked hard, partly because God gave him a good mind, partly because God made him an attractive person, partly because he grew up in a family where he could learn about politics. But he doesn't want this job just to sit and warm the seat or for the privilege of having power. He thinks he's there to help other people live out their dreams, too.

So when I was a little boy living with my granddaddy, I don't believe he ever did work a 5-day week in his life, I think he always worked a 6-day week, full time. I don't believe he ever worked an 8-hour day. I don't believe—but he never thought that that meant he wasn't supposed to be for all of us working together to try to give every child a good education or to try to grow the economy to where it benefited everybody.

And I've been mystified these last several years at this debate. And I think one of the reasons that the other fellows had so much success is they never had a chance to show people what they meant. And then they gave us that budget that did what it did to Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment. And then we showed you could balance the budget without doing all that, that we could do the responsible, tough, disciplined thing and still go forward and go forward together.

So that's really the great question. That's why I talked about building a bridge to the future, a strong bridge and one that's wide enough for us all to walk across. This is the greatest country in history. This is the greatest country in history. We started out not even living up to the Constitution. We nearly tore the country apart to get rid of slavery. We spent another 100 years trying to get rid of the vestiges of it. We worked hard to give women more opportunities. Now we're dealing with such diversity that your wonderful Olympic Gold Medal winner who is over here was part of an Olympics—I want you all to think about this—was part of an Olympics that had 197 different nations represented. In the biggest county in America, Los Angeles County, there are representatives from 150 of those places—in your country, in one county.

So I say to you, if you believe that we can go forward and that our best days are still ahead, it's really worth investing in the life and career and growth and the spirit of a young man like Harold Ford, Jr., because he is basically carrying out what I think has always been America's best sense of itself. And I think now we understand that Government is neither the problem nor the solution, it's just a reflection of who we are at any given moment in time. And we've got to make it work to do what it can do so that we can make the most of our own lives.

Thank you. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. at the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza. In his remarks, he referred to Bill Farris, Shelby County Democratic Party chair, and his son, John; Harold E. Ford, Jr., candidate for Tennessee's Ninth Congressional District; and Marion Berry, candidate for Arkansas' First Congressional District. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in Little Rock, Arkansas
September 1, 1996

The President. Thank you. I'm hoarse, folks, I can't shout over you. You've got to help me tonight; I'm a little hoarse. Oh, I'm so glad to see you. Thank you for coming. Thank you.

I want to thank all of those who made this night possible—thank my longtime friend Joe Purvis for bringing Little Joe and the BK's here; the magnificent Philander Smith Choir, thank you very much; Mayor Dailey, Mayor Hays, Judge Villines, thank you.

I want to thank the young children from Gibbs Magnet School and from Clinton Elementary School for these signs. Thank you. Hold up your signs, kids. The children made all these signs. Let's give them a hand. They did a great job. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I thank Congressman Ray Thorton for being here tonight, for his service to our State. I think he's the only person in the history of Arkansas who represented two entirely different regions of our State in the Congress, president of our two largest universities, a very distinguished American citizen, and a great future judge on the Arkansas Supreme Court. Thank you, Ray, and good luck to you and Betty Jo.

I thank my dear friend Judy Collins for being here tonight. Wasn't she magnificent? Thirty-two years ago this month, I went to hear Judy Collins sing at the George Washington University auditorium when I was a freshman at Georgetown. And I thought that I had never heard a voice like that, never would again. I talked about it for days. And if anybody told me then—32 years ago—we'd both be here tonight, I wouldn't have believed it. But I like it, and I'm glad to see her. I should tell you that she was 8 years old at the time of that concert. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank my good friends Mack McLarty and Rodney Slater for being here. They are representing all the Arkansans who are serving you in Washington with great distinction, as have they.

Finally, let me say—I see so many other folks here—just my friends, my supporters, legislators, county officials, city officials, personal friends. I'm delighted to see all of you here. I was looking at David Pryor. He said I met him when I was 19; I did—30 years ago and a few odd months, in the hot summer Arkansas campaign of 1966 on the street of a small county seat in south Arkansas. And I thought, that guy's the best politician I've ever seen. [*Laughter*] He had more moves than Magic Johnson working that street, and he still does.

And let me say to you, David, and to Barbara, I remember when you were in the snows of New Hampshire. Many of you were also there. I remember when you stood with me when we were dropping in the polls, and people said the campaign was over. And I remember how you stood by me in the first 2 years of our Presidency under all manner of assault to stand up for what was right for America. You have done a lot of things for all of us to love you, David Pryor. But I will never forget that when it wasn't at all clear that I would be here on this night doing this in this way, you were always there because you thought it was right. And I will love you until the day I die. Thank you, and God bless you.

Ladies and gentlemen, 20 years ago this year when the people of our State elected me attorney general, I had my first reception in January of 1977—nearly 20 years ago—Hillary and I did right here in the Old Statehouse. And I remember what a cold and icy January it was—do you remember, Mack? All of my friends from north Arkansas just sort of slid down here on the ice and came to the reception. [*Laughter*]

Over the years I have been back here many times because I love this building. In 1979, in

my first term, I asked the legislature to give us some money to restore it to its original condition so it would be ready by the time we turned 150 years old as a State, in June of 1986, and they did. This is a treasure for me because here on this wonderful lawn, under these grand trees, in front of this great building, we can live again, all of us, the history of our State, and a big part of the history of our Nation.

That's why I came here almost 5 years ago—5 years ago last month—to declare my candidacy. And I used to be able to do this from memory, but you know, in spite of all David said about me being young, I'm 50 now, I've got an AARP card—[*laughter*]—and that means you all have to cut me some slack. So I brought a few notes here.

Five years ago when I was here, I said when we started this campaign for the Presidency, "All of you in different ways have brought me here today, to step beyond a life and a job I love, to make a commitment to a larger cause, preserving the American dream, restoring the hopes of the forgotten middle class, reclaiming the future for our children."

In November of 1992, when I was declared the President-elect, I was right here again in the spot that embodies for me all that is best in our State and public service.

So I wanted to come here just as quick as I could get here, as I begin the last campaign of my life, unless I decide to run for the school board some day. [*Laughter*] And I want to say to all of you, you made possible something extraordinary in these last 4 years. And I came here to give you an accounting and ask you to rear back one more time and go with me through November and into the next 4 years. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

Folks, 4 years ago we had to weather all those snide charges about a small Southern State; we had to listen to all those people trying to rain on our parade. And I had to look at all those people kind of look at me askance when I said it seemed to me that if we took the philosophy of governing that we had embraced here, not who's to blame but what are we going to do about it, it would work in Washington, too.

Four years ago we had high unemployment, stagnant wages, crime and welfare rolls rising, cynicism on the rise, problems unmet, middle class dreams of America in danger. Four years later, after 4 years of getting rid of "who's to blame" and asking what are we going to do about it, look where we are.

With a simple but profound strategy—opportunity for everybody, responsibility from everybody, and everybody that believes in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights is part of our American community and entitled to go with us into the future—with that simple strategy, we have over 10 million new jobs; almost 4½ million new homeowners; wages are rising again for the first time in a decade; 4 years of declining crime; 1.8 million fewer people on welfare; 10 million Americans are about to get an increase because of the rise in the minimum wage on October 1.

Twelve million Americans have gotten to take a little time off for the birth of a child or a sick parent without losing their job because of the Family and Medical Leave Act. Fifteen million of our hardest pressed Americans have gotten a tax cut to help raise their children. And every single small business in America has been made eligible for a substantial reduction in taxes if they invest more in their business to grow the business more and help grow our economy.

Forty million Americans have had their retirement savings made more secure after the terrible, damaging years of the 1980's. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air. And, yes, Senator Pryor said it all: We fought a long, hard battle for health care and paid a big price for it. But when I signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, 25 million Americans were told, "You cannot lose your health insurance because somebody in your family's been sick or because you have to change jobs."

So I say to you, my friends here at home, what I said on that train trip and on that bus trip, which I loved because I got to see all those folks that look just like you, who are just like you, that made this country go, the kind of people the President doesn't often see if he just gets in Air Force One and then jumps in the limo and goes to the event—you get on a train, you get on a bus and you see the people that make this country go. And I'm telling you, we're better off than we were 4 years ago, and we are on the right track to the 21st century.

Now, I want to say——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Sounds good. Thank you.

But let me say what I said at the convention one more time. You all taught me something when I had to run for reelection as Governor all the time. [*Laughter*] I remember one time I was at a rally in 1984, trying to get reelected, and I gave a great speech about what a good job I'd done. An old boy came up to me after it was over and said, "Well, so what, Bill, that's what we paid you for." [*Laughter*] "What are you going to do next time?"

And so I say, I realize that that's what you paid me for. And that's why when I spoke to the country and to our Democratic Party in Chicago on Thursday night, I tried to lay out what I thought the stakes were in this election. My record is relevant and so is Senator Dole's, but only insofar as it gives you some guidance about what we'll do in the next 4 years, because we can't undo the past if it's bad and we can't relive it no matter how good it is. We have to think about tomorrow.

But I will say this, with all respect: That's what this choice is. The choice is whether we're going to build a bridge to the past or build a bridge to the future. I want you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

Now, folks, you know what kind of bridge I want to build to the future, and I don't have to tell you about the details. I want to build a bridge to the future that everybody has a chance to be a part of, and that means we have to do a lot more than we have done as a people to make sure every single person in this country, not only the children but the adults as well, have access to lifetime education and that it's the best in the world. We have to do that.

You think what it would mean to Arkansas and to Arkansans if we passed a tax cut that said you can have the equivalent of a community college tuition for 2 years in your pocket as a tax credit so that everybody in this country can have 2 years of education after high school, make it just as universal as a high school education is today.

Think what it would mean to Arkansans if we said every family in this State, except those like me who don't need it, can have a deduction for the cost of college tuition, any tuition after high school up to $10,000 a year.

Think what it would mean to the people of this State if we could say to every unemployed person and every underemployed person, we want you to have access to a new kind of "GI bill," a "GI bill" for America's workers, because this economy changes a lot and even when we're creating jobs, some people are always being left behind. So we're going to give you $2,600 a year to spend as you see fit getting an education and finding a new job so you can get a better job with higher skills and a brighter future. Think what that would mean if we could do that here for our people.

Think what it would mean when we hook up every classroom and every library in every school in this State, not only with computers and trained teachers but hook them up to the information superhighway so that for the first time in the history of America in the poorest school district in Arkansas, they can get the same information in the same time with the same quality as people in the richest schools in this country do. Think what that will mean to the people of Arkansas and to our children.

And I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that keeps this economy going. That means we have to keep trading more. That means we have to keep investing more in technology and research. You heard Christopher Reeve talk at the Democratic Convention about that. It's not just a matter of humanity, it's a matter of our future. We are generating enormous opportunities, economic opportunities, as we search for the solution to medical mysteries.

We've doubled the life expectancy for people with HIV in 4 years. We now have seen for the first time in laboratory animals, animals that had their spines severed and were paralyzed, getting movement back in their lower limbs. It won't be long before we can do that for people. But we have to keep investing if we want to do that.

The Internet—a lot of the kids in this audience just routinely hook into the Internet. The Internet got started as a Government research project. We figured out how to do it, then we got out of the way and let the private sector take it over. But we have to keep investing. And I want you to support that kind of future that will grow the economy.

And let me say this: I want you to support us in our effort to balance the budget in the right way—in the right way. Now, when they sent me a budget, they said, "Here's our balanced budget. We're going to have this huge tax cut and give it to some people that don't need it. And you're going to have to take it,

or we're going to shut the Government down. And oh, by the way, we're going to change Medicare into a two-class system so that the oldest, the poorest, and the sickest seniors in this country get the shaft. And oh, by the way, we're going to remove Medicaid's guarantee of health care to pregnant women and little children and the elderly in nursing homes and families with people with a disability in them. And oh, by the way, even though we're moving into the 21st century, we're going to cut back on education, everything from Head Start to college loans. And we're going to cut back on protecting the environment. And if you don't do it, we'll shut the Government down."

I said, "Let her rip. I'm not going to put that on the American people." But I did say also, "I'm not going to talk about who's to blame. You all won the Congress fair and square. You want to balance the budget, that's the right thing to do for America. Let's just balance that budget in the right way."

Now, let me remind all of you here what that means. I hear people all the time—all these political consultants tell you, "Don't talk to people about balancing the budget. If things are going good, they're bored with it." Here's why you ought to care about it: because if we don't balance the budget and we do something that increases the deficit, what does that mean? We have to go borrow money while you're trying to borrow money. What does that mean? Your home mortgage, your car payment, your credit card payments go up. What else does it mean? It means businesses have to pay more to borrow money so they don't borrow as much; they don't invest as much; they don't create as many new jobs.

Arkansas has got a low unemployment now. But I want to see that unemployment rate spread to every county and every community that doesn't have a low unemployment rate yet. And we can do it, but we've got to keep it coming down.

Now, along comes our opponents who said for 2 years all they wanted to do was balance the budget. And they say, "No, no, no. Forget about that. Vote for us. We're going to give you a bigger tax cut." That's what they say, 5 times as big.

Here's the problem: Number one, if you hated the budget I vetoed last time, wait until you see this one. This one will take bigger cuts out of Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, and worker pension funds. It's wrong. And you don't want me to do that, do you?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Even then, they won't pay for it. And the deficit will go up again. And that means higher interest rates and all those bad things.

Now, let me ask you a question, just a little old question we might ask at a country crossroads at home: Would you go to the bank and borrow money to give yourself a tax cut?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Well, why would you hire somebody to do that for you? You wouldn't do that. You wouldn't do that.

Now, there's another alternative, but let me get down to that. I know—I learned a long time—I remember one time President Reagan came right here to this spot and gave a speech for the Republicans and tried to tell them they needed a different Governor—1984—and I'm glad you all didn't listen. [*Laughter*] And I know that even a President from Arkansas can't tell people from here how to vote, so I don't want you to do this for me, I want you to do it for you.

But you've got Winston Bryant and Vic Snyder over here trying to get into the Senate and the House, with Boyce Davis and Marion Berry. And I want to tell you something. If you want this done right, if you want me to do more than say no, if you want me to be able to say yes to the right kind of balanced budget and the kind of programs that I advocated when I spoke to the country in Chicago on Thursday night, then send Vic Snyder to the House and send Winston Bryant to the Senate, and give us a chance to grow this country in the right way. This is terribly important.

Let me say just something else real briefly. It's not enough to create opportunity; we also have to have more responsibility. The other guys, they talked a lot about welfare reform and hating the Government, but we reduced the Government to its smallest size in 30 years. And we reduced the welfare rolls by 1.8 million. But I signed that welfare reform bill, and I was proud to do it because—here's the new deal—there's a lot of legislators here, so you all listen to this. Here's the new deal. This deal says, for people who are poor and their children, eligible for welfare, you still get guaranteed health care, guaranteed food stamps, and guaranteed child care if you go to work. But the

income check can now be given to the States, and the States can decide whether to continue the income check or whether to develop a job program that will put more people into jobs. And they have to do that.

Now, here's what I want to say to you folks: Now this is not a political issue anymore. Welfare is no longer an issue that conservatives can condemn liberals over, that politicians can condemn poor people over. We have gotten rid of the system people say they don't like. But if you want to require somebody with kids to feed to go to work and require them to do it, they better have some work there to go to. That is the issue now. We have a responsibility to create these jobs. And we have to build a bridge to the 21st century that puts people to work who have never had a chance to go to work before.

It brings me to the other person over here I want to talk about. The biggest new job States will have to perform is figuring out a humane and decent and honorable way to create work for people on welfare who are able-bodied. It is not simple. It is not easy. And every time you vote for a Governor, a lieutenant governor, a State official, a legislator, you ought to ask yourself: What kind of person am I electing, and who is most likely to be able to be most energetic in growing the economy overall and trying to figure out specifically how to do these new deals, these new jobs, especially welfare reform? I'll tell you what the answer to that is. The answer to that is Charlie Cole Chaffin, and you ought to make her the Lieutenant Governor of Arkansas.

I want to just say one other thing about this responsibility business. I never believed for a minute what so many Americans did, that we couldn't do anything about crime. And when I went around the country, started running for President, I went to town after town where the crime rate was going down. And I asked them, "Why did the crime rate go down?" And I talked to the police officers. They said, "Well, we put more police on the streets. We got them out of the cars. We've got them working in the neighborhoods. We've got them working with the kids. And it's working." And I said, "What else do you need?" And they said, "Well, we could use a little help with these assault weapons, because we don't have them. And we could use a little other help."

So here's what we did. We passed a crime bill that's putting 100,000 police on the street. The other guys voted against it. Think about this in this race for Congress. Think about this in the race for Congress and Senators. The other party led the fight against it. Then they tried to repeal the 100,000 police. Even after the crime rate had gone down for 3 years, they still tried to stop us from doing it.

And we're halfway home now, and we need to finish that. We've got 4 years of declining crime rates. If we had 4 more years of declining crime rates, they might be down where we could all live with it. And I want you to stay with a strategy that's working. Again, send Winston Bryant and Vic Snyder to Congress, and let's keep the 100,000 police coming.

Now, the last thing I want to say is, you taught me—not the other way around—that when we work together we never lose. When we treat each other with respect we always win. When we behave with dignity and honor, we're always ahead. That's still a big problem. You have no idea how much time I spend as President dealing with foreign policy problems caused because people in other countries insist on killing each other because they're different from one another. You have no idea.

What is Bosnia about? What is the crisis in Northern Ireland about? What is the Middle East about? What are all these tribal wars in Africa about? Just something about people, if you let them go unrestrained, that makes them think that their lives mean more when they can look down on their neighbors, and they'll even go to the point of killing them. And pretty soon they get to killing one another, and they forget why they started fighting. They just can't quit anymore.

Now, that's why I react so strongly when churches burn in our country and in our State. It's wrong. That's why I got so upset the other day when those African-American Special Forces personnel went home to their barracks in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and saw those swastikas on their doors. Now, folks, you read every week about some foreign policy crisis I'm dealing with. And I bet a lot of you think, you know, I wonder what Bill's thinking about that; he didn't learn much about that when he was Governor. I tell you one thing I know, if at midnight tonight I call those Special Forces and I tell them to be halfway around the world by noon tomorrow and put their lives on the line for

you, they will do it. They do not deserve to have swastikas on their doors. This is not right. This is not right.

So I guess what I'd like to say is we talk about this "it takes a village" business, but it really is important. You've got to really decide, and the people of this country have to decide. Do you think we have to go forward together and that the role of the Government is to be a part of our national village to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives? Or do you think we'd be better off with a sort of "you're on your own" philosophy? That's also a big part of this election.

I know that if we go forward together, if we get more opportunity for everybody and more responsibility from everybody, our best days are still ahead.

But I know one thing: You have got to be committed, every single one of you, to building that kind of a bridge. So think about this: All of you have been with me all of these years; this is our last go-round with the highest stakes for the largest number of people. The kind of country we'll be at the dawn of a new century and a new millennium will be determined by this election. What this country looks like when our children and our grandchildren are our age will be determined by the decisions we make in this election.

I have no right to ask you for anything for me; you have already given me more than I can ever repay. But for the sake of our children, our State, and our beloved country, one more time will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. Let's go get it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:38 p.m. at the Old Statehouse. In his remarks, he referred to Joe Purvis, chairman, Clinton Birthplace Foundation, Hope, AR; Mayor Jim Dailey of Little Rock; Mayor Patrick Henry Hays of North Little Rock; Buddy Villines, Pulaski County judge; Betty Jo Thorton, wife of State Representative Ray Thorton; Barbara Pryor, wife of Senator David Pryor; Winston Bryant, Arkansas senatorial candidate; and Vic Snyder, Boyce Davis, and Marion Berry, candidates for Arkansas' Second, Third, and First Congressional Districts, respectively.

Remarks at a Labor Day Picnic in De Pere, Wisconsin
September 2, 1996

The President. Thank you. Happy Labor Day! Thank you for coming out. I must say when I left home this morning in Arkansas to fly up here, I knew that the people of De Pere and the whole Green Bay area would be in an awful good humor after the Packers did so well yesterday. But I never had any idea so many of you would come up to tell me how happy you are. I'm glad to see you. Thank you for this great crowd, for your spirit, for your love for our country, for the signs you've had here.

I want to thank the De Pere Band over here. Thank you for coming out to play for us on Labor Day, wearing those hot uniforms, when they could be in shorts drinking lemonade. Give them a hand. [*Applause*]

Thank you, Senator Feingold, thank you for your leadership for Wisconsin and for the United States. Thank you for your long labor for real, meaningful campaign finance reform. We will get it next time—we will. And we will get it in a bipartisan fashion that will be good for America.

I want to thank all those who are here—Mayor Walsh, thank you for welcoming me here. The people who are on the preprogram; the attorney general, Jim Doyle; Dr. Margaret Hutchinson; John Benson; Father Cornell—to all of you, thank you very much. Thank you, Alethia. Didn't she make a good talk, and isn't she a good representative of the young people of this country?

Let me also say that Senator Feingold mentioned your former Senator Gaylord Nelson, also a great friend of mine. It was my great honor to present him with the Nation's highest citizen's award, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Every person from Wisconsin should be very proud of the work Gaylord Nelson has spent since he left the Senate to save the environment for future generations.

My fellow Americans, this is Labor Day. We celebrate labor, and we honor labor. We honor the men and women who have built every bridge in our country's history, because you will have to help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

You may have noticed that in the last several days, often with my wife and daughter and sometimes with the Vice President and Mrs. Gore, I've been on a train and I've been on a bus to tell the American people we're on the right track and the right road to the 21st century, and we shouldn't change now, we should keep right on going in the right direction and build on it.

I wanted to take that train trip and that bus trip because I get to see more people like you. I get to hear the stories that make America live. I get to see the decisions in human terms that we have to make every day. As I said last Thursday in Chicago, fundamentally this year we face a choice between building a bridge to the future and building a bridge to the past, between whether we're going forward together as one nation arm in arm, or whether we're going to be told, you're on your own.

Just since I have been here today in Wisconsin, I had one person come up to me and said, "I'm so glad that I live in a country where we're all helping each other to make the most of our lives. I had a terrible accident in my family; I have someone in my family with a disability. Now I know that the only way we can maintain our lifestyle and our work is to have the kind of help that makes this the great country it is." And we're working hard to build strong families and to be productive.

I had another young man come up to me and say, "Five years ago I was homeless. I just finished my third year of college. I'm so glad that you believe in college loans and you stopped them from cutting it back last year." That's the kind of America I'm proud to live in.

My fellow Americans, 4 years ago when the people of Wisconsin gave Bill Clinton and Al Gore a chance to lead the country, we had a simple message. We want America to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive for everyone responsible enough to work for it; with our great American community growing together, not drifting apart; with our Nation still the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world. We have a simple but profound strategy: more opportunity for all, more responsibility from all, and a place at the table for all people who deserve to be there because they believe in our values and they're willing to work for them.

Now, just think where we are today compared to 4 years ago: 10 million more jobs; 4½ million new homeowners; 10 million homeowners who refinanced their mortgage at lower interest rates; record numbers of new businesses and exports; the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years. We're better off than we were 4 years ago.

Fifteen million of our hardest pressed working families have received a tax cut, and every single small-business person in the country has been eligible for a tax cut when they invest more money in the business to become more productive or hire more workers. Twelve million families have taken advantage of the family leave law when a baby's born or a parent's sick without losing their jobs, and our economy is stronger for it.

Forty million Americans had their pensions secured after the terrible days of insecurity of the 1980's, when people were losing their pensions. We changed the law, and we have cracked down on deficient pension funds because we think on Labor Day if people work their whole lives and pay into their pension funds they ought to know it's going to be there for them when that retirement period comes.

Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air, and we have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous two administrations did in 12. This country is moving in the right direction.

The crime rate has come down 4 years in a row; 1.8 million fewer people are on welfare; child support collections are up 40 percent; the deficit has been cut by 60 percent. It's the first time since before the Civil War that an administration has brought the Federal deficit down in every one of its 4 years in office. That's something you can all be proud of.

Senator Feingold has worked hard for a balanced budget. What I want you to know when you think about all the proposals you will hear in the next 60 days about where to go from here is this: Our budget would have been balanced last year and would have a surplus this year except for the interest we have to pay on the debt run up in the 12 years before I took the oath of office. Let's don't make that mistake

again. Let's keep going and finish the job. We can finish the job in 4 more years. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the future?

Audience members. Yes! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Just a few days ago I signed legislation that is pro-work, pro-business, and pro-family. It's an example of America at its best. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million hard-working Americans, starting October 1st. We made it easier for small businesses, which create most of the jobs in this country, to take out pensions for the owners and the employees, and for those employees to keep those pensions when they move from job to job. It ought to be easier for people in small businesses to have a decent retirement as well. And we adopted a $5,000 tax credit for families who adopt children. There are a lot of children out there who need a good home today. I hope this helps more of them find it.

We made 25 million Americans eligible to keep their health insurance, even if somebody in the family has been sick, and even when they move from job to job, under the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill. We've been fighting for that for a long time and it's high time, and there are people in this audience today whose lives will be saved because of it because they won't lose their health insurance now if someone in their family gets sick or they have to change jobs.

So I say to you we are moving on the right track, but there is more to do. We have to build a bridge to the 21st century that enables every person in this country, every family, every community to make the most of their God-given potential. We have to build that bridge to the future strong and wide enough for all of us to walk across.

Let me tell you some of the things I hope you'll think about on this Labor Day as we honor work and family. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we amend the family and medical leave law to say that you can not only take a little time off when a baby is born or in an emergency but also to take your child to those parent-teacher conferences at school and to regular doctor's appointments.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we have the crime rate going down for 4 more years in a row in the hope that it will finally be down where it ought to be in America. And to do that, we have to finish the work of putting 100,000 police on the street. We have to do a better job of protecting our police officers by banning those cop-killer bullets, which are not necessary to hunt in Wisconsin or Arkansas or anywhere else.

And I believe very strongly that the Brady bill has been a good thing for America. You know, when I signed it and I pushed it so hard and the leaders of the other party led the fight against it, they got a lot of votes in 1994. It may be why they won the Congress, banning assault weapons and the Brady bill, because they convinced a lot of rural people in Wisconsin and Michigan, my home State of Arkansas, up in New England, all over the country that somehow the Democrats were coming to get their guns.

Well, let me tell you something, folks, it's been 2 years now and people know the truth. Not a single, solitary hunter has lost a rifle. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns because of the Brady bill. It was the right thing to do, and we're a safer country for it. And I personally don't believe that people who commit acts of domestic violence against their spouse or their children should be able to get guns either. That is a dangerous thing. We should not do that.

We ought to build a bridge to the 21st century that continues to prove we can grow the economy and clean up the environment. Ten million American children still live within 4 miles of a toxic dump. If you will give us 4 more years, we will speed up the pace of toxic cleanups, even though we've done more in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. We'll clean up the two-thirds worst dumps in this country. We want our children to grow up next to parks, not poisons. Will you help us build that kind of bridge to the 21st century?

Now that we have passed the health care protection bill, we ought to recognize that a lot of families need some help when they're between jobs. In my balanced budget plan, there is a provision to help people pay for and keep their health insurance when they and their families are between jobs. It's a good thing. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And let me just mention two more things. This is Labor Day. We can be grateful that we have over 10 million more jobs. But we know we have to keep this recovery going. That means we have to continue to balance the budg-

et, but to do it in a way that grows the economy and keeps us together. We can balance the budget without wrecking Medicare, turning our backs on the medical commitments of Medicaid, which includes families with disabilities, little babies that are poor, pregnant women, and the elderly in nursing homes. We can balance the budget and increase our commitment to education and to research and to the environment, not walk away from it. Will you help us balance the budget in that way? [*Applause*]

And then you have, as Senator Feingold said, the great tax debate. We can have a tax cut that will be good for the economy. I believe the tax cut we had in 1993 for the 15 million hardest pressed workers, for people who invest in new businesses to try to create them, for small businesses to invest more in their business, I think those things were good. Our tax cut plan is fully paid for, line by line, dime by dime. It supports education, health care, homebuying—and that's what it supports—and childrearing. If we can invest money to help people educate their children, care for their children, buy and sell their home, and put into an IRA and let people take out without penalty for education, for health care, for homebuying, that's good for America. Those tax cuts will be repaid to us many times over. But we have to do it while we balance the budget.

Now, let me say this: The other guys will say, "We ought to have one that's 5 times as big. We'll give you more money. Vote for us. Why do you care about the deficit?" You know, in Washington we have all these political consultants. And if you listen to them, they say, "Don't ever go out to a Labor Day crowd of middle class people and talk about the deficit. Nobody cares about that." Let me tell you why you should care about it. Let me tell you why you should care about it.

They say, "We'll give you a tax cut 5 times as big." You remember that budget I vetoed last year because it had excessive cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, it allowed a raid on workers' pension fund—$15 billion—it raised taxes on the lowest income working people. If you thought that one was bad, you wait till you see what you get with this tax plan that our opposition has proposed. And even when they get through trying to cut things even more than they did in the budget I vetoed, the deficit will still explode.

Why should you care? Because if the Government goes in and borrows money at the same time you're trying to, what will happen? Interest rates will go up. Our friends in the Republican Congress said last year—this is not me talking, this is them talking just last year—they say if we don't have a balanced budget plan, interest rates will be 2 percent higher. What does that mean for you? A higher home mortgage payment, a higher car payment, a higher credit card payment. Even more important, what does it mean? All the small-business people in this audience, it means higher interest rates for them. It means fewer people borrowing money to invest to create more jobs, to be more productive, to raise incomes. Folks, we tried this once before. Would you go to the bank yourself and borrow money to give yourself a tax cut?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Then why would you hire someone to do it for you? Let's keep going in the right direction. Let's balance the budget, keep interest rates down, keep the economy growing and going forward. We can do it. We can do it.

The last and most important thing is, we have to recognize that the world of the 21st century will be the age of greatest possibility in human history, but that there is a greater challenge than ever before to make sure every person in America can participate in that. And that means we have to provide every single solitary American—and not just our children, our adults as well—with whatever educational needs they have for a lifetime. Excellent education by worldwide standards for a lifetime, not just for childhood.

In the last 4 years we have done a lot to invest more in education, from expanding Head Start to giving schools the power to try grassroots reforms, to staying open late after school in a lot of high-crime and other tough areas to give our young people something to say yes to instead of something to say no to. We have expanded scholarships through the Pell grant program. We have got a lower cost college loan program that a huge number of young people are taking advantage of today so they can take loans and pay them back as a percentage of their income. We're going in the right direction, but we have to do more.

And let me just say this: I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that has a lot of educational advances, but let me just mention

three. Number one, every 8-year-old in America ought to be able to read on his or her own by the year 2000, every single one. No one should be left behind, no one.

I want to mobilize 30,000 mentors, our AmeriCorps volunteers who are working their way through college by doing community service, and a volunteer army of a million people to make sure that every single third grader in America can say, "I read it myself." That will guarantee that the rest of their academic careers and their adult lives will be filled with productive learning and enable every person to have a chance to participate in the bounty of 21st century America. Will you help me build that bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Number two, I want to make sure we connect every classroom and library in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000 so that for the first time in American history, for the very first time in American history, we can say with confidence, the children in the most remote rural schoolhouses, children in the poorest inner-city schools for the first time not only have computers and trained teachers, but have access to the finest learning in the same timeframe in the same way as the students in the wealthiest, most successful schools in America. We can do it. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. And finally, I want to make sure that we make a college education available to every single solitary person in this country who is willing to work for it. I want the first 2 years of education after high school, at least a community college degree, to become as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. Now, that's a tax cut worth fighting for, a tax credit for the cost of community college tuition in every State in the country. Will you help me do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want college tuition to be tax deductible up to $10,000 a year. I want to give unemployed and underemployed workers access to a skill grant worth up to $2600 a year, so that if you lose your job, you're changing jobs, and you need more education, you can get the grant, you can take it to the nearest community college or training facility so that even if you're 45 or 55 or 60, if you need more skills to support your family and improve your lot in life. Instead of being left behind in the race to the 21st century, we will take you along the way. Will you help me build that kind of bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. My fellow Americans, in 4 years we can have a country where every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old can go to college, and every American can have the knowledge that he or she needs to succeed in the 21st century. That is a bridge worth fighting for.

Now, as you look around at this vast sea of people here today, you don't know the life story of everybody who is here. There are a lot of people here who don't agree with each other about a lot of things. I saw one brave soul—thank you, ma'am—has a "Republicans for Clinton" sign. God bless you. I wish I could sign that for you. Give her a hand. [*Applause*] Let me remind you that this country is not around here after 220 years because we permitted ourselves to be divided by the wrong things. It's because we were always united by the right things.

You have to continue to fight for a country that believes that, without regard to race or religion or income or status in life, if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and you're willing to show up tomorrow to do your best and play by the rules, you're part of our America. And we're going forward into the future, and you're going on that bridge with us. It's going to be wide enough for every single solitary one of us to walk across. Will you help us build that kind of bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you. God bless you. Stay with us. We've got a great future. Thank you. Happy Labor Day!

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. at Voyageur Park. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael Walsh of De Pere; Margaret Hutchinson, former principal, Aldo Leopold Alternative School; John Benson, Wisconsin superintendent of public instruction; Robert Cornell, former State senator; and Alethia Anderson, student, Green Bay East High School.

Remarks at a Labor Day Festival in Milwaukee, Wisconsin
September 2, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Wow! Thanks for the welcome. Can you keep this spirit until November? Can you spread it to other people in Wisconsin?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Can we keep the Nation on the right track with it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I think so, too. Happy Labor Day! Thank you for letting me be a part of it. Thank you, Senator Herb Kohl, and thank you, Senator Russ Feingold, for representing the people of Wisconsin and the people of the United States here.

I know that Congressman Jerry Kleczka and Congressman Tom Barrett spoke earlier. Will you keep them in the Congress? We need them there. [*Applause*] And Wisconsin, you will have three, count them, three—one, two, three—open seats, three chances to send three Democrats to the United States House of Representatives to help us keep this country on the right track. Will you do that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want to thank Mayor Norquist for being here. I thank the majority leader—I like that sound—the majority leader of the Wisconsin Senate, Chuck Chvala, and the minority leader of the House, Wally Kunicki. Thank you both for being here and all the legislators that are here; the city council chair, John Kalwitz; the Milwaukee County Board chair, Karen Ordinans.

And let me just say there are a lot of other people that I'd like to recognize, but I want to say a special word of thanks to Gerry McEntee. Gerry McEntee, he supported me in '92 when nobody thought I could win except my mother and Gerry McEntee. My own home was divided on whether we could win, but Gerry McEntee thought we could win. And I was watching Gerry up here talking and I thought, Gerry McEntee has got one speed, fast. Gerry McEntee has got one volume, loud. [*Laughter*] But he's got a big heart, and if you were in a foxhole you'd want him in there with you, fighting for the future of your family. And I'm glad he's in there with me.

I want to thank all of those who have performed here earlier today, the Eddie Butts Band, the Unity In Community Choir; thank those who spoke here on behalf of the issues that you are concerned about. I want to thank all the labor leaders who are here. I want to say a special word of thanks to the woman who has been badgering me to come to this event since I don't know how long, Rosemarie McDowell. Thank you, Rosemarie, I showed up. I want to thank the members of the labor movement in America for electing a leader like John Sweeney, a man with energy and vigor and direction and passion, a man who has brought our working families together and is helping us to move forward.

And I want to say here on this Labor Day when we work to honor our working families, I'd like to thank the labor movement for something else. You know, most members of labor unions will not be affected by the increase in the minimum wage law. Oh, some will, but the vast majority won't. But organized labor stood with me and worked for 2 years to raise the minimum wage law for the other working families in the United States who don't pay union dues and don't have those good jobs. And I thank you, John Sweeney. I thank you, Gerry McEntee. I thank you, ladies and gentlemen. That's a gift you're giving to other working families, and I thank you. Thank you for doing that. God bless you. Thank you. On October 1st, 10 million American workers, most of them women, many of them with small children at home, people who are working full time and trying to get their piece of the American dream, those 10 million folks will get a raise because of the minimum wage law. Thank you for doing it for me. On this Labor Day, they should be indebted to you.

Folks, when I came to Wisconsin 4 years ago and asked you to support me, I said that I wanted our country to take a new direction. I wanted to restore the American dream. I wanted to bring our people together and not let us be divided. I wanted us to go into the next century the strongest force for peace and free-

dom and prosperity in the world. I said that we could go beyond the kind of political debate that had dominated Washington. Just like I said to the American people Thursday night, I'm a lot more interested in what to do than who to blame. I'm a "what to do" sort of person. And I think Wisconsin is a "what to do" sort of State.

I told you before, I will say again, I want this to be a campaign of ideas, not insults. I'm not interested in questioning the patriotism, the love of country of any of these folks who want to be President or Vice President of the United States or lead the Congress. What I want to do is to have a debate about our records and our ideas for the future. That's what matters, because you have to decide in this next election—you're going to elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century.

And the real issue is, how are we going to meet our challenges and protect your values? How are we going to do that? We're going to do it not by building a bridge to the past but by building a bridge to the 21st century, a bridge that all of us can walk across. We're going to do it not by telling people the Government is always your enemy and you're on your own; we're going to tell people we're all in this together and we're going forward together, all of us.

Folks, the nice thing about this election year and this Labor Day, unlike 4 years ago, is there is not as much guesswork in it this time. I mean, 4 years ago when I came here, Al Gore and I asked you to take a chance on us. We said, take a chance on us. And President Bush and Mr. Perot, they were telling you about how terrible my State was, a small Southern State. I heard all that stuff. They said, "You can't take a chance on these guys; they haven't been shaving but a month or two." [*Laughter*] You remember all the stuff they said.

Well, now you know. Four years ago, we had high unemployment, stagnant wages, rising crime, rising welfare rolls, a country that was becoming more divided, an electorate that was becoming more cynical. I've just finished a train ride and a bus ride with my wife, my daughter, my partners and friends, Al and Tipper Gore; a magnificent Democratic Convention. And I believe in the last 9 days plus, I've spoken to about 250,000 people and seen another couple of hundred thousand more. I can tell you something, folks, the rising tide of cynicism has been replaced by a rising tide of hope and belief in the future of America. We are going forward.

And so I say to you, why is that? Why is that? Because compared to 4 years ago, we have over 10 million new jobs. We have almost 4½ million new homeowners; 10 million American families have refinanced their homes with lower mortgage rates and saved a lot of money. We've had record numbers of new small businesses. People from Wisconsin and all over America are selling more of our products around the world than at any time before, with a huge increase. We are number one again in the production and sales of automobiles for the first time since the 1970's.

You heard John Sweeney talking about the Family and Medical Leave Act. Could there be hope because 12 million families have been able to take a little time off for the birth of a baby or a sick parent without losing their jobs? It made the economy stronger, not weaker, to do that. Fifteen million American families, our hardest pressed working families, working for the most modest wages, with children in the home, have gotten a tax cut. Every small business in this country that invests more money in the business next year than they did this year is eligible for a tax cut. But it's one that has enabled us to bring the deficit down every single year in 4 years of this administration, down 60 percent.

You know, folks, I just want to say this, and you all don't have to keep this a secret when you walk around and talk to your friends. You need to know that the last time an administration reduced the deficit in all 4 years of its term was in the 1840's, before the Civil War. And you need to know that we would have balanced the budget last year and we would have a surplus this year if it weren't for the interest we're still having to pay on the debt run up in the 12 years before I became President. We don't want to do that again. Let's don't do that again. We don't want to do that again.

There's more hope in this country because we passed legislation to protect the pensions of 40 million Americans. I was tired of seeing these pension funds go broke, and Secretary Reich has been working as hard as he can to get contributions into the pension funds so your pensions are protected. And we're trying to give small-business people in the minimum wage bill

easier access to retirement plans for themselves and their employees so they, too, will be protected, especially when they move from job to job. Every American ought to have the right to a good retirement plan, including those folks at Pabst.

Could it be that there is more hope in America because we're breathing cleaner air, because we've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than our predecessors did in 12? Could it be there is more hope here because we've upgraded the purity of our meat laws and our food laws and because finally, finally, finally just a couple of weeks ago we passed—in honor, in part, of the terrible sacrifice paid by people in this community—the Safe Drinking Water Act to make sure that we go forward to protect the public health of our people?

So I say to you, things are better than they were 4 years ago. We're on the right track. We're on the right road. We're building the right bridge, the bridge to the future, the bridge to the 21st century. Will you help us build it for 64 more days? [*Applause*] Will you help us build it for 4 more years? [*Applause*] Will you walk across it with all your brothers and sisters? [*Applause*] Will you do it? [*Applause*]

My friends, last night—you've already heard it said that I went to see the Packers this morning in Green Bay. I did that; I plead guilty. I hope you won't hold that against me. [*Laughter*] And it was funny because one of the Packers who had a pretty good game yesterday——

Audience member. Brett Favre!

The President. No, well, he had a great game. [*Laughter*] But one of them happens to be from my home State, Keith Jackson. And he reminded me when I saw him this morning that his wife was at our rally in Little Rock just last night. So I want to talk to you a few moments about the future because he reminded me of this rally last night.

I told the folks at home—a lot of the people who came to see me there have been working for me for more than 20 years now. And I said I want this campaign to be about the future. The record that we have made is relevant because it shows you that we'll do what we say in the future and it shows you that we're on the right track. But what really matters is the future. And I told the folks at home a story I'd like to tell you.

In 1984—this makes the point about how elections are about the future—in 1984 I was out on a little country crossroads speaking to a rally way out in the hills in Arkansas, and I gave a barn-burning speech about what a great job I had done as Governor—I thought it was just great—and why they ought to reelect me. And this old boy came up to me in overalls and he said, "Bill, that's a fine speech you gave. And you do have a good record. But," he said, "that's what we hired you for. You drew a paycheck every 2 weeks, didn't you?" [*Laughter*] He said, "That's what we hired you for. What are you going to do if I renew your contract? That's what I want to know."

And that's what I tried to tell the American people in Chicago last Thursday night with my fellow Democrats. I'll tell you what we're going to do: We're going to finish building our bridge to the 21st century so every American family has a chance to benefit from a growing economy, from a community that's strong and with safe streets and a clean environment, and every family has a chance to succeed at home with their children and at work, perhaps the biggest challenge American working families face today.

So let me talk to you a little about that. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century with the best education system in the world. I want a million children in Head Start. I want every 8-year-old in America to be able to say when they look at a book, "I can read that all by myself." I want every classroom, every classroom and every library in every school in America not only to have the computers they need, not only to have the trained teachers they need but to be hooked up to the worldwide information superhighway.

Now, if you're like me and you're sort of in the dark ages when it comes to computers, let me tell you what that means; let me tell you what that means in practical terms. You hook all these computers up, all these classrooms to the Internet, it means that for the first time in the history of the United States of America, the children in the poorest urban schools, the children in the most remote rural schools will have access to the same knowledge in the same time at the same level of quality as the children in the wealthiest schools in the United States. It has never happened before. We can make it happen now. Will you fight for that kind of future for our country? Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Now, I also want to make it possible for every—every single American who wants to do

it to go to college and to get a good education. And I want to talk to you about three things. Number one, I want to make 2 years of education after high school, what most of us know as a community college degree at least, I want that to be just as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today. And that's why I called for a $1,500 tax credit to the working families of America so that we can pay, through a tax cut, for the cost of tuition at any typical community college in the United States. I want America's working families to have a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of all college tuition, any tuition your kids have after high school, for the adults or the children.

And I want to take all the various training programs we've had over the years and put them in a block and say to you or your friends, if you lose your job or if you're underemployed and you qualify for a Federal training program, we will give you a skills grant worth up to $2,600 a year. You take it where you want. You get the education you need. You start your life again with a better job, a higher wage, and a brighter future. That's the kind of education system I want for America. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to allow working families to save more, to take out an IRA and to be able to save the money and withdraw it without penalty to pay for an education, to pay for a first-time home, to pay for a medical emergency. I want you to be able to sell your home and never owe any taxes on the gain. I want this to be a pro-family, pro-growth, pro-education tax package. You ought to have a tax credit for your children who are 13 or under that need more child care, need afterschool care.

But let me tell you something about this tax program. It's targeted to working families. It is paid for. It is designed to help promote childrearing, education, and work, the most important things to build strong families and successful workers. The most important thing is, this is all paid for.

Now, I want to say something. You can take 1,000 polls, you can talk to every political consultant in Washington and they'll tell you—they'd say to me, "President Clinton, do not go to a labor rally in Milwaukee and talk about balancing the budget. That bores people to tears. They only think about balancing the budget when the economy's in the tank, and then it seems like a nice thing to do. But nobody really cares about it. It's boring, and besides, it's hard. And people don't want to hear about hard things."

Let me tell you something. I hope you care about it, because how do you think we got the economy going again? By bringing interest rates down. Why did we bring interest rates down? Because when we reduced the deficit, your Government wasn't in there borrowing all that money, and you could go borrow it. And the demand was less, so the interest rates were lower.

Now, our friends in the Republican Party, just last year they put out a little paper that they seem to have forgotten. It said, if we're not on a path to the balanced budget, interest rates will go up to 2 percent. Now they say, "Don't vote to reelect President Clinton. Vote for us; we'll give you a bigger tax cut." They say, "We'll give you a bigger tax cut."

Let me tell you about that bigger tax cut. Two things are going to happen. If they actually did it, two things would happen. Number one, if you thought the budget I vetoed was bad with its Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment cuts, with its $15 billion raid on worker pension funds, with its tax increases on the lowest paid workers in America—all of that it had in the one I vetoed—you ain't seen nothing yet. If they pass this tax plan, they'll come back with deeper cuts. Is that what you want for our future?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Will that bring us in? Of course not. Number two, it still won't cover the hole they'll blow in the deficit. So we'll have worse cuts and a bigger deficit. What does that mean? That means for you, your mortgage payment, your car payment, your credit card payment will go up. It means the business community—big business, small business, business in the middle—interest rates will be higher. They won't be able to borrow that money to invest to create more jobs, to create greater productivity, to earn more money, and raise wages.

So I tell you something, folks. Let's say the Democrats are pro-business and pro-labor. We're for balancing the budget and investing in education, the environment, and taking care of our folks through Medicare and Medicaid. That's our position. Will you help me build that bridge into the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help me keep this economy going and growing? Don't you want more jobs and higher income?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Let me say one other thing. I want to say it right here in Milwaukee. There's a lot of difference between talking about the issue of welfare reform and doing something about it. There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I became President. We didn't have to cut anybody's health care to do it; we didn't have to throw anybody into the street to do it—1.8 million fewer people. Why is that? Because most people on welfare who are able-bodied are dying to get off and will take a job if they have a chance to do it, if they can get the training to do it, if they can get the child care to do it.

Now, here's what this welfare reform bill I signed really does, pure and simple. And on Labor Day, we need to all listen to this, and we need to make a commitment. This bill says there is still a national guarantee for the health care of the children and the parent. There is still a national guarantee for the nutritional needs of the children and the parent. There is now national funds available for the first time for adequate child care if a person takes a low wage job, has to leave the kids behind, and they don't have the money for child care.

But the money that used to go in an income check every month will now be sent to the States or the localities, depending on what the State does, and they will have to figure out how to devise work for people who have been on welfare who are able-bodied, who will then do work for the income check. That is a good thing, except this: If you want to say to people, "You've got to go to work," there needs to be a job there for them to go see every day.

So I say, I am sick and tired, as a person who has spent time in welfare offices, who has talked to welfare people—I started working on welfare reform in 1980 before it was a cool, hot issue because I could see that the people who were trapped on it were the ones being hurt, and their children. But it is time now. We have changed the system. And I don't ever want to hear Republicans attacking Democrats again over welfare. I don't ever want to hear politicians attacking poor people again over welfare. I want the American people—everybody who's ever pointed their finger about this—to figure out how are we going to take this new flexibility, this new power, how are we going to take the initiatives President Clinton proposed at the Democratic Convention, putting $3 billion more into our cities to create jobs, giving more incentives to people who will hire somebody off welfare, the other things that we can do, and create jobs for these people. They deserve the jobs. You cannot put people in the street; you have to put people to work. That's what we have to make welfare reform all about, in an honorable, decent way. Will you help us build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? Every one of you, will you help me do that? [*Applause*] Their children need it. Our country needs it. Will you help do that? [*Applause*]

Folks, there's a lot of other things I'd like to say today. It's getting late and it's getting hot, but I want to tell you just one or two. Do you know that we still have 10 million kids in this country living within 4 miles of a toxic waste site, even though we cleaned up more sites in 3 years than were cleaned up in the 12 years before? If you give us 4 more years, we're going to clean up 500 more sites, the two-thirds worst. We want our children to grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us give our children that kind of future? Will you do that? [*Applause*] That will create jobs, raise incomes, and clean the environment. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And the last thing I want to say is this. I have never been in a crowd of working people, talking to them and listening to them for any length of time, that I didn't find every family had at least one example of a time when they'd felt a terrible, gnawing conflict between their responsibilities as parents and their responsibilities at work.

You know, the American people are not lazy people. The average family is spending a lot more hours at work today than they did 25 years ago. Almost all parents are in the work force now. And the great challenge for our State—our country—is to figure out how people can do a good job of raising their kids and do a good job at work. That's what the family leave law was all about.

That's why I want to amend the family leave law and say you not only can have time off when there's an emergency, working people ought to be able to get some time off without losing their jobs to go to those regular parent-teacher conferences at school and take their kids

or their parents to the doctor. Will you help me build that kind of future? Will you do that? [*Applause*]

Now, this has been a great day, an enthusiastic day. You have made me very happy to see the spirit in your eyes. You're the kind of people that Al Gore and I have been fighting for and working for for 4 years, and I wouldn't take the world for this experience. But this is the beginning of this campaign, not the end—the beginning, not the end.

Are you going to help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Sixty-four more days? [*Applause*] Four more years? [*Applause*] Every one of you, we need you. Wisconsin, we need you.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. at the Summerfest Grounds. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor John O. Norquist of Milwaukee; Gerald W. McEntee, president, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Rosemarie McDowell, chief steward, AFSCME Local 1055; and John Sweeney, president, AFL–CIO. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks Announcing a Missile Strike on Iraq and an Exchange With Reporters

September 3, 1996

The President. Good morning. Three days ago, despite clear warnings from the United States and the international community, Iraqi forces attacked and seized the Kurdish-controlled city of Irbil in northern Iraq. The limited withdrawals announced by Iraq do not change the reality. Saddam Hussein's army today controls Irbil, and Iraqi units remain deployed for further attacks.

These acts demand a strong response, and they have received one. Earlier today I ordered American forces to strike Iraq. Our missiles sent the following message to Saddam Hussein: When you abuse your own people or threaten your neighbors, you must pay a price.

It appears that one Kurdish group, which in the past opposed Saddam, now has decided to cooperate with him. But that cannot justify unleashing the Iraqi army against the civilian population of Irbil. Repeatedly over the past weeks and months we have worked to secure a lasting cease-fire between the Kurdish factions. The Iraqi attack adds fuel to the factional fire and threatens to spark instability throughout the region.

Our objectives are limited but clear: to make Saddam pay a price for the latest act of brutality, reducing his ability to threaten his neighbors and America's interests. First, we are extending the no-fly zone in southern Iraq. This will deny Saddam control of Iraqi airspace from the Kuwaiti border to the southern suburbs of Baghdad and significantly restrict Iraq's ability to conduct offensive operations in the region. Second, to protect the safety of our aircraft enforcing this no-fly zone, our cruise missiles struck Saddam's air defense capabilities in southern Iraq.

The United States was a cosponsor of United Nations Security Resolution 986, which allows Iraq to sell amounts of oil to purchase food and medicine for its people, including the Kurds. Irbil, the city seized by the Iraqis, is a key distribution center for this aid. Until we are sure these humanitarian supplies can actually get to those who need them, the plan cannot go forward, and the Iraqi Government will be denied the new resources it has been expecting.

Saddam Hussein's objectives may change, but his methods are always the same: violence and aggression against the Kurds, against other ethnic minorities, against Iraq's neighbors. Our answer to that recklessness must be strong and immediate, as President Bush demonstrated in Operation Desert Storm, as we showed 2 years ago when Iraq massed its forces on Kuwait's border, and as we showed again today.

We must make it clear that reckless acts have consequences, or those acts will increase. We must reduce Iraq's ability to strike out at its neighbors, and we must increase America's ability to contain Iraq over the long run. The steps we are taking today will further all those objectives. Time and again, Saddam Hussein has

made clear his disdain for civilized behavior. He brutalized his own people, attacked his neighbors, supported terrorism, and sought to acquire weapons of mass destruction. Our policy is equally clear: When our interest in the security of our friends and allies is threatened, we will act with force if necessary. That is what we did this morning in Iraq.

I know the thoughts and prayers of all Americans are with our military men and women who are conducting this mission. God bless them and the Nation they are serving.

Q. Mr. President, why do you think that only Britain is supporting our move? Why have the allies all retreated from any support?

The President. Well, I believe that—first of all, you have to ask them their position. But I believe that we have historically, at least in recent history, taken the lead in matters like this, and I think this was our responsibility at this time. I talked to quite a large number of our allies, and I am satisfied with their response. And I believe that we will be able to go forward with this mission, and I think others feel that at this time there may be, for their own domestic purposes, some limits on how much they can do.

But I think it's important to move now. We have not seen any withdrawal of Saddam's forces from the area, and we know that he has a history of seeing how far he can go, taking a little and then doing a little more, taking a little and doing a little more. So I can only tell you what I believe is right and that I have done my best to cooperate with others.

Q. Is this the end?

Q. Mr. President, he appears unbowed. He says that he's not going to recognize the no-fly zones anymore. He says that there has been only minimal damage to Iraqi assets, and that he urges his troops to resist strikes. Is this over, or is there going to have to be more?

The President. Well, as always with Saddam Hussein, it depends entirely on what he does, not on what he says but what he does. And we were trying to have very limited damage to human beings and trying to take an action which would show our resolve and would protect our planes as they fly in an expanded no-fly zone. That's why the targets were picked, to make it clear what we thought and to secure the safety of the planes that will be flying the expanded no-fly zone.

Q. Mr. President, at this stage do you see any other troop movements that alarm you?

The President. The present deployments and the things that we have seen in support of them convince me that at least he has maintained the potential to take further military action in the region. That is the problem. He said, "Well, we took our soldiers out of Irbil." That's true, but look where they are and look what they're doing. And the latest reports this morning are not encouraging.

So again, I will say to you, let's look and see what he does, and that is, I think, what should drive our actions. The words are not important; the actions are what matter.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:07 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Turkey-United States Tax Agreement

September 3, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Turkey for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income, together with a related Protocol, signed at Washington March 28, 1996. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Agreement.

This Agreement, which is similar to tax treaties between the United States and other OECD nations, provides maximum rates of tax to be applied to various types of income, protection from double taxation of income, exchange of information to prevent fiscal evasion, and stand-

ard rules to limit the benefits of the Agreement to persons that are not engaged in treaty shopping.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Agreement and related Protocol and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 3, 1996.

Remarks to the National Guard Association of the United States

September 3, 1996

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, that was a stunning example of Clinton's fourth law of politics, which is, whenever possible, be introduced by someone you have known all your life. They are prone to exaggerate. [*Laughter*]

Thank you, General Thrash and Rose, for being here and for your service to our Nation. Thank you, General Freeman, my present Adjutant General here in Washington, for escorting me in. Secretary West, General Alexander, Under Secretary Dorn, Assistant Secretary Lee, Lieutenant General Baca, thank you for your good work. General Philbin, Terry O'Connell, Senator Akaka, Representative Wicker. And I'd like to say a happy 73d birthday to Lieutenant General Vern Webber. Happy birthday, sir. Where are you? [*Applause*] On you, they look good, those years. They look good. Thank you.

Let me begin by thanking you for dedicating this conference to Congressman Sonny Montgomery. Long before I ever entered public life, I knew about Sonny Montgomery because he represented my neighboring State of Mississippi and because one of my best friend's father served with him many years ago and was a close friend of his—in the military, not the Congress, served with him. In all of his long career, he has stood up for many worthy causes. I suppose he'll be remembered most as being the author of the Montgomery GI bill and as being the best friend the National Guard ever had.

I might say that in this political season when I have said I hope that we can change the direction of the last several years and make this contest one of ideas and not insults, Sonny Montgomery has led an entire distinguished political career able to disagree with people while still being their friends, able to be forthright in what he believed in without demeaning those who disagreed with him. And I will always honor him for that, as well.

Ladies and gentlemen, we come here by pure coincidence at a moment when once again our Nation's military has shown its extraordinary skill and professionalism in a difficult mission in Iraq.

Three days ago, despite clear warnings from the United States and the international community, Saddam Hussein's forces attacked and seized the Kurdish controlled city of Irbil in northern Iraq. This act is part of a broad pattern of violence and recklessness by Saddam against the Kurds, against other ethnic minorities, against Iraq's neighbors. These actions have threatened the stability of the entire region for some years now.

This morning I ordered America's Armed Forces to strike Iraq, extending the no-fly zone and destroying Iraqi missile defenses in the south to make sure we could safely extend the no-fly zone.

I want to reaffirm to you what I said to all the American people early this morning: Our objectives there are limited, but our interests are clear, to demonstrate once again that reckless acts have consequences, to reduce Saddam's ability to strike out again at his neighbors, to increase America's ability to prevent future acts of violence and aggression. These steps are being taken to further all of these objectives and the policy of containing Iraq that I have pursued for 4 years now, and it was developed before me under President Bush.

We know that if we do not pursue this policy, we might once again be called upon to do more, as we had to do more in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. We do not want that to happen. And therefore, I did what I did today. I hope you will support the decision of the United States.

For the last 5 years and clearly again over the last week, I have had the opportunity to say to the American people that my vision for our country as we stand on the edge of the 21st century is simple but profound. I want us to build a bridge to that century that will keep the American dream alive for every single person responsible enough to work for it. I want this country to come together across all of our divisions and not be torn apart, as so many other nations are today. And I want America to maintain its role as the strongest force for peace and freedom, for security and prosperity in the entire world, well into the 21st century, into the indefinite future. That is good for us; it is also good for the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

More than anything else, I come here tonight to express the gratitude of our Nation to the men and women of the National Guard for all you have done to help our Nation build that bridge as the strongest force for peace and freedom, security, and prosperity.

Four years ago, when I spoke to you in Utah, I said that one of my proudest duties as Governor was to command the Arkansas National Guard. As Commander in Chief of all of our Nation's Armed Forces now, that pride has grown even stronger in all the men and women who make up our total force, from every service branch of the military, those on active duty, and yes, definitely those in the Guard and the Reserves.

Today America's gratitude to the Guard should be greater than ever, for not a day has passed this summer that we could not have looked behind the headlines of the moment to find the Guard hard at work. From enforcing the peace in Bosnia to mounting an emergency response to Hurricane Bertha in the southeast and the Virgin Islands, from building roads in Panama to the difficult and heroic work after the TWA 800 tragedy, the Guard has been on the job.

During the centennial Olympics, the greatest in the modern history of the Olympics, the Guard was there, 11,000 members from 43 States in one of the largest domestic missions ever. Of course, all of us remember the great performances of Michael Johnson, Kerri Strug, and so many others. But the unsung performance of the National Guard upholding a tradition of service stretching back 360 years enabled America to put its best foot forward. And it, too, deserved a gold medal.

I have seen for myself in Bosnia and Haiti, as we know from Somalia and the Gulf war, the Guard has been an essential part of our military success. That is why last month I signed an Executive order authorizing the award of a Bronze M to all Guard and Reserve members who serve in support of these operations. Last Thursday, Secretary Perry awarded the first 14 of these well-deserved recognitions.

I understand that there are two of the Guard recipients who are here tonight who have received this medal—Captain Drew Sullins and Sergeant First Class Susan Hurley. If they're here, I'd like to ask them to stand and be recognized. Thank you very much. [*Applause*]

Now, there are—thank you—I am sure there are others in this room who are eligible for this decoration and who will get it. So if you're here, I'd like to ask you to stand and be recognized. Please, all of you who served, please stand up. Thank you very much. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I know something I suspect most Americans don't know and that is that service in the Guard also entails real sacrifice. Since I spoke with you just 4 years ago, more than 200 Army and Air Guard members have died in operational missions and training, including the pilot of the Pennsylvania Air Guard A–10 that crashed near here on the Eastern Shore just a few weeks ago. We owe all of them and their families a debt of gratitude we can never repay.

To honor their memory and the memory of all those who have sacrificed, we must continue to build America strong and secure in the 21st century, to deepen our alliances, to reduce even further the dangers of weapons of mass destruction, to adapt our Armed Forces for the changing times and new missions, to stand strong against terrorism.

Four years ago when I met with you I said that as we reduced our forces in the wake of the cold war, a strong role for the National Guard and the Reserve made more sense, not less. And we kept that promise. We kept that promise. It began with the 1993 Bottom Up Review initiated by the man who introduced me to you 4 years ago as the then-chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and my first Secretary of Defense, the late Les Aspin. And I thank him for his work there.

We have kept that promise in the important Guard-Reserve Offsite Agreement. Our use of Reserve components has been one of the secrets of our success. As we decreased the number of our forces but increased their readiness, capabilities, and technological edge, we carried through on our pledge to retain the combat role of the Guard. And I reaffirm I will not let the Guard become a backup force of last resort.

Of course, you and I know we all have to work to adapt the Guard for the national security demands of the 21st century. I want to thank the National Guard Bureau, the Adjutants General, Secretary West, the leadership of our active Army for their innovative proposal to redesign the role of the eight Guard divisions, to support our national security strategy and the total force policy, while always protecting the Guard's historic character and tradition.

I'm pleased to announce that I will request the first funding for this redesigned plan in the defense budget to be submitted next February—that is, if I get my contract renewed. [*Laughter*] But I think it's important.

You have kept your commitment to America. And so long as I am President, I will do everything I can to make sure America keeps its commitment to you. Our military readiness is at an historic high. We've increased our original defense spending plans three times in 3 years, adding back almost $50 billion to ensure that we have the equipment, the training, the quality of life our troops deserve. We're equipping our forces with the newest technology, including the F–22 and the F/A–18E/F fighters, the V–22 Osprey, and the Crusader artillery system. My defense budget increases our funding for weapons modernization 40 percent by the year 2000. Our Armed Forces have won wars of the past. They may be called upon to win them in the future, and if they are, they must be able to win.

Keeping faith with our men and women in uniform entails more than just giving them the means to prevail in battle. It also means providing for the quality of life they deserve. We've set aside funds to ensure that military personnel receive the highest pay raises allowed by law through 2001. I fought against a proposal that would have cut military retirement pay. We increased housing allowances and expanded programs to support military families who sacrifice for our Nation, just like their loved ones in uniform.

I should emphasize here that I have been especially moved by the extra burden on families caused by extra deployments as we have downsized the military. And I know that all of you feel for the families of our full-time service personnel when they go off on those long missions. They deserve all of the support we can give them. And I am proud of the fact that the United States military in all of its aspects has been as strongly pro-family as it has been. But we have to keep working on this because the families should not break apart under the strain of people doing their duty to the United States of America. We must continue to support them.

I'm also pleased that 2 years ago I was able to sign legislation to strengthen your right to return to your civilian job after serving our Nation without losing seniority, status, or pay. That is also very important.

As we move into this new era, you know as well as I do that we confront a web of new threats that know no boundaries, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, ethnic rivalries, religious rivalries that quickly descend into murder and can spill across national borders. Tonight I'd like to talk about two of them in particular, drug trafficking and terrorism. Here, too, our Armed Forces are on the job, especially the National Guard.

I was very proud to appoint General Barry McCaffrey, a hero of the Vietnam and Gulf wars who led our military antidrug efforts in South America, to coordinate our Nation's battle against drugs. We have seen to it that the military plays a vital role in this fight. And I'm proud that, as General McCaffrey said to me, and I quote, "The Guard is crucial to our campaign to stop drugs from coming into our country and to keep our young people from using them."

I ask anyone to consider these facts. Last year, the National Guard assisted law enforcement officials in seizing hundreds of tons of drugs that resulted in more than 90,000 arrests. Guard aircraft flew more than 35,000 hours in support of antidrug missions. Guard members are manning radar systems at remote sites in the Andes essential for cutting the flow of drugs from that region. And more than 60,000 volunteers in Guard programs are working with almost 6 million at-risk youth.

You've come a long way, General, since you started that program, all of you. God bless you. We need more of it. And I thank you.

Just today, we announced that the Navy and the Coast Guard recently seized 8,000 pounds of cocaine on a Honduran fishing boat headed for America. That's one of the largest drug busts in history. Our military helps confiscate more than 100 tons of cocaine every year, cocaine otherwise that would be poisoning our communities and our children.

We're working to hit the drug suppliers just as hard as we can. We've helped to bust up the Cali and Gulf cartels in Latin America, cracked down on the ring led by the Burmese drug lord Khun Sa in Asia, denied assistance to countries such as Colombia that failed to cooperate with our counternarcotics efforts.

In 1994, the crime bill, which was passed amid bitter partisan rancor, not only put 100,000 new police on the street and provided for banning 19 assault weapons, it also provided for the death penalty for drug lords. Congress has consistently—[*applause*]—thank you. Congress has consistently supported these programs, but has provided funding at levels less than we requested, particularly for the Department of Defense's counterdrug programs.

We still have the biggest antidrug budget ever, and that's allowed us to do a lot of things like increase border patrols along the southwest border. The Customs and the Guard working together increased drug seizures from commercial cargo 125 percent in 1995. That's the good news.

It still is painful for me that for all we are doing and in spite of the fact that drug use among young adults is going down, drug use among children, juveniles, people under 18, is still going up. No one quite knows why this is true. It is also happening in Canada and many European countries. It appears that every few years a group of young people come along and once again decide that they aren't dangerous, or if they are dangerous, somehow they can evade the risks because, after all, they're young and they're going to live forever.

And that brings me back to the other issue that you work so hard on, your work with at-risk children. It is obvious that every single one of us who care about this is going to have to work even harder to educate our children about the dangers drugs pose. We have to do that. We have dramatically increased the safe and drug-free schools program. It's now reaching 40 million students in 97 percent of our districts. We have now established drug courts across the country because they've proved effective in breaking the cycles of drugs and crime. We are fighting against any attempts to cut back on the safe and drug-free schools program. We are working to pass legislation that would require States to test parolees for drugs and send them back to prison if they get back on drugs.

But we have to stop this from happening in the first place. Your programs for at-risk kids—think what it means to a child who has never had a positive role model to see someone in a uniform who looks like them, who comes from humble beginnings, who has made something of his or her life, saying "There is a future out there for you. This stuff can kill you. It is not just illegal, it is not just wrong, it can kill you. It can kill you in a hurry, depending on what drug it is, or it can just rob you of your ability to concentrate over the long run, or rob you, if you're a young woman, rob you of your ability to have healthy children. They're all terribly dangerous." You can have a big input on that.

And so I hope that when we meet again we'll be able to say that the Guard has helped not 6 million at-risk kids but several million more than that. I know you have lots to do, but this country's children need you. And they will respond to you.

I'd like to say just a word about terrorism. And I'd like to point out that, kind of like the narcotics trade, in an ironic and painful way, many of the things we love about this new post-cold-war global society of ours make us more vulnerable to the things we hate. We like it that we can travel around the world with such great ease. We like it that all borders are more open. We like it that we can transfer information, ideas, technology, and money across the globe virtually instantaneously.

But the more open our society, the more vulnerable we are to the organized forces of destruction. And that is why I have said repeatedly, finding a way to deal with terrorism, terrorism from which no one is immune—as you saw it from the attack in the subway in Tokyo, you've seen it in Great Britain, you've seen it on the continent of Europe, you've seen it in Atlanta, you've seen it in Oklahoma City, you saw it at the World Trade Center, and you hear about it and it sends chills up and down your spine

when you discover the things that were planned that have been avoided by the diligence of our law enforcement officials. We have got to continue to work on this. We have got to continue to combat terrorists wherever they are. And I believe that we must continue to try to convince others to do the same thing.

We have followed a three-prong strategy:

First, to rally our friends and allies around the world against terror. We did that at the G–7 meeting in France last summer and at the Summit of the Peacemakers at Sharm al-Sheikh in Egypt, where, for the first time, Arab states, a large number of them, condemned terrorism in Israel or wherever it occurred in the Middle East. We are increasing the isolation of those who sponsor terrorism by maintaining and strengthening our sanctions against Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Sudan.

Second, here at home, we're working hard to give law enforcement the tools they need to combat modern terrorism, through the antiterrorism bill that we pushed through Congress after Oklahoma City, and with new legislation to help us stop money laundering and tighten our borders against terrorists.

Third, we're working very hard to increase our security at airports and on airplanes, doing more hand searches and machine screening of luggage, requiring preflight inspection for every plane flying to or from the United States, examining all standard aviation security practices so that we can make further changes to increase security.

I might say since most of you probably flew into Washington to attend this meeting, you may have noticed some delay in air travel. I hope you didn't but if you did, it's worth that to make all Americans safer when they board airplanes and others when they come to our country.

This will be a long, hard struggle. It will require discipline, concentration, flexibility, the ability to learn and continuously change. But the most important thing it will require is the same level of will that the American people and the American Armed Forces brought to bear in all of our armed conflicts and through the long twilight struggle of the cold war. We have to understand that this may well be the 21st century's curse. And we know that as long as human nature is what it is, there will be some amount of misconduct in this old world, some amount of wrongdoing and some amount of downright evil. And as long as that's around, the United States will be a target, and the United States must take the lead in stamping it out and standing against it.

Let me say in closing, I have seen enormous numbers of Americans face to face in the last 10 days because of the events that you know well. I expect I've looked into the faces of right around a half a million people, riding on the train and on the bus, going to the big meetings and passing through the small towns early in the morning and late at night.

This is a very great country because the citizens of this country are good people. And most of our citizens just want to live good, decent, honorable lives, have work that has dignity, raise the children the best they can, enjoy their places of worship and their associations with their friends and neighbors and their family. You have made that possible through your dedication. You who are willing to defend our Nation make it possible for all those little kids to stand out along the side of the road or railroad tracks and wave the American flag and know, even before they're old enough to explain it, that it really means something special to be an American.

About 200 years ago, when our Nation stood at the dawn of the 19th century, John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia, one of the great congressional leaders of his time, said it best. Randolph was a great supporter of the militias, out of which this organization grew. He knew the power of the love of liberty. On the floor of the House in January of 1800, John Randolph said, "When citizen and soldier shall be synonymous, then you will be safe."

It was true then, it is true now, and you have made it true. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:59 p.m. in the ballroom at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Melvin C. Thrash, Arkansas adjutant general, and his wife, Rose; Richard C. Alexander, president, Edward J. Philbin, executive director, and LaVern E. Webber, former executive director, National Guard Association of the United States; Lt. Gen. Edward Baca, USA, chief, National Guard Bureau; and Terrence M. O'Connell, chairman, Reserve Forces Policy Board. The Executive order of August 6 on the Armed Forces Reserve Medal is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks on the Missile Strikes on Iraq and an Exchange With Reporters
September 4, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. I am pleased to report that according to the information I have received from Secretary Perry today, the air strikes, the missile strikes that were conducted over the last 2 days have been successful. The targets were either destroyed or sufficiently damaged so that we can say that our mission has been achieved. That made it possible for us to implement the expanded no-fly zone today. And I want to commend the military once again for the exceptional job they have done in carrying out this mission.

Now, what has happened is that this has changed the strategic situation, particularly in the southern part of Iraq, which Saddam used as a staging ground for his invasion of Kuwait and then in 1994 for the massing of his troops near the Kuwaiti border. He is strategically worse off than he was before these strikes began, and I am satisfied that this was an appropriate measured response.

Obviously, we can't predict entirely what Saddam Hussein will do, but now he knows that there is a price to be paid for stepping over the line that the United Nations resolutions imposed.

The Vice President and I are about to start our weekly lunch, and we'll be discussing this further, but I did want to make this report. I'm very pleased by the results this morning that we have.

Q. Mr. President, there are reports of explosions in Baghdad. Are you aware of anything going on, or——

The President. I have received the reports of the explosions; I do not know anything about them. I can tell you that they are not the product of any action that we have taken.

Q. Are you disappointed, Mr. President, with the lack of public support from the former coalition partners, and does that mean that the coalition is dead?

The President. I don't think it's dead; I think quite to the contrary. We have received good support from the British. The Prime Minister of Canada called me last night. The German Chancellor issued a strong statement. I think that our Arab partners clearly understand what we were doing and what the risks are, and we're still flying the no-fly zone out of bases in Saudi Arabia. So I think things are on track, and I feel good about it.

This was an action that I thought we had to take. It was a measured, strong, appropriate action, and I believe we did the right thing.

Q. Mr. President, after twin missile strikes yesterday, there were two challenges today by Saddam's forces against the United States. Does this raise questions about whether you've really knocked out his ability to hit American planes or allied planes?

The President. There was a fixing on one of our planes that occurred from a site north of the 33d parallel, but it does not. We believe we can fly this expanded no-fly zone now. It gives us an attempt to measure—or it gives us the capacity to measure what he's doing all the way up to the southern suburbs of Baghdad. So I think we're in good shape there.

Now, we will do whatever we have to do in the future to protect our pilots and to protect their ability to fly the no-fly zone in safety. We will do whatever we have to do. But I'm satisfied that this mission has achieved the objectives we set out for it. And our defense advisers, from the Secretary of Defense to General Shalikashvili to our commander in the area, all believe that we did what was necessary, and they feel good about where we are now.

Q. Has the situation in northern Iraq changed, though? That's the key question, isn't it?

The President. No. The key question is—well, first of all, the situation in northern Iraq seems to have changed. There has been a withdrawal of the forces, a dispersal of the forces. But it's too soon to say that this is permanent or that further action will not be taken.

What we have done is to show that we are prepared to change the strategic realities that Saddam Hussein faces if he violates the United Nations prohibitions on either threatening his neighbors or repressing his own people. And I believe that we did the right thing. I think we had the right response, and I think it will have good results. If it doesn't, we'll take the facts as they come.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:41 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, prior to a meeting with the Vice President. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the Meeting Between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority

September 4, 1996

I welcome the meeting today between Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and PLO Chairman Arafat. The meeting between the two leaders is a very important step in developing an Israeli-Palestinian partnership so essential to implementation of their agreements. Indeed, it reflects their continuing commitment to resolving their differences through negotiations and to securing a lasting peace.

I look forward to meeting with Prime Minister Netanyahu next Monday to review progress and discuss developments in the region.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Austria-United States Tax Convention

September 4, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the Convention Between the United States of America and the Republic of Austria for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income, signed at Vienna May 31, 1996. Enclosed is an exchange of notes with an attached Memorandum of Understanding, which provides clarification with respect to the application of the Convention in specified cases. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

This Convention, which is similar to tax treaties between the United States and other OECD nations, provides maximum rates of tax to be applied to various types of income and protection from double taxation of income. The Convention also provides for exchange of information to prevent fiscal evasion and sets forth standard rules to limit the benefits of the Convention to persons that are not engaged in treaty shopping.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 4, 1996.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Luxembourg-United States Tax Convention

September 4, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification the Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg for the Avoidance of Double Tax-

ation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income and Capital, signed at Luxembourg April 3, 1996. Accompanying the Convention is a related exchange of notes providing clarification with respect to the application of the Convention in specified cases. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Convention.

This Convention, which is similar to tax treaties between the United States and other OECD nations, provides maximum rates of tax to be applied to various types of income and protection from double taxation of income. The Convention also provides for exchange of information to prevent fiscal evasion and sets forth standard rules to limit the benefits of the Convention to persons that are not engaged in treaty shopping.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Convention and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 4, 1996.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Indonesia-United States Tax Protocol

September 4, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification a Protocol, signed at Jakarta July 24, 1996, Amending the Convention Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income, with a Related Protocol and Exchange of Notes Signed at Jakarta on the 11th Day of July, 1988. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to the Protocol.

This Protocol reduces the rates of tax to be applied to various types of income earned by U.S. firms operating in Indonesia.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to this Protocol and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 4, 1996.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Emigration Policies of Mongolia

September 4, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby transmit a report concerning emigration laws and policies of Mongolia as required by subsections 402(b) and 409(b) of title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended ("the Act"). I have determined that Mongolia is in full compliance with the criteria in subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Act. As required by title IV, I will provide the Congress with periodic reports regarding Mongolia's compliance with these emigration standards.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 4, 1996.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 5. The related memorandum of September 4 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks in Tampa, Florida
September 5, 1996

Thank you. Good morning. I want to say to all of you how very glad I am to be here. I want to thank the Big Red Marching Band and the Brotherhood who performed earlier; thank you very much. Mr. Bell and Erica, thank you for your remarks, thank you for your introduction. To the chair of your school board, Doris Reddick, and Dr. Lennard, your superintendent; Governor Chiles; Lieutenant Governor MacKay; Congressman Sam Gibbons; Mayor Greco; and city councilman Bob Buckhorn; most of all to the students here.

You know, I had originally planned to come earlier. It was hot then—[*laughter*]—but Hurricane Bertha had other plans, and I decided and so did our emergency people that we didn't need the President in Florida messing up the preparations for the hurricane. Thank goodness it wasn't as bad as we had feared.

Today a lot of you may know there is another hurricane threatening the southeast, but not Florida. Hurricane Fran is about to deliver what could be a powerful punch in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, and I want all of you to be thinking about them today. Our FEMA Director, James Lee Witt, is there working with them, and we are getting ready for that hurricane, and we hope it won't be bad. But if it is, we'll do our best to be ready.

Let me say, I wanted to come here to this high school, where you have so much growth and so much energy, first to say congratulations to the mayor, the school system, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, and everybody else who passed that issue, that referendum yesterday to improve the schools, improve the law enforcement, and save the football team.

I came here because I want America to see all of you tonight. I want America to see all of you tonight because you are our future and because unless we give the young people of this country the best educational system in the world, you will not have the opportunities you deserve as we move into the 21st century. And I know you believe that, too, and I want you to support me in trying to build a bridge to the 21st century, where every child in America has the best educational opportunities in the world.

For the last 4 years, we've worked hard to improve education, to increase the number of our young people in Head Start, to give schools more opportunities to stay open late if the kids needed to be somewhere besides the street, to give schools more flexibility to set high standards and creative ways to meet them, and to lower the costs of college loans so that no one ever need stay away from college because of the burden of repaying them. We now have 50,000 young people—I see one sign back there—50,000 young people serving their communities, solving problems, and earning money for college through the AmeriCorps program, and I'm proud of that, and thank you for being back there.

But I want to be President for 4 more years because there are some other things we need to do in education. First of all, 40 percent of the young people in this country cannot read on their own by the third grade, but 100 percent should be able to be. I have a program to put 30,000 more tutors out there, use AmeriCorps volunteers, use young people on work study, get a million volunteers and make sure every 8-year-old in America can read a book on his or her own by the year 2000. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Secondly, I want to make sure that every classroom and library in the entire United States of America and every school is hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000. Now, let me tell you what this really means. This means that for the first time in this history of America, every child, without regard to their ethnic background, without regard to their income, kids in the poorest city neighborhoods, in the remote mountain villages in America, for the first time in the history of the country, when we hook up every classroom to the Internet with adequate computers and properly trained teachers, for the first time, all of our children will have access to the same learning, the same information in the same time. I think all American children deserve that. Don't you? Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

The third thing that I want to say is, I want to help everybody do what you're trying to do, which is to modernize, rehabilitate, rebuild, and build new school buildings. We cannot expect young people to learn if they do not have adequate facilities. And for the first time in the history of this country, I have proposed a program where the United States Government will help communities who are willing to make an extra effort themselves to do more to provide facilities for their young people that are decent and clean and healthy and wholesome and conducive to good learning. And I think we want every young person in this country to be in that kind of school. Don't you? [*Applause*]

Finally, let me say that I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which every single young person in America who wants to do it can go to college. I want to make a community college education, 2 years of education after high school, just as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And I propose to give every family a tax credit, dollar for dollar, for the cost of college tuition in the typical community college in America so that everybody will go to a community college. Will you help me get that done? [*Applause*]

And for everyone who goes on to more college, to 4 years of college or graduate school, I believe there ought to be a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of college tuition for every year anybody is in education.

If we do that, in 4 years we can have a country where every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can hook into the Internet, and every 18-year-old can go to college. And we'll be well on our way to doing our job for you, creating an America where there is opportunity for everybody, without regard to their gender, their race, their ethnic background, where they start from economically, an America where we're growing together, not being divided, because that's also an important function of education: to teach us to live together across our differences.

Half the world is being torn up by racial, ethnic, and religious differences. In America we have people from everywhere, and I'm proud of that. Look around this audience today. Aren't you proud to live in a country which is not defined by race or religion but instead by our devotion to freedom? [*Applause*]

So that's what I came to say. A big part of building a bridge to the 21st century is building a bridge big enough to give every single boy and girl in America the chance to live up to their God-given abilities. That is an important part of building the future you deserve. I am committed to it, and I want you to be committed to it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:28 a.m. on the football field at Hillsborough High School. In his remarks, he referred to Coleman Bell, principal, and Erica Allen, student, Hillsborough High School; Earl Lennard, superintendent, Hillsborough County School District; Gov. Lawton Chiles and Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida; and Mayor Dick Greco of Tampa.

Remarks in Sunrise, Florida
September 5, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you so much. I tell you, I just hope you're having as good a time as I am this afternoon. Thank you. Thank you for making me feel so welcome. Thank you, Congressman Deutsch, for your remarks today and for being a steadfast ally for the people of Florida and for our administration the last 2 years. Thank you, Governor Lawton Chiles, for your lifetime of service to the people of Florida and the people of the United States and for your brilliant service as Governor.

I'm delighted to be here with your attorney general, Bob Butterworth; your State insurance commissioner, Bill Nelson; State Senator Ken Jenne; State Senator Peter Weinstein; Mayor Effman of Sunrise; Mayor Graham of West Palm Beach; Gloria Jackson, the chair of the Broward County Democratic Party; Sheriff Ron Cochran. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks to my friend Gerry McEntee, back here, the president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and a great

supporter of Medicare. And I'd like to thank the Boyles who own the theater here for welcoming us. But most of all I'd like to thank Sallie and her mother, her daughter, and her granddaughter. Didn't she do a good job? Let's give her another hand. I thought she was great. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Today I want to talk to you about how all of us, regardless of our ages, grandchildren, children, parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, great-grandchildren—how we can move forward together to build that bridge to the 21st century I talked about in Chicago last Thursday night.

I especially want to talk a little more about health security because I know that one of the keys to enabling our families to succeed at home and at work is finding a way for hard-working people to have that health security, to provide the best possible care for people. And I'd like to talk a little bit about those who get their care from specific health care plans that have certain requirements and standards that may lower the costs but may also raise some questions.

You know, we have had a remarkable week and a half. I took that train from West Virginia to the convention in Chicago, and I stopped along the way in places that hadn't seen a passenger train in a long time, and there were thousands and tens of thousands of people all along the route. It was terribly moving.

And then, of course, we had a good convention. And then Hillary and I and Al and Tipper Gore set out on our bus tour, and we made another five States. And I figure we saw in our talks about a quarter of a million people, and another 200,000 just along the road and the rails. I never saw so many crowds, people coming out, believing in America again, knowing that we're on the track, knowing that we're on the right track and the right road to the 21st century. And it was very moving.

Thanks to the support I have received from others in the Congress and in the administration, we have worked very hard to move this country forward. And compared to 4 years ago, we have 10 million more jobs, almost 4½ million more homeowners, another 10 million homeowners who refinanced their mortgages at lower mortgage rates. Wages are going up for the first time in a decade. We've had record numbers of new businesses in each of the last 4 years, and businesses are growing now, coming into existence at the fastest rate since John Kennedy was President. We have record—[*applause*]—we're selling more of our products around the world than ever before. The combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages are the lowest in 28 years. I am proud of these things, and you should be too, as Americans.

For 4 years in a row, the crime rate has gone down. In Tampa, the crime rate fell 20 percent in 1995, just for example. I just came from there, so I asked for the numbers on Tampa, and I thought it was an amazing drop. There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took office. In Florida, there are over 135,000 fewer on welfare in the State of Florida alone. Child support collections are up 40 percent in the Nation—in Florida—thank you, Governor Chiles—they're up 48 percent in the last 4 years.

Just about 2 weeks ago, maybe 3 now—time has been flying the last few days—I signed a minimum wage bill which raised the minimum wage for 10 million hard-working Americans. It also made the employees and the owners of small businesses all across America—made it easier for them to take out retirement plans and to keep those retirement plans when they move from job to job.

Most of our new jobs are being created in small businesses. More and more businesses are coming into existence, going out of existence in this new, dynamic economy. We have to make it possible for people to save for their retirement even if they're in small businesses and even if they change jobs a lot of times. And I'm proud of the fact that we've got legislation now which will make that much, much easier and safer.

Another interesting provision that Governor Chiles and I were talking about with his daughter up in Tampa that was in the minimum wage bill is that we provided a $5,000 tax credit to people who will adopt children. There are tens of thousands of children out there who need a home, and I hope this will help more of them find it.

In late 1994—there's one other thing I want to mention here that was done that didn't achieve a lot of notice because it was a part of a big trade bill. But we passed a provision to strengthen the protection for pensions that protected the integrity of 40 million Americans' pension, people already retired and people saving for their retirement, to make sure that these funds are not raided.

And one of the things that I vetoed in that budget that Congressman Deutsch talked about, in addition to the cuts in Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment, was a provision which would have allowed $15 billion to be taken out of existing pension funds and put to other purposes. And I thought that was wrong. I think we ought to keep the integrity of our pensions systems in this country.

And let me say to a lot of you who may have grown up in an earlier time when we thought more about balancing our books except when there was an emergency, I'm very proud of the fact that our administration is the first administration since the 1840's, before the Civil War, to have the deficit go down in each of the 4 years of its term. It's been cut by 60 percent.

So compared to 4 years ago, we're in better shape. But as I said last week and I say again, there are many things we need to do to build a bridge to the 21st century that keeps the American dream alive for all of us, that enables people to succeed in their family lives and at work, that brings us together across all the lines that divide us, that keeps us the strongest country in the world for peace, freedom, and prosperity.

Earlier today when I was in Tampa, I had a chance to go to a wonderful high school and speak to over 2,000 students there about our goals for education in the next 4 years. I want to mobilize an army of reading tutors so that instead of having 40 percent of our 8-year-olds who cannot read on their own, in 4 years every single 8-year-old will be able to read a book on his or her own.

I want to make sure that every young child in America in school, without regard to their race, their income, where they have to live, from the poorest urban school districts to the most remote mountain school districts, will for the first time in the history of America have access to the same information in the same time, the same quality, as the children in the wealthiest districts do, by hooking all the classrooms up to the Internet, to the information superhighway, with adequate computers and trained teachers. We can do it for the first time in history.

And I want to make sure that we put a college education within reach of every family. In the last 4 years, we have worked hard to increase scholarship funds for needy students. We have worked hard to reform the student loan program so that now it works faster and costs less than ever before.

I remember Governor Chiles and the legislative leaders invited me to speak to the Florida Legislature up in Tallahassee. I had a very moving experience with a young couple there who had both graduated from medical school and who were doing their residency. And you know doctors don't make any money when they're residents, and they owed well over $100,000 on their education. And because we had changed the law which said that young people could pay back their loans as a percentage of their income and never be required to pay back more than that in any given year, these young people were able to avoid literally having half of their income go to their college loan repayment, and they wouldn't have had enough left to live on. We should never have anyone drop out of any level of education because of that burden. And I want to do more.

A lot of you can empathize with this: It's no longer possible for people to say they're through with education when they graduate from college. And now we know when people graduate from high school, chances are better than 50–50 they will not be able to find a job with a growing income. So what I want to do in the next 4 years, within 4 years, is to make 2 more years of education, the equivalent of at least a community college degree, just as universal as a high school diploma is today by giving a tax credit for the price of the tuition to the families of this country, so we can pay for it dollar for dollar through tax cuts, and everybody can at least get a community college education. I think that's very important.

I'm well aware that the largest community college in the United States is not very far from here. But nearly every American—nearly every American—is within driving distance of a community college. And more and more, the people you see at our community colleges are older students, non-traditional students. The average age at a lot of our community colleges is bumping 30 now. And they have people in their fifties there and their sixties there, people who have lost their jobs and have to go back and get new education and training.

So I say to you we ought to have that tax credit for the cost of a typical tuition at a community college. And I believe we should have a tax deduction worth up to $10,000 a year

for any tuition cost at any post-high school education in the country to help people educate themselves. It will make our country stronger.

So I hope you'll help me build that bridge to the future for the younger part of the families that are here. But we also have to keep this economy going strong. You know, whenever we argue about, well, how are we going to pay for Medicare or Medicaid or Social Security or whatever part of it, always assume certain things about the strength of the American economy: what will the unemployment rate be, what will the incomes be, what will the growth be. We have to keep this economy going strong, and we can grow it even faster. But if we're going to do that, we have to keep investing in the things that make us strong, like education, research, environmental technology, and we have to keep bringing this deficit down.

Every time I leave Washington for the last 4 months, some expert has said, "Now, Mr. President, don't go down there and talk about the deficit. People really cared about the deficit when the economy was bad, but nobody really understands it very well, and so they don't care about it once the economy gets better. It's boring to them. Don't talk to them about that." Well, I don't believe that. I think you do care about whether your country is spending itself into debt.

Let me just briefly say why everyone should care about it. Because as our Republican friends said last year—they put out a paper on this, not me, but I agree with them—they said if we were not on a plan to a balanced budget, if we went back to permanent high deficit spending the way we did in the 12 years before I came here, interest rates would go up 2 percent. Why? Because the Government would be borrowing money and you would be borrowing money, and we would both be trying to borrow the same money so the price would go up.

Now, what that means is 2 percent on a home mortgage, on a car payment, on a credit card payment every month. It means 2 percent more for business borrowing, which undermines the ability of businesses to borrow money and invest, to be more productive, to give their workers raises and hire more people. It's harder to borrow money to start a new business.

This is a big deal, folks. We have got to keep this economy growing and going strong. And every tax cut I talked about is paid for, dime by dime, line by line. We don't want to go back to the old days where someone says, "Hey, I'm running for office, and I'll give you a big tax cut. No, I can't pay for it, and yes, it will increase the deficit, and oh, by the way, I'll have to cut Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment even more than last time." That's what their proposal is, this across-the-board thing.

Don't go for that. We went down that road before. We would have a surplus in the budget today and could have a bigger tax cut or extend the life of Medicare with no sweat for another several years, a surplus today if it weren't for the interest we're paying on the debt run up in just the 12 years before I became the President. We don't want to make that mistake again. We dare not make that mistake again, and I don't think you want to make that mistake again.

Every time I come to Florida, someone talks to me about personal security. I'm proud of the fact that the crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. I want it to keep coming down. And that means we have to finish the work of putting 100,000 police on the street. It means we ought to pass a law that expands the Brady bill, which now covers anybody who has been convicted of a felon or is a fugitive or stalker—cannot get a handgun. I think that should extend to anyone who has beaten up a child or a spouse at home. I don't believe people who are involved in domestic violence should do that.

And I believe that we should ban those terrible cop-killer bullets. They have no purpose other than to shoot police officers. If the police officers are willing to protect us, we ought to be willing to protect them. It's a simple thing, and it has nothing to do with hunting or sporting.

I believe that we have to build a bridge to the 21st century that works on building even stronger families. That's why I've said that the family leave law that I signed, the first bill I signed, has made it possible for 12 million American families, intergenerationally, just like these fine women up here—12 million families, where someone in the family could take some time off without losing their jobs for the birth of a baby or the illness of a parent. It's been a great thing for America, and it has not hurt the economy. And I would like to see it extended in a narrow way to say you can also take a little time off to take your child to the parent-teacher conference at school or your par-

ent to a regular doctor's appointment as well, in case there are serious problems that can't be dealt with.

I want to see us stand up for the environment and prove we can grow the economy and protect the environment more in the 21st century. You know, I talked about this the other night, but I want to say it again. It's appalling to me—it's appalling to me that we still have 10 million American children living within 4 miles of toxic waste sites. Now, we've cleaned up more of those in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. But we're not doing enough; we have to do more. And so I propose just in the next 4 years to clean up 500 more, the two-thirds worst of those sites, so that we can say that our children are going to grow up next to parks, not poison. And I hope you'll help me with that.

And here in Florida, I can say I'm very proud of the fact that in the first 4 years we saved national parks from the ill-advised scheme to sell some of them off. We negotiated an end to a proposed gold mine at Yellowstone National Park, the crown jewel of America's whole natural history. We created the largest national park south of Alaska in the Mojave Desert in California. And I hope in the next 4 years we will complete the work of saving the Florida Everglades. And I hope you will help us do that. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Now, let's talk about health care. There are few issues that tie people together as closely as health care—all across the ages. The other night when the First Lady spoke at the Democratic Convention and said that we strongly supported a bill that says that you cannot kick a mother and her newborn child out of a hospital sooner than 48 hours, I believe that the grandmothers and the great-grandmothers and the great-grandfathers and the grandfathers were among those cheering the loudest in America. Of course these hospitals have to save money. Of course we want to cut unnecessary costs. Of course some people are healthy and fine, and there's no problem. But it ought to be a decision that the doctor can make based on what is best for the mother and the baby, and people should not be put on the street if they're not ready.

When we launched a remarkable effort to dramatically increase the rate of immunizations of children up to the age of 2 so that more of them would live and live healthy lives, I think the grandparents were among those who cared the most about it. And when I was saying, look, we don't want to balance the budget in a way that not only cuts too much out of Medicare and Medicaid but fundamentally changes the system, that was as big a problem—that creates a two-tier system of Medicare where if you happen to be older or poorer or sicker at the time the changes are made, the chances of your falling into second-class health care are overwhelming; or that changes the whole system under Medicaid so that there is no longer a guarantee for people who have middle class lifestyles to get some help for their parents in nursing homes; or people who have middle class lifestyles who have children with disabilities to get some help with those children so they can keep them at home and still keep their jobs and not go broke—I don't believe that's an age-specific area. I think that we all care about that.

On the other hand, I don't agree that you can't do anything to try to save money in these programs to save them. Everybody wants us to save Medicare. Everybody knows that we're all living longer and staying healthier. And that's good, isn't it? I mean, I think that's pretty good.

So when somebody tells me, Mr. President, we got this terrible problem with Medicare, since the inflation per person is not going up, it's just that people are living longer and the longer you live the more health care you use—to me, that's a high-class problem. I mean, I don't understand all this hand-wringing. That's a high-class problem if we got people living longer and being healthier and hanging around and doing things. I think that's a pretty high-class problem. I don't understand why everybody is going around like Chicken Little, "Oh, the sky is falling. We have problems in Medicare because everybody is living." I thought that was the object. [*Laughter*] I thought that was the point of the deal.

Do you know, if you live in the United States—this is very interesting—in 1985, because of Social Security and SSI, for the first time in the history of our country, people over 65 had a lower poverty rate than people under 65. And because of Medicare and Medicaid, because of the things you can buy into with them, now if you live to be 65 in the United States, we have the highest life expectancy of any country in the world among people who live to be 65 going forward.

Our overall life expectancy is slightly lower, unfortunately, because we have higher rates of violence that take out too many of our children, because our maternal care programs are not as good as they should be, and because we have a disproportionate number of people, compared to a lot of other countries, with very serious illnesses. But if you live to be 65, you are in the country with the highest life expectancy for seniors in the entire world. Now, we know what did that. I don't think that's a bad thing. I think that's a good thing. This is a high-class problem, this Medicare problem.

So I proposed, and I told everybody—all the advocates for the senior groups came in; we worked with them—we proposed larger savings, substantive savings over a 6-year period, in Medicare and Medicaid than any President ever had. The only problem was, I was trying to save the programs. I was trying to be fair. I wasn't trying to balance the budget on your back or make you pay for somebody else's tax cut or do something that would give us an excuse to walk away from our commitments under Medicare and Medicaid.

So I say to you, the first thing we ought to do in going forward is to remember what the Hippocratic oath says: First, do no harm. Let's not do something we don't have to do. Let's do as much as we have to do to save the programs. But let's not do something we don't have to do that would make it unfair to those who depend upon them. We can—I'll say again, just like Congressman Deutsch said—we can clearly balance the budget and dramatically extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund without the level of cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment in the budget that I vetoed last year.

My door is still open to the Congress, even as they meet now in September to try to reach an agreement on that. But I will not do anything that will cause us to harm people who have justifiably depended on this when this program is working and the problem we have is the very problem we've been trying to create for 30 years, ever since we created it, which is we hoped people would live longer and be healthier and be stronger. We can fix it, but we don't want to destroy it.

The second thing I want to say is, as we provide people more options in Medicare and more options in Medicaid and take steps that will further slow the rate of inflation and give people attractive options to be in managed care programs of various kinds, we ought to do it, again, in a way that really creates a win-win situation. And we can do that. I'm prepared to give Governor Chiles and all the other Governors in the country greater flexibility in how they administer the Medicaid program, but I don't think we should walk away from the populations, pregnant women and their poor young children, families with disabilities, and the seniors. I don't think we should do that. I think we should stay in there and serve those populations.

In our balanced budget program, we actually also proposed to do some things that we think will be very good for the economy. A lot of parents—a lot of families, for example, are caring for parents with Alzheimer's. It's a painful, difficult thing. It's also a great labor of love. If a family is doing that and saving the system money by doing it, I think we ought to provide some way for them to get some respite care for those who are caring for Alzheimer's people in their own home. And that's an example of something that I think would be a good thing to do that will actually save money to the larger health care system and enable families again to make it at work and to make it at home, and to keep that close-knit bond that we all value so much.

I think we are going to have to crack down even harder on those who rip the Medicare system off. We have—I will say this—I hear more about it in Florida than anyplace else, I guess, because more of you know about it, but you should know that we've saved more than $15 billion in 3 years. We have strengthened the requirements and our tools for dealing with it, and Governor Chiles has done a better job of dealing with it than any other Governor in the country, in my opinion. So we're doing our best.

Two weeks ago, I had the great privilege, as has already been said in my introduction, of signing the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, which is the most significant health care reform in a generation. The bill guarantees that working people can keep their health insurance if they change jobs, it gives self-employed business people a better tax break to buy insurance just like those who work for big firms. It means you don't lose your health insurance if you or somebody in your family gets sick. What it means is that up to 25 million Americans might

be able to get or keep health insurance now when they couldn't do it before. It is a very good bill.

But we have to do more. You don't want to say to some people we have created a right for you, and it's like saying we've all got a right to go buy a Jaguar. So my next proposal is—and this, again, is paid for in my balanced budget—that we help workers and their families who are in between jobs to keep their health insurance for up to 6 months so they don't lose it while they're changing jobs.

This could help to bring peace of mind to 3 million Americans a year, including 700,000 children. It is paid for in my balanced budget, and it's long overdue. I also think we have to do more to give our people the assurance that they'll get the quality they are paying for and that they deserve. That's why I'm supporting the legislation I mentioned, dealing with not forcing new mothers and their newborns out of the hospital.

And that's why I believe we should extend consumer protections to the 140 million Americans who are now enrolled in managed care health plans. These plans—let me talk a little bit about—these plans, on balance, have given most people who are in them high quality care with more choices at lower costs, because they are, in various ways, managed care plans, the HMO's, the PPO's, and the others. But we have to make sure that the changes that are being made do not lead to a decline in the quality of health care.

Now, I can tell you, I've spent years studying this now, as a Governor and as President, and I am convinced that the right kind of managed care can really be the best of all worlds, can give more choices to consumers, can give people more chances to make decisions that are right for them, can keep the costs of health care down, and still maintain very high quality.

I am also convinced that if they're not the right kind of plans, some bad things can happen, especially by not giving managed-care customers all of the information they need. Too often, too many health care plans are literally gagging their doctors, their nurses, and other professionals by stopping them from telling patients about all their treatment options, because some of those options that may be best for the patients may be more expensive for the plan since the patient has already paid the flat rate.

So I want to say to you that I think this has to stop, and this is my announcement for the day. But there is a bipartisan bill, a bipartisan bill that's been introduced in the Congress, sponsored by Representative Ed Markey, a Democrat, and Representative Greg Ganske, a Republican, that will help to protect doctors, nurses, and patients. It's called the "Patient Right To Know Act," and it says that the professionals cannot be gagged from giving you the information you're entitled to and cannot be punished if they give it to you, so that we'll have the best of all worlds, managed care plus consumer protection. And I want—will you help me pass that bill? [*Applause*] Thank you.

Again, I want to be clear: There are an awful lot of HMO's, PPO's, and other health care plans that give patients very good care at good value, even better value with more choices and less inflation in the health care premiums. But we have to make sure that we don't give up the quality of care. Doctors just must not face discrimination when they uphold their oath to give patients the best care. Patients should feel safe in the knowledge that they have been given the full story of what all their treatment options are and what are best for them. They should be told about the best treatment, whether it's the cheapest or not.

There is also more to do. There are millions of Americans who are affected by the changes in our health system which ought to feel comfortable about the health care they receive. I have asked our Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, and our Labor Secretary, Bob Reich, to form an advisory commission about the quality of care for health care consumers with health care providers, health plans, consumers, business people—all on a bipartisan basis, everybody having their story heard, but to evaluate the ways that health plans can best serve their customers over the long run so that we can have a health care system we can afford and one we can be proud of because it keeps life expectancy going up and it keeps the health of our people improving.

The Vice President I have asked to review this report because he has done such great work in other areas where we have tried to reinvent our Government and improve things. And what we're trying to do is to understand how these changes in the health care system are going to affect America's families, all generations of families, yours, mine, everyone else's. What are

the financial implications? What are the health care implications? What else should we do?

But I am confident that being for a consumer's right to know is the right thing to do here. And I am confident—I will say again—I am confident that we can find a way to preserve the Medicare program in a way that gives you more options, keeps it affordable, and doesn't divide it into a two-tier system where the elderly in our country who happen to be the oldest or the poorest or the sickest wind up getting the short end of the health care stick. I don't think any one of you want that, and I'm going to do my best to avoid that. We can do what we need to do.

All of this is a way of building a bridge to the future. I believe that we have to make it possible—let me say again—for families across the generations to succeed at home and at work, to honor the obligations to parents and children and still be successful in the workplace and as citizens. I believe we can do that. I believe we can do it if we build the right kind of bridge to the future, including the health care reforms I have discussed today. And I hope that every one of you will help me and yourselves and your children to build that bridge.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:20 p.m. at the Sunrise Musical Theater. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Steve Effman of Sunrise; Mayor Nancy Graham of West Palm Beach; Sheriff Ron Cochran of Broward County; Jack and Janet Boyle, owners, Sunrise Musical Theater; Sallie A. Richardville, secretary-treasurer, Broward AFL–CIO, who introduced the President; and Ms. Richardville's mother, Edith B. Tuten, daughter, Mary K. Leake, and granddaughter, Nicole Washburn. The Executive order establishing the Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks to the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., in Orlando, Florida

September 6, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Dr. Lyons, thank you for your support. Thank you for exciting the crowd here.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you, thank you. Thank you, Dr. Lyons. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for making me feel so very, very welcome. To Mrs. Lyons and General Secretary Cooper; Mr. Lowery; Dr. Glover, Mrs. Hickson, thank you for your work on this teenage alliance; to your guests and my friends Bishop Graves and Bishop Brown; to Governor Chiles and Congresswoman Brown and Congressman Conyers. Congressman Conyers, thank you especially for your leadership in the fight against the church burnings. To Congressman Fauntroy and my good friend Mayor Webb.

Governor Chiles and I have had a good time in Florida the last 2 days, although I think we can all certify it's still summertime down here. [*Laughter*] I was thinking about coming into this meeting today, and I was thinking, I don't know how we could be so close to heaven and it still be so hot. [*Laughter*]

I know you've had a lot of distinguished speakers before me at this podium—my good friends Reverend Andrew Young and Reverend Jesse Jackson. I thank Reverend Jackson for what he said yesterday about his back-to-school program, which I heartily endorse, getting the parents to take the children to school, meet their children's teachers, receive report cards, turn the television off, and read to the kids. That's a pretty good program. I thank him for that and for his idea about going to the juvenile system and saving our young people before they get in trouble. I thank him for that, and I know you do.

I'd also like to say how very moved I was by Pat Brooks' singing today. It was magnificent, and I thank her for that. I was thinking that is truly a gift from God, and I'm glad she shared it with us today.

I'm glad to be back with you. I have a lot of friends in this audience. My friends from Arkansas, Dr. James, Dr. O'Neal, Dr. Jones, Reverend Keaton, Reverend Barnes—I've seen a few of them here. I'm sure there are more here from home.

I thank your former president, Dr. Jemison, for his long friendship. And my good friend John Modest Miles back there, from Kansas City—I'm going to be in his town next Tuesday. Reverend Bifford—so many others who are here—I thank you all for many, many, many years of friendship and partnership.

I'm glad to be in Orlando, and I was thinking today about 2 years ago when we were together in New Orleans. We talked then about what we could do to build the kingdom of God here on Earth. I want to look at the progress we have made since then and about what we have to do together.

First, let me just say I'm sorry I was late today but I was getting an update on the hurricane, and I'd like to share it with you and ask for you to keep those people in your prayers. The people of the Carolinas are working to cope with the effects of Hurricane Fran. Eleven people have died. They and their families must be in our prayers.

Today I am declaring a major disaster in the State of North Carolina. Our Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, James Lee Witt, is on his way to the Carolinas even as we are here. We're going to do everything we can to help the people of North Carolina and South Carolina in this difficult time. But again, I say to you here in Florida, those of you who went through Hurricane Andrew know what it's like. We need to be praying for those people and supporting them. And there are, doubtless, people here from those two States. In addition to the hurricane, there has been and will be more rain, and there's a lot to do.

You are people of faith. And today we need that faith more than ever. The Scripture says that "faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things unseen." And we have seen, all of us in our own life, that if we have faith, we can make real and we can see those things that we hope for, that we were convicted about.

That is why you teach your children right from wrong, why you pass on the values that you believe in, in frequently tough surroundings, why we try to build a better future, building strong families, strong communities, strong lives. This church has done that in the toughest of times.

The Scripture commands us in Nehemiah to rise up and build and strengthen our hands for the good work. Today I ask your help in building that bridge to the 21st century I have been talking about all across America, a bridge that is wide enough and strong enough to carry every American across.

Over the past 2 weeks I have taken a train ride and then a bus ride with my wife, my daughter, the Vice President, and Mrs. Gore through America's heartland. In between, we had a pretty good convention in Chicago. I went on this trip to say to the American people we are on the right track to the 21st century, but I also wanted to look into the eyes, the hearts, the faces of the people for whom I have worked and fought for the last 4 years. Let me assure you, we are not taking anyone or anyone's vote for granted, and we know the only poll that counts is the one they take on November 5th. I ask you to remember that and help others remember it as well.

But think about the progress we have made together. Four years ago we had a skyrocketing deficit, unemployment at nearly 8 percent. New jobs were scarce; wages were stagnant. I came to this office with a simple strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a place for everyone in our American community, stronger and more united.

Look at the results: Almost 4½ million new homeowners, the growth of homeowners who are African-American exceeding the national average; record number of new small businesses and record number of businesses owned by minorities and women; the deficit down 60 percent, going down in each of our 4 years for the first time since before the Civil War that has happened; crime down for 4 years; 1.8 million fewer people on the welfare rolls than the day I took the oath of office; a 40 percent increase in child support collections; an increase in the minimum wage for 10 million Americans coming October 1st; 12 million Americans taking some time off when their babies are born or their parents are sick without losing their jobs because of the family leave law; 15 million Americans getting a tax cut, the hardest working, hardest pressed Americans; 40 million Americans having their pensions protected because of actions that have been taken; health care reform

that can help 25 million Americans because it says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you change jobs, and you can't be denied it just because someone in your family has been sick.

And we had more good news today. According to the latest economic statistics, our economy is growing steady and strong, creating another 250,000 jobs in August—just the latest evidence—strong growth, the highest consumer confidence in years. Since I became President, our country has created 10½ million new jobs; unemployment has dropped to its lowest level in 7½ years. The American economy, my fellow Americans, is on the right track, and we need to keep it going in that direction.

We have honored a commitment to provide an administration that looks like America and is committed to excellence. Forty-two African-Americans have been nominated to the Federal court bench since I became President. And our nominees as a whole have the highest ratings from the American Bar Association of any administration since the ratings began. You can have excellence and diversity. You can do that, and we are committed to it.

Diversity and excellence has also been a hallmark of my Cabinet and our other administration appointees. We were blessed with the service of my great friend and the best friend American business and American working people ever had in the Commerce Department, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown. For the first time, three of the top staffers in the White House are African-American.

Now, that is a good start, but we have to do more. We have to make sure that all Americans have a chance to be a part of the prosperity and the possibility we are creating for the 21st century. Every American who is responsible should have the opportunity to succeed, to live out their dreams, to live up to the fullest of their God-given potential. And that is the great challenge we face today. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where every single American has a chance to live up to their God-given potential.

Nothing is more important to that, as Dr. Lyons said, than education. In the last 4 years we have expanded Head Start, helped our schools shrink class size, supported new, smaller charter schools to help provide excellent educational opportunities, and we now know that an enormous percentage of the students in them are minority students and poor students.

We've expanded antidrug education and prevention programs, imposed a zero tolerance for guns, opened the doors to college wider than ever with more scholarships and a lower cost college loan program. We have created the national service program, which has provided opportunities for 50,000 young people to serve in their communities, solving problems and earning money for college.

Now we must do more. I want that bridge to the 21st century to be one where computers are as much of the part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers expect, demand, and get peak performance from all of our students, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say, "I read it all by myself."

I want us to build a bridge to the 21st century which makes at least 2 years of college as universal as a high school education is today. I propose a $1,500 tuition tax credit, a HOPE scholarship to make the typical community college available to every single American, a refundable tax credit to cover the costs of tuition. I believe we should give our families a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any education after high school, 4 years of college and graduate school, whatever it takes. This kind of investment would be good for America. I believe we should let families save in an IRA, an individual retirement account, and withdraw from it, if necessary, to pay for an education without any penalty.

But we must do more. Forty percent of our 8-year-olds cannot read as well as they should. But every child—every child should be able to read on his or her own by the third grade. I propose to send 30,000 reading specialists into our communities to work with volunteers, to mobilize an army of volunteers with the help of our young AmeriCorps people, with the help of college students on work-study, to mobilize up to one million tutors so that every single child in this country who needs a tutor can get one, so that by the time all of our children are 8 they can read on their own. They can't learn the rest of the way unless they can read young.

I want to connect every classroom and library in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000, not just computers and trained teachers but a connection to the vast array of knowledge that is now available

at the fingertips of anyone who knows how to use it.

Think of what this means, my fellow Americans. If we can do this it means that, for the first time in the entire history of the United States, children in the poorest rural classroom, in the remotest area of America, children in the poorest inner-city classrooms, in the most isolated parts of America, for the first time will have access to the same information in the same way at the same level of quality as the children in the richest schools in America. This will democratize education in a way we have never done before ever in our history.

I want the United States Government to help our local school districts for the first time in helping to rebuild dilapidated schools and build new ones in the areas that are growing and do not have the resources to do it on their own. We have never done this, but I see over and over and over again as the largest class of students in American history start school this year, you cannot expect these children to learn if they are in circumstances that are absolutely deplorable. And if local people will do their part to do more, we will help them to do more so that we can build the schools of the 21st century.

Now, if we do these things, every 8-year-old will be able to read, every 12-year-old will be able to log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old will be able to go to college. That's a bridge worth building. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which all Americans take personal responsibility for themselves and their families and their communities and for our country. I want every child to grow up in a community where work is the standard, where earning a paycheck is a thing of pride. The welfare reform law I signed gives millions of Americans a chance, but not a certainty, to have that new kind of beginning.

We fought hard to keep the guarantees of health care, school lunches, nutrition and child care for children and families. But this new law also says, from now on, able-bodied people must work for the income check.

Now, I strongly believe that. I was proud and I was proud to see you clapping when I said the welfare rolls were smaller by 1.8 million in the last 4 years. A strong economy helped that to happen. But the experiments, the work we've been doing with people like Governor Chiles to help people move from welfare to work, has also helped.

So I say to you, it's all very well for the Congress or the Governors to say, okay, we have a new system and everybody who is able-bodied has to work, but to make that morally defensible and practically possible, there has to be work for those people to do.

I want to tell you about some of the things we are doing to help create more work in the inner cities, in other poor areas, for people on welfare, for single, unemployed men who depend upon food stamps but don't have welfare and can't find jobs. Under this law, every State—when it becomes effective, every State in the country can say to any employer, any private sector business, any non-profit organization, and any church, anybody that employs people—now the State can say, "If you will hire somebody off welfare, we'll give you the welfare check as a supplement for the wages and the training."

It means, folks, when you go back home, your church could receive a person's welfare check and add to it only a modest amount of money to make a living wage and to take some time to train people and bring their children into the church and make sure their children are all right and give them a home and a family.

Will you do that? Will you go home and consider hiring somebody from welfare to work if your State will give you some money to help you do it? I want every pastor in this audience to think about it. Just think about it. If every church in America hired one person off welfare, if every church in America could get some help to do that, it would set an example that would require the business community to follow, that would require charitable and other nonprofit organizations to follow. We cannot create a Government jobs program big enough to solve this whole thing, but if everybody did it one by one, we could do this job. We could give those folks the work we promised and expect the responsibility we ask in that law. And I hope you will consider doing that. You could make all the difference in the world.

We must do more for businesses. I propose to give an extra tax credit for people who hire folks off welfare. I propose to give private job placement firms, who do a good job of placing other people, funds if they place people from welfare to work and they stay there.

I want to have 3 times as many empowerment zones as the ones we now have in cities like Chicago and New York and Baltimore and Kansas City. I want to have 3 times as many of those, because I have seen in Detroit alone, $2 billion in private section investment poured into inner-city Detroit. The unemployment rate in 3 years dropped from 8½ percent to under 4 percent. We can bring jobs back to the inner city when business understands that the greatest market for American business are people in America who are underemployed and unemployed in places that need new investment. I hope you will support that approach as well.

I propose to create more community development banks, 3 times as many empowerment zones. I propose an investment fund to help our cities put welfare recipients to work immediately, repairing schools, making their neighborhoods clean and safer. We can do this, but we're all going to have to work at it. And I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century that says if we tell you you have to work, we're going to make sure you have work to do. There's plenty to do in this country, we just have to organize it so we can all do it together. I want you to help me do that.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which all Americans live in strong, healthy communities. If you will give us 4 more years, we'll clean up two-thirds of the toxic waste sites that are still out there so our children can grow up in every community next to parks, not poison. It's wrong that 10 million children live within 4 miles of toxic waste sites, and we can change it. We want to clean up the ones that blot our urban centers, called brownfields. We can do that, create more jobs in the cities, attract more business and development by cleaning the environment.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we have stronger families and we help our parents to raise their children and to protect them. Proverbs says, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." That is why we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act and why we want to expand it; why we have done our best to stop the advertising, marketing, and sales of cigarettes to children; why we are giving parents the V-chip to help them screen out inappropriate television shows; why we are helping parents and communities to give our young people both discipline and values through supporting communities who decide on their own to have curfew policies, tougher truancy laws, school uniform programs.

All these things are our way of saying to communities and parents, we want to help you do the job that we know you want to do. We want people to succeed at home and at work. If America cannot succeed at home and at work, and do both, America cannot succeed.

Finally, let me say, I know here above all I am preaching to the choir, but I want you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century that can only be built by all of us together. Nothing we do will matter if we cannot heal the divisions and bigotry that still crop up in this country from time to time.

That is why I have said on affirmative action, we ought to make it better, we should mend it, but it's not time to end it. That is why I put the full force of my office behind the effort to stop the rash of church burnings that have plagued us in recent months. And let me say, I know, as church people and as Americans, you feel exactly the same way whenever you see a white church burned, a synagogue defaced, or an Islamic center destroyed. It's wrong for everybody. It's wrong for everybody.

If you look around the world, folks, it's amazing how much time I have to spend as your President trying to get other people to lay down their hatreds. And what are these hatreds rooted in—in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in Bosnia, in Rwanda and Burundi? What are they rooted in? Religious, racial, ethnic, tribal hatreds. People get in the habit of living so that they define themselves and how good they are by how bad their neighbors are, how holy they are in their faith by how unholy people who have another faith are, how righteous they are by how evil people who are different are. And it is a miserable way to live. It is self defeating.

Why in the wide world people would tear up that beautiful little country of Bosnia? Yes, they have different religions and, yes, they have different ethnic labels, but the truth is, biologically they're not different. It is a product of historical accident. For decades, they lived in peace together. Sarajevo, one of the beautiful cities in the world—why do they keep doing this? What is it in the human heart that we have to purge? How wise were our Founders not to make America a place where you had to do anything but believe in the values of the

Constitution. How wise was Thomas Jefferson to know that the great hypocrisy in our founding was slavery when he said, "I tremble—when I think of slavery, I tremble to think that God is just."

And now we are struggling not only to deal with the relationships between African-Americans and the majority community, with all of the progress we've made in over 200 years, but also the fact that the fastest growing minority in America are the Hispanic-Americans; the fact that we had 197 nations represented at the Olympics—in our largest county, Los Angeles County, there are people from 150 of those places, in only one American county.

Now, if you look at the world we are living in and the one toward which we are going, if we can all get along together, that's going to be the greatest asset any country in the world has. We have folks here from everywhere.

I gave a speech a few years ago to one of the California State University campuses in Los Angeles, and there were people in the student body in one school from 122 different national, racial, and ethnic groups, in one school. That is an enormous asset in a global world, where we're all being drawn closer together.

On the other hand, if we fall into the trap that is strangling country after country after country and think the only way we can amount to something, the only way we can be somebody is to find somebody else to look down on, we're in for big trouble because we've got more of that than any country in the world does—all of this difference.

So I say to you, no people in this country have suffered more or longer than African-Americans from discrimination, but you know you will never and can never become what you wish to be by returning that in kind. That is the lesson you must teach others. That's why I react so strongly to these church burnings, because I see how other countries have been consumed.

I see how far we've come in my own lifetime. I see that bright, shining future out there where there will be more possibilities for our children to do more things than ever before. In 10 years, our children will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. They will be doing work that has not been imagined yet. I just approved a joint venture with IBM to develop a supercomputer within the next couple of years that will be able to do more calculations in a second than you can go home and pick up a pocket calculator and do in 30,000 years. That's how much change is going on. It's got to be a good thing for America.

And it can only be a good thing if we go forward together—if we say, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and you're willing to show up and do right tomorrow, you're my kind of American. I don't care what your race is; I don't care what your religion is; I don't care where you started out in life. We're going to join arm in arm and go across that bridge together." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:32 a.m. at the Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., officers Henry J. Lyons, president, and his wife, Deborah, Roscoe D. Cooper, Jr., general secretary, T.J. Jemison, past president, John Modest Miles, government affairs liaison, and Richard Bifford, secretary; John Lowery, chief executive officer, Revelation Corp.; Clarence Glover, president, and Sandra Hickson, executive vice president, Teens Alliance With Clergy; William H. Graves, presiding bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; E. Lynn Brown, presiding bishop, 9th Episcopal District, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver, CO; Andrew Young, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Jesse L. Jackson, civil rights leader; P.J. James, president, and T.W. Barnes, vice president at large, Consolidated Missionary Baptist State Convention; D.L. O'Neal, president, and O.C. Jones, former president, Regular Arkansas Missionary Baptist State Convention; and W.T. Keaton, president, Arkansas Baptist College. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks at Valencia Community College in Orlando

September 6, 1996

Thank you. Let me say—well, sit down and relax here. [*Laughter*] First of all, I want to thank Christy Grabowski. It's not the easiest thing in the world to stand up here in front of all of you and do this, and she did a great job, didn't she? Let's give her a hand. [*Applause*]

I thank Governor Chiles and Lieutenant Governor MacKay for being here. And thank you, Governor Chiles, for what you said and for your support of education and especially of these community colleges. I thank your Congresswoman Corrine Brown, who is also here, along with Congressman John Conyers from Michigan. Thank you very much.

Dr. Kinser, thank you for welcoming me here. And to your Board of Trustees chair, Marcia Tompkins, thank you for making me feel welcome here. I know we have three people who are trying to go to the Congress, George Stuart, John Byron, and Al Krulick; thank you for coming. I hope you'll support these programs and tell people you do.

I want to thank Bob Koch and Tom Christian for speaking here first, to talk along with Dr. Kinser about the work that Valencia has done with AT&T, with Lucent, with the IBEW Local 2000, all working together. That is how I think America ought to work, and that's why I'm here today. America ought to work more like you work in this community college. You are truly building that bridge to the 21st century that I talked to the American people about in Chicago last week.

You know, I spent a wonderful several days before and after the Democratic National Convention first on a train going through West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, and then on a bus going through Missouri and Illinois and Kentucky and Tennessee before I went back home. And I saw all kinds of people there. If you get out on the back roads of America and you go to places that normally Presidents don't visit, you see the people that really deserve to be worked for and fought for. But you can also see them if you go to any community college in the United States of America, because that's where our—[*applause*].

Community colleges represent what I think America ought to be, because it is opportunity for all, no matter who you are or what your background is. People are, by definition, responsible because no one's giving you anything except a chance. And there is a real community, that is, people band together across the lines that too often divide us, across lines of race, religion, gender, economy, you name it. All you've got to do is show up and play by the rules, and you're part of this community. That's the way America ought to work; that's the way I want America to work in the 21st century.

This strategy is working. Just today we learned that we had more good economic news: 250,000 more new jobs for Americans in the month of July. That means we have now seen the American economy produce, since January of 1993, 10½ million new jobs. The national unemployment rate, the national rate is now 5.1 percent, the lowest in 7½ years. This country is moving in the right direction. We're on the right track for the 21st century.

I think it's very important to me that you understand that one of the reasons we've been able to create the conditions and give Americans the tools to make the most of their own lives is that I have tried to change the way our national politics work so that it would work more like you work here. I want to move beyond what I consider to be the hot-air rhetoric of American politics of who's to blame and focus more on what to do. What are we going to do to move this country forward? And I just want to talk very briefly about two things that are very important, the focus of the work of the community college: the economy and education.

The first thing we have to do is, we have to keep this economic growth going. We know that there are business cycles that go up and down, but we also know that countries have periods where they're growing and periods when they're not. And we had too long when too many people worked harder and harder and harder just to hang on by their fingernails, just to barely support their kids, never getting a raise, never looking forward to a better future.

We now have seen not only 10½ million new jobs but record numbers of new businesses formed and wages finally going up again for the first time in a decade. We need to keep that going. That's what we have to keep going. We need to make sure—and that means that we have to have the right kind of conditions, first of all, in which our economy can grow. And I'll just mention two or three.

First of all, I want to mention something that every political consultant that I ever talked to says never works. They say—for years I've been told, "Oh, Bill, don't talk about the deficit except when the economy is bad. When the economy is bad, people really worry about the deficit. When the economy is good, they could give a rip about it; it bores them. They want to hear about tax cuts." Well, what I want to tell you is, the reason the economy is good is because this is the first administration since before the Civil War that brought the deficit down in every year, bringing interest rates down, making investment possible, making the economy grow.

It is imperative that we stay on this path to balancing the budget, because we've got to keep the interest rates down so we can have more companies affording to borrow the money to invest, to build the new facilities, to create the new jobs, to raise the incomes; not to mention the fact that if interest rates are down, for you that means lower home payments, car payments, and interest rate payments. So it's very important. We've got to keep the economy going.

The second thing we have to do is to have tax cuts that are paid for, therefore, as Governor Chiles said. That's why, yes, I want tax cuts for education, for childrearing, for people to save in an IRA and be able to withdraw tax-free for education or buying a new home or a health care emergency; but we've got to pay for them. They have to be paid for in the context of balancing the budget. And that's the critical distinction here.

Now, the third thing we have to do is to invest enough money on your behalf, for you as a country, to grow the economy. That means we have to invest in research. That means we have to invest in education. And let me just give you a couple of examples that would really affect Florida.

I think if we build a bridge to the 21st century that's the right kind of bridge, it will be very much a bridge that will keep America on the cutting edge of all the latest investments in new technology. That means we have to keep the economy growing with projects like the proposed high-speed rail project here in Florida. And I support that, and I will do what I can to continue to support it with flexibility, with resources, with cutting redtape. The Lieutenant Governor talks to me about that every time I see him. I haven't yet wanted to run away from him when I see him because I don't get tired of hearing about it, but these are important issues. I'll give you another example.

We have to continue to invest money in research. A lot of you were very moved I'm sure at our convention when Christopher Reeve gave that passionate speech about research. But let me tell you, we now have for the first time ever laboratory animals that were—sustained serious spinal cord injuries, that were paraplegic, that had nerve transplants and for the first time ever moved their lower limbs. The boundaries of medical research are enormous. In the last 4 years, research and the more rapid movement of drugs to market has more than doubled—more than doubled in only 4 years—the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS—way more than doubled in only 4 years.

We are making breathtaking discoveries in what can be done to preserve the environment while you're growing the economy, whether it's in agriculture or industry, through research. The Internet, something a lot of you use regularly now, you should know, is the product of Government research. It was first developed in a Government research project. Then when it had commercial potential, the Government did exactly what should be done. The Government got out of it, let the private sector run it so it could grow in the proper way.

We are now building with IBM—I heard you talking about the computer chip and the transistor capacity—we are building with IBM a supercomputer that will be finished in a few years that, when finished, will have the capacity to do in one second the number of calculations it would take you on a hand-held calculator 30,000 years to do.

So I say to you, when people tell you that the Government's all bad and all that, just remember, research is an important part of our common future. Technology is an important part of our common future. You are going to be trained here for jobs—when I look at Christy

talking—for jobs that some day in the past were just a gleam in someone's eye, were just part of someone's imagination. And the young people in this audience, within a decade, will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of them will be doing jobs that have not even been imagined yet. So we have to keep the economy growing.

The second thing we have to do, if you look out across this sea of students here, is we have to find a way to grow together and to give, with all of our diversity, everybody who is willing to work for it a chance to live up to their own God-given capacity. And there is no other way to do it except through education; there is no other way to do it. There is no shortcut.

Now, it is true that in the last 4 years we've tried to do a lot, everything from expanding Head Start to helping the schools do a better job, to lowering the cost and improving the repayment terms on college loans and saving the education programs, especially the financial aid programs, from the assault of the Congress in the last budget. We did do that, but we have to do more.

And let me just say, I want to mention three or four things that I think are very important. One involves our younger children. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in this country can still not read on their own. And that is wrong. It is very hard for people to get where you are today unless they can learn what they're supposed to learn at each step along the way. Yes, it's true that you may be—a lot of you probably are nontraditional students or considerably—maybe you're in your late twenties, your thirties, your forties, your fifties, maybe even in your sixties, maybe even older, but you have to learn what you're supposed to learn at each step along the way.

One of the things that I think is very important to do in building that bridge to the 21st century in the next 4 years is to mobilize a corps of reading mentors—from AmeriCorps volunteers, from work-study students in college, from others that we can bring in and pay for—to get other volunteers, up to a million volunteers to make sure that every 8-year-old can read on his or her own by the year 2000, every single one. That's important.

The second thing that I think it's important to get—this goes back to technology and research and some work that I have seen done by AT&T and by Bell Atlantic and others in other school districts in the country—but it's very important to understand what the Internet means in terms of education of children. We are trying to, right now—we've had a project going where we've had 100,000 teachers teaching 500,000 more how to make the most of computers in the classroom, and we are working to get every school the computers that they need, good educational software, and trained teachers.

But it's very important to understand that if you do all of that and you can hook up every classroom and library in America to the Internet by the year 2000, it will make it possible for the first time in American history—think about this—for the children in the most isolated rural districts in the mountains of Appalachia or in the far plains of North Dakota and the children in the most isolated inner-city urban areas in the poorest school districts to have access in the same way at the same time at the same level of quality and quantity to the information that the children in the wealthiest districts in America have. It has never happened before. This is an enormously significant thing. And it could democratize education in a way we never have been able to do before. And if we do all those things, that's important. Then you would have—every 8-year-old would be able to read, every 12-year-old could log in on the Internet, and high school graduates all over America could be expected to meet the same high standards.

It's still not enough, you and I know. If you just look at the census or you look at your own experience—do we need a doctor here? We're okay? I asked my medical team to show up here. That's the Presidential service; we carry people everywhere. [*Laughter*]

But let me say, it's not enough. We already know. You wouldn't be here if you didn't know this, but let me tell you, I first saw it when I reviewed the 1990 Census, which may look like a boring document to a lot of people, but it tells you what's happening to America. It took my breath away to see how the earnings of our people were dividing by education, not by race, not by region, not by anything, by education.

And we know now that people who have a community college degree are likely to get jobs in industries with a good future, with the prospect of a growing income. We also know that people who don't, who have less, are likely not

to. So I say to you, we can't build the bridge to the future we want and give everybody a chance unless we say we want to make it possible for every person to go to a community college, and we're going to make 2 years of education after high school just as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And I want you to help me do that.

If we provide a refundable tax credit of up to $1,500 a year, we can cover the costs through a tax cut of the tuition at the typical community college in any State in the country, and we can revolutionize access to community college. That's what I want. That's my idea of the HOPE scholarship. And it is modeled on a program I saw in Georgia and on a more limited thing we tried to do at home when I was Governor of Arkansas. I just think we ought to say, okay, you get out of high school, you get into community college, here's your tax credit, we'll pay your way; you've just got to do a good job, keep your grades up, and keep going, and we'll see you through it. For those who go on, let me say again, I think we ought to have a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any education after high school.

For people who lose their jobs and who are underemployed, who used to have to wonder whether they were eligible or not for some Government training program, I propose collapsing—because nearly every American is within driving distance of a community college—I propose collapsing all these different Government training programs into one big block and saying, if you're eligible because you're unemployed or grossly underemployed, we'll give you a skills grant and you can take it where you want. You're all within driving distance of a community college; go get it.

There are many other things that we have to do to build that bridge to the 21st century. We have to make it possible for families to succeed at home and at work. That's why I'm for an IRA that you can contribute to and withdraw without penalty for education, for the first-time homebuying, for medical emergency. That's why I don't think people should ever have to pay taxes when they sell a home and they buy another one, on the gain. That's why I believe that we have to do more to expand the Family and Medical Leave Act so parents can take a little time off from work to go to their children's parent-teacher conference. I think these things are important.

We have to find a way—we have had 4 years of declining crime rates. It has been a long time since America has done that. But we need 4 more. And after 4 more years, if we could put together 8 years of declining crime rates, it might finally be down to a bearable level. We have to keep putting these police officers on the street. We have to keep finding ways to keep our kids out of trouble and giving them things to say yes to, not just things to say no to. We have to keep working on that.

We have to find a way not just to talk about welfare reform but to do it. Now, we've moved 1.8 million people—1,800,000 people—from welfare to work since I've been President. Now we passed the welfare reform bill that says, we'll give you health care, we'll give you nutrition, we'll give you child care, but if you're able-bodied, you have to go to work. Now there has to be work for those folks to do. We have to work on making sure that we create those jobs for people who have lower skills and that we don't block them off from coming back to community college or doing other things that will raise their skills.

I will say again, we have to find a way to grow the economy while protecting the environment. We still have 10 million of our children living within 4 miles of toxic waste dumps. Even though we've cleaned up more in the last 3 years than we did in the previous 12, I want to do better. If we clean up the two-thirds worst then we can say our children are growing up next to parks, not poison, and we're growing the economy while we're doing it. And I want you to help me do that. That's important.

Again I will say, we have to grow the economy and we have to grow together through educational opportunity and through a belief that the country ought to run the way a community college runs. You have no idea how much time I have to spend as your President on foreign policy problems that arise because people in other parts of the world insist upon hating each other because of their religious, their racial, their ethnic, or their tribal differences.

And if you look around at America now, look around this room—I've told many people, when the Olympics came to Atlanta and we had people there from 197 different national and ethnic groups, our biggest county, Los Angeles County, had over 150 of those groups represented in one American county. This is not a country where we define ourselves by our race, our reli-

gion, our ethnic group. Everybody is welcome here who believes in the Constitution and is willing to stand up and work for what's right.

Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] I want you to help because you represent where we all need to go.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:03 p.m. in the college gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to electronics engineering student Christy Grabowski; Gov. Lawton Chiles and Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida; Paul Kinser, provost, west campus, Valencia Community College; George Stuart, John Byron, and Al Krulick, candidates for Florida's 7th, 15th, and 8th Congressional Districts, respectively; Bob Koch, vice president for operations, Lucent Technologies; Tom Christian, president, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2000; and actor Christopher Reeve.

Remarks at Gulf Coast Community College in Panama City, Florida
September 6, 1996

The President. Thank you. Wow! Well, on the way up here Governor Chiles told me that—can you hear? We lost our sound. Can you hear me in the back? I'll just speak up—there it is. On the way up here Governor Chiles told me that as nearly as they could determine, I am the first sitting President ever to come to Panama City. Based on what I saw along the road coming in and the reception you've given us, I'd say the others don't know what they were missing. I'm glad to be here. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'd like to thank President McSpadden and all the others here at the community college for making me feel so welcome. I'd like to thank these excellent young musicians who played for us, called the Optimistics. They were great, weren't they? Thank you very much.

Thank you, Dawn, for the power of your example and for your fine introduction, but mostly because you embody what the American dream is all about and the role of education in the American dream. I know all of you here who are students must have been very proud when Dawn Roberts was up here speaking, but I was proud just to be an American, to know that we have people like this and that there are opportunities like this school has given her to make the most of her own life.

I'd like to thank all the military people who serve our country who live in this area. And I'd like to thank all the people who work for Sallie Mae here, who have worked so hard to make college education affordable.

I want to thank Governor Lawton Chiles for being my friend of many years and for what he said today. A lot of people say, "Well, why are you going up there? They never vote for Democrats." And I said, "Well, I remember when Lawton Chiles ran for Governor in 1994, and the Republicans said it was their year and that people in Florida would never reelect him. He kept coming up here and saying that he was going to remind everybody that the 'he-coon' walked just before the light of dawn. And I figured if I came up here, maybe I could find myself a 'he-coon.'" So I'm looking around trying to find one.

I thought I had personally used every down-home expression known to man until he said that. [*Laughter*] And I'm still learning things from Lawton Chiles after all of these years.

I want to say a special word of thanks and honor to your retiring Congressman, Pete Peterson. He has—as all of you know, he has served his country magnificently and at great sacrifice to himself and his family for a very long time, and I honor him. And I was honored to be able to nominate him to be our Nation's first Ambassador to Vietnam since the end of the Vietnam war. He will be terrific at it.

Now, in order for me to see his nomination through, I have to get my contract renewed. But if I do, that's a campaign commitment you can put in the bank. He will be the next Ambassador to Vietnam.

Ladies and gentlemen, it's hot in here, and I'm proud you came to see me, and most of what I have to say is preaching to the saved;

I realize that. But I want to emphasize to you why we are here, not in Panama City, but why we are here at this community college, because I believe America ought to work the way the community colleges in America work. I believe they are the ultimate democratic institution, small "d": open to everybody, where everybody has a chance; results oriented; flexible, not bureaucratic; working in partnership with the private sector; guaranteeing opportunity for everybody who is responsible enough to seek it.

This is the way America ought to work. And this is what I have tried to work on for 4 years as President. I was sick and tired of seeing Washington politics dominated by hot air, negative charges. And I sought to bring an end to the politics of who's to blame, and to substitute for that, what are we going to do to make America a better place?

I think it's plain that America is on the right track to the 21st century. We got some more information today: Last month our economy created another 250,000 jobs; our unemployment rate—as a nation our unemployment rate dropped to 5.1 percent, the lowest in 7½ years; wages are going up again for the first time in a decade. We have record numbers of new small businesses, record numbers of American exports all over the world. Our auto production is number one again in the world for the first time since the 1970's; homeownership at a 15-year high.

The minimum wage will go into effect, the increase, in October, and it will raise wages for 10 million of the hardest-working working people in this country. I think that's a good thing. Twenty-five million Americans, including some of you in this audience, I'll bet, will be helped by the passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill, which says to Americans, "You cannot lose your health insurance or be denied it if you change jobs or just because someone in your family has been sick." That's what insurance is for.

For the first time since before the Civil War, in the 1840's, we have reduced the Government's enormous budget deficit in all 4 years, a total of 60 percent, for the first time in well over 100 years. We can be proud of that. We are moving in the right direction. We're on the right track.

There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took the oath of office. Child support collections are up 40 percent and up 48 percent in Florida. Thank you, Governor, and thank you, Florida; you're doing a good job.

We have worked hard to make sure that America would be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world. We have undertaken what anyone would say is the most successful restructuring of military forces in history. We have maintained the capabilities, the readiness, the qualitative edge of our Armed Forces. You heard Governor Chiles say it, but I want to say it again: I'm glad that the F–22's are going to be headquartered here, and I know you will do a good job of helping to maintain America's defense.

But we still have more to do if we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century that everybody can walk across. We've got to keep economic growth going, which means we have to balance the budget without unfair cuts in education, in environmental protection, in research and technology, in Medicare and Medicaid. We've got to go forward together, investing in the things that will make us stronger. We have to give the right kind of tax cuts to America's families. They ought to be focused on raising children, on education, on emergency needs like health care, on buying that first home. And we ought to pay for our tax cuts and not have to cut Medicare, Medicaid, or education, the environment more.

And we ought not to let that deficit go up. Last year, before they changed their position, our friends in the Republican Party put out one piece of paper that I agree with. They said, "If we get off this plan to balance the budget and we send a signal that we don't care about it anymore, interest rates will go up 2 percent." Now, people always tell me, "Don't ever talk about balancing the budget. When the economy is good, people get bored by it. They only care about it when the economy is bad." You should care about it. If interest rates go up 2 percent because the Government is borrowing money when you're trying to borrow it, that means 2 percent on a home mortgage, on a car payment, on a credit card payment. Even more important than that, it means 2 percent for every business person that wants to borrow money to start a new business, to expand a business, to become more productive so that more people can be hired and more can get a raise. We've got to keep working to balance

the budget in the right way to grow the economy.

We passed a welfare reform bill that says to everybody on welfare now, "We'll take care of your children with health care, with nutrition, with child care. But if you're able-bodied, you have to go to work." We've got to make sure there's work to do for those people. We have to create those jobs so they can go to work.

The crime rate has come down in America for 4 years in a row. But we have to finish the work of putting 100,000 police on the street, and we have to continue to work to protect those who are trying to protect us. You know, in places like this part of Florida and nearly every place in my home State of Arkansas, when we passed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban, the awfullest hue and cry you ever heard went up, and all of these hunters were told that we were coming after their rifles. The truth is, for the first time in American history, we've protected 650 hunting and sporting weapons from any infringement by the Government. They neglected to say that in the political rhetoric 2 years ago. But here we are, 2 years later, and every hunting season every hunter in Florida and Arkansas is still using the same rifle unless they chose to get another one.

But to be fair and completely honest, there were some people who couldn't get guns anymore: 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get them because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong.

Now, for reasons I will never understand, our friends in the opposition not only oppose us on that, they oppose putting 100,000 police officers on the street. Folks, when Hillary and I and Al and Tipper Gore took our bus trip after the convention through all of those little towns in Missouri, in Illinois, in Kentucky, in Tennessee, I went to some little towns where the police chief came up to me and said, "Mr. President, because of that 100,000 police program, in our little town we've doubled the size of our police department, and we cut the crime rate in half. Don't let them stop this program." This is something that's protecting all Americans, from the biggest cities to the smallest towns. So if you want to build a bridge to the 21st century for everybody, then our children have a right to be safe in their homes, on their streets, in their schools, in their future.

We've got to build a bridge to the 21st century that enables us to grow the economy and protect the environment at the same time. Ten million American children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste site; that's wrong. We've cleaned up more in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12, but if you'll give me 4 more years, we'll clean up two-thirds of the rest, the worst, so that our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. And let me say this——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. This is so important to Florida. You're growing so fast, but people come here because it's a beautiful place, because they love it. You have to find a way to grow and preserve the environment. Whether it's the quality of water, the Florida Everglades, all of the resources you have, Florida has as big a stake in America finding a way to balance environmental preservation and restoration and economic growth as any other State in America. And that is my solemn commitment to you. That's what we've done, and we're going to do more of it to build that bridge to the 21st century.

Let me just mention something else. When Dawn introduced me and talked a little bit about herself, I thought to myself: I wonder how many nontraditional students there are who have to balance work and school and taking care of kids. I bet a lot of you do. I never go into a crowd of ordinary Americans that I don't hear somebody talk to me about how one of their biggest concerns is how they can succeed in their work life and succeed in raising their children, in their home life.

Since most American parents, whether they're single parents or in two-parent households, are both working and parenting, I think you can make a compelling case that our country has no more important responsibility than doing everything in our power to help the American people succeed with their first and most important job, raising their children, and at work—both of them.

Now, when we pass—when the first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law, our friends in the other party, the leader said, "Oh, this is terrible for the economy. You will bankrupt the economy. This is awful. There won't be any small businesses can live with this."

Well, 4 years later, 12 million American families have been able to take a little time off for the birth of a child or a parent's illness

without losing their jobs, and we have in every single one of these 4 years started a record number of new small businesses in America. And the job growth rate in these 4 years has been faster than in any Republican administration in over 70 years. I think that we were right about that.

So I'd like to see us expand the family leave law just a little so that parents could have a little time off to go to regular parent-teacher conferences and regular doctor's appointments with their children. I think it would be a good thing to do. I'd like to see parents who have to work and get overtime have the choice of taking that overtime in cash, if that's what's best in their family, or in time, if that's what's best for their family, to support work and family.

And finally, let me say the most important thing and the reason I'm here today is that we've got to build a bridge to the 21st century that everyone can walk across, to a century where everybody who is responsible and willing to work has a chance to live their own version of the American dream and live up to their God-given capacities. And there is no way to do it unless we provide in this tough, competitive global economy the finest educational opportunities of any nation in the world to every single person who lives in the United States.

Now, as Lawton Chiles will tell you, I could keep you here until dawn—and then we'd see that "he-coon"—talking about education. I don't want to do that. But I want to tell you just three or four things that I think it's important that we do. Some of them affect you directly; some of them affect you indirectly.

Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in this country cannot read a book on their own—40 percent. Every child needs to be able to read a book by the time they're 8 and in the third grade. I propose—I propose to support our schools with 30,000 more mentors, AmeriCorps volunteers, college students on work study, other volunteers, to mobilize a million citizens to help children learn to read one-on-one so that by the year 2000 we can say, "We built a bridge to the future. Every 8-year-old can read a book. Every 8-year-old, by himself."

I believe—I bet a lot of you are a lot more proficient on your computer than I am and hook into the Internet all the time. We're working hard not only to provide every classroom and library in America with adequate computers, adequate educational programming, and properly trained teachers—this summer we started a program with 100,000 teachers to train 500,000 more, to make sure the teachers could actually teach the kids—and a little bit of it will be the other way around—in how to make the most of computers for educational purposes.

But the real key is hooking all these computers up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. You think about it. This is the first time in the history of the country when kids in the smallest towns in Florida and in the poorest inner-city neighborhoods anywhere in America can be able to get the same information at the same quality in the same time in the same way as children in the wealthiest school districts in this country. It will revolutionize education and lift our entire country. And we have to build that bridge to the 21st century.

And finally, I believe we have to make it possible for every single American of any age to go back to school at any time when they need to go back to school, starting with making 2 years of college, a community college degree, just as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And we can do that. We can do that. Because, thank goodness, almost every American is within driving distance of a community college, it won't be that hard. What we ought to do is to give every family up to 2 years of a $1,500 refundable tax credit which will cover the typical tuition cost at any community college in the country. And that will help us to say to everybody, "It doesn't matter what age you are. It doesn't matter whether other people in your family are going to college, doesn't matter what your other problems are. Through the tax system, we'll pay you to go back to a community college if you'll do a good job while you're there, work hard, learn, and go forward."

And for people that go further, I think we ought to give families a tax deduction worth up to $10,000 a year for the cost of tuition at any form of higher education, undergraduate, graduate, you name it. We ought to do that as well and encourage people to go forward.

Again I say, you can only believe in this if you really believe not only in your own potential but the potential of every other American. This is a great country not because we are committed to one particular religious view, one particular racial view, one particular ethnic group. This is a country now where everybody can come,

and we say, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to work hard and show up tomorrow and play by the rules, you're our kind of American. You're part of our future." We want to build a bridge that you can walk across because we'll be stronger, too. We'll be stronger, too.

So I want to ask you—that's what this election is all about: a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past; a bridge to the future wide enough that we can all walk across or everybody trying to build their own little bridge and say we're on our own. I believe that my wife was right; I think it does take a village. We're better off when we help each other.

I believe that there is no country in the world—I don't just believe it, I know this—there is no country in the world as well-positioned for the 21st century as the United States. But we have to make some fundamental decisions. Do we really believe in opportunity for all, responsibility from all? Do we really believe that everybody who is willing to work hard has a part in our American community? If we believe that, and we're willing to build that bridge, America's greatest days are still ahead.

Will you help me build that bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:26 p.m. in the college gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to Robert L. McSpadden, president, and Dawn Roberts, student activities board president, Gulf Coast Community College.

Statement on the 1997 North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit

September 6, 1996

Today, at my request, Secretary of State Christopher called for a NATO summit next year to take the next steps on adapting and enlarging the NATO alliance and preparing it for the 21st century.

At the last NATO summit in Brussels in January 1994, my fellow NATO heads of government and I set out an ambitious agenda to adapt NATO to the opportunities and challenges of the new century. We agreed that NATO would take on new roles and missions in pursuit of peace. We agreed to strengthen the European pillar of the alliance to promote greater European responsibility and burdensharing. And we agreed to reach out to Europe's new and emerging democracies through creation of the Partnership For Peace and by moving, steadily and deliberately, to add new members to the alliance. We were determined to end the cold war division of Europe and create, for the first time in history, a Europe united in peace, democracy, and free market prosperity.

The results are impressive: NATO already has taken on new roles and missions. The alliance's successful IFOR operation in Bosnia, undertaken with broad participation by non-NATO members, has brought peace to that beleaguered country. NATO is reshaping its military side to make it better able to take on new missions while strengthening the European defense role within the alliance. We are continuing to deepen and enhance the Partnership For Peace, which has created unprecedented links between NATO and the nations of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. And we are intensifying our efforts to build a strong partnership between NATO and Russia. NATO has also been making great strides in its preparations for enlargement, holding intensive consultations on the requirements and responsibilities of membership with many of Europe's emerging new democracies.

I believe that NATO heads of government should meet in the spring or early summer of next year to take the next decisive steps. This summit would invite the first group of aspiring NATO members to begin accession talks to bring them into the alliance. It would announce a major enhancement of the Partnership For Peace. It would also finalize work in adapting the NATO military structure to provide a more distinctive European role with full Allied participation. Finally, the summit would, we hope,

confirm establishment of a broad and deep NATO-Russia partnership for the long term.

I call on my fellow NATO heads of government to join with me in this endeavor. Together, we can make this summit the most historic and forward-looking in the history of our NATO alliance, furthering our vision of an undivided Europe, and building a bridge of peace and security, democracy and prosperity to the 21st century.

Statement on the Tentative Agreement Between the International Association of Machinists and McDonnell Douglas

September 6, 1996

I am pleased that the International Association of Machinists and McDonnell Douglas have reached a tentative agreement and congratulate both parties for working around the clock to settle their differences at the bargaining table. McDonnell Douglas workers are among the best defense workers in the world and I am hopeful that the 6,700 workers that have been on strike will be back at their jobs soon. I also commend Representative Gephardt for initiating this round of talks and for keeping both sides at the table.

When labor and management work together to resolve their differences, the company and the workers benefit. In this case, all Americans will benefit from having an experienced workforce back at their jobs, filling critical aerospace orders for our military.

Message on the Observance of Rosh Hashana, 1996

September 6, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Rosh Hashana in this season of redemption and renewal.

On this holy occasion, the resonant sound of the shofar summons Jews around the world to remember and reflect upon the triumphs and tragedies of the previous year. This call, celebrating the year 5757, asks all of us, Jews and non-Jews alike, to reassess and appraise our lives and to seek deeper understanding of ourselves and the world around us. During this time of introspection, Jews pray for a sweet new year, symbolized by dipping bread and fruit in honey.

In this age of possibility and promise, let all who celebrate this holiday work to strengthen the bonds that tie person to person, neighbor to neighbor, and community to community. As we continue our efforts to broaden and strengthen the fragile Middle East peace, let us pray for a brighter world for our children.

Best wishes for a joyous Rosh Hashana and for a healthy and peaceful new year.

BILL CLINTON

Remarks at a Reception for Representative Pete Peterson in Panama City

September 6, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you for being here. Thank you for waiting for us. You have no idea how hot it was in that rally. [*Laughter*] I'm surprised we've got the skin on our—[*laughter*]—it was wonderful. It was wonderful, as Lawton said, seeing the crowds coming in.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want you to know I came here for three reasons. I know no sitting President has been here before. The others didn't know what they were missing. But I came here, first of all, because Joe Chapman is my friend and he wanted me to come, and because his mother is the best politician I know and I wanted to see her, see if I couldn't get a few pointers.

The second reason I came here is that I did not want Pete Peterson to leave the Congress without my having a chance to come to his district and thank the people of his district for sharing him with the Nation and giving him to the Congress. He is a perfectly wonderful man.

I was really honored when he agreed to let me present his name to be the first Ambassador to Vietnam since the end of the Vietnam war. You can only imagine how momentous that appointment is, not only in our country but throughout Asia. The coming together of these countries, our effort to establish some decent and normal relations with them, our success in getting them to account for those people whom we still haven't accounted for who served in Vietnam and who are still missing, this is a huge emotional event for our country but also there. And it also has enormous political and commercial implications for our country over the long run. And I think there is no one in America who will serve our country better in every way and will embody everything that is best about America like Pete Peterson will. And I'm very grateful for this.

Third reason I'm here is, like Lawton said—what did you say? I want to try to remember what he said; it was one of those "he-coon" things. I think he said that no redneck wants a dog that won't bite. [*Laughter*] I think that's what he said.

I came here because the people that live up here are pretty much like the people that I represented for 12 years as Governor. They're better off than they were 4 years ago because of the policies we've pursued. Their children are going to have a better future if the path that I've laid out to build that bridge to the 21st century is followed than if the other people win. And I think the people here ought to be given a chance to sort of drop their blinders and join us and go on into the future together.

And I'm glad to fight. I'm going to fight for Florida. I'm going to fight for north Florida. I'm not going to give up any place. And I want you to help me win this State, and I hope you will, for yourselves and your children.

Let me also tell you that when I saw those people on the street today—and I knew that our loyal opposition had taken out a big newspaper ad and asked all the folks to come down and get signs and say I shouldn't be here, you know—there were a few of them on the road. They did a pretty good job, but they were just overwhelmed by real people. [*Laughter*] You know, I mean, other citizens. They did a good job.

But I want to tell you, there is something going on in this country. When Hillary and Chelsea and I went to Huntington, West Virginia, to start to take that train to the Democratic Convention, there were about 20,000 people in Huntington, West Virginia. And we made I think 11 or 12 or 13 scheduled stops, something like that, in 3 days and a late afternoon and a night. We had 2 crowds with fewer than 10,000 people there. We had 4 crowds with 20,000 or more.

We got to East Lansing, Michigan, where Michigan State is. There are a lot of young people there. But they were having a Crosby, Stills, and Nash concert there that night, and there were 10,000 young people in that concert. There were still over 20,000 people there in this huge field when we stopped the train. We had over 30,000 people in Michigan City, Indiana, a State that a Democrat hasn't carried in forever. And there were thousands of people along the road. We would slow down in these little towns with 2,000 people and not even stop the train, and there would be 1,000 people there at 11 o'clock at night, kids out there waving their flags.

And the same thing on the bus tour: where we wouldn't even stop, these people would just be along the road, and we didn't have time to stop everywhere.

I went to De Pere, Wisconsin, for Labor Day. It's a suburb of Green Bay, which itself is not a very big town. And that's the most Republican part of Wisconsin. The suburb has 22,000 people, population. There were over 30,000 people around the lake that day for this rally—that we magged, that we magged and counted.

Now, I think people are coming out because they know we're better off than we were 4 years ago. They know we're on the right track. They know there is a clear choice, and they're pre-

pared to fight for it and for their children's future. And that's what I'd like to ask you to do.

It is no accident that it's been 50 years since a Democratic—60 years, 60 years since a Democrat won a second term, when President Roosevelt won in 1936. And then, of course, he won two more terms, and the war came. And it hasn't happened since then. That is not an accident.

And the Republicans have been very skilled in their Presidential campaigning, and in times past they have been very skilled at demonizing us and making us look like we didn't represent mainstream values. But you know, families are stronger. There are more jobs. The streets are safer. The environment is cleaner. And our future is brighter than it was 4 years ago. And the policies we followed were almost all—not all but almost all opposed by the leaders of the other party, including Senator Dole.

And if you look at the future and what the two of us propose, building a bridge to the future is a lot better way to get there than building a bridge to the past. It just is; it is a better way to get there. And it is true that we've got some problems today we didn't have 30 or 40 years ago. It's also true that there are a lot of things that are better today than they were 30 or 40 or 50 years ago.

It is also true that there is literally—this is something I know, not something I believe, something I know and something that as President I am in a position to know—there is no nation in the world today as well-positioned as the United States to move into the next century, none—no country that has our combination of entrepreneurial skills, our research and technology base, our outward-looking contacts with the rest of the world, our work ethic, and our diversity. Nobody has got all of that in any other country.

And what we have to do is, as I have said until I'm blue in the face, build a bridge to the future that gives opportunity to everybody, expects responsibility from everybody, and then says, if you are willing to share our values and play by the rules, we don't care anything else about you. You don't have to tell us anything else. We don't care about what your race is, whether you're a man or woman, whether you're old or young, whether you've got a disability. We don't care. If you're willing to do your best and be a part of this, our bridge is going to be big enough for you to go across, because we'll all be better off if you're better off. And we're going to have an American community. And my wife is right: It does take a village. And we are going to do it together.

Now, what I want to ask you is, I want to ask you to forget about the polls. There's a lot of elections where they could have a bonfire on election night burning the polls that turned out to be wrong. If all the polls had been right, Lawton wouldn't be Governor. [*Laughter*] And a poll is a picture of a horserace that's not over. That's all it is. But the people now are voting their hopes, not their fears. The people are now voting the facts, the evidence, the ideas, not the insults, the innuendoes, the assaults. That's what they're doing.

We really have succeeded in replacing the politics of blame in Washington with the politics of what are we going to do about it, and that's good. But we've got 60 days to go. And if you want 4 more years, and if you want us to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive for everybody, and if you're willing to rear back and fight, then remember this: You cannot have 4 more years without 60 more days.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 7:30 p.m. in the Student Union East Building at Gulf Coast Community College. In his remarks, he referred to area businessman Joseph Chapman III and his mother, Gladys, Bay County supervisor of elections.

The President's Radio Address
September 7, 1996

Good morning. Let me begin by saying our thoughts and prayers are with those in the Southeastern part of our Nation who have been affected by Hurricane Fran. Our FEMA Direc-

tor, James Lee Witt, and other officials from our administration are in the region, and we'll do everything we can to help the people build back from this terrible storm.

This week our Nation's Armed Forces once again have shown their extraordinary skill and strength, this time in a critical mission in Iraq. I ordered our military to take strong action after Saddam Hussein, in the face of clear warnings from the international community, attacked and seized the Kurdish controlled city of Irbil in northern Iraq. Our missile strikes against Saddam's air defense sites in southern Iraq made it possible for us to expand the no-fly zone that has been in place over southern Iraq, the staging ground for the Kuwait invasion in 1990, and the area where Saddam massed his troops and menaced Kuwait again in 1994.

We have denied Saddam control of the skies from the suburbs of Baghdad to the Kuwaiti border. Our action has reduced his ability to strike out against his neighbors and increased our ability to prevent future acts of violence and aggression. As a result of our efforts, Saddam is now strategically worse off than he was before he crossed the lines imposed by the international community.

Once more, we have seen that at home and abroad our service men and women go the extra mile for us. And we must go the extra mile for them. Today I am announcing that I intend to sign the defense authorization bill for 1997 now before the Congress. This bill makes good on our pledge to give our Armed Forces the finest equipment there is so that they have the technological edge to prevail on the battlefields of tomorrow. It also carries forward our commitment to give our troops the quality of life they deserve by funding family and troop housing improvements that we want and by providing a raise of 3 percent, nearly one percent beyond what the law automatically provides now.

The dangers our troops face every day underscore the importance of continuing our work against the forces of destruction. In particular, we must redouble our efforts to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons such as those that Iraq and other rogue nations have developed. This effort has taken on new urgency now that terrorists can also turn to chemical weapons, whose terrible impact we saw in the sarin gas attack last year in the Tokyo subway.

In the week to come, the Senate faces an historic opportunity to take chemical weapons out of military arsenals and help keep them out of the hands of terrorists. The Senate will vote on ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention. By voting for this treaty, the Senate can help to banish poison gas from the Earth and make America's citizens and soldiers much more secure.

The convention requires all who sign it to destroy their chemical weapons stockpiles and to forswear ever developing, producing, or acquiring chemical weapons. It will dramatically reduce the chance of American troops facing such weapons on the battlefield, which is why our military leaders strongly support the treaty. What's more, the treaty provides a strong system of verification, including inspections of suspicious facilities on short notice.

I ask the leaders of both parties in Congress to pull together and pass this treaty. It will make life tougher for rogue states like Iraq. Those few nations that refuse to sign will find themselves increasingly isolated. Tough new trade controls will prohibit anyone from selling them ingredients for chemical weapons, making it more difficult for them to build the weapons.

The treaty will increase the safety of our citizens at home as well as our troops in the field. The destruction of current stockpiles, including at least 40,000 tons of poison gas in Russia alone, will put the largest potential sources of chemical weapons out of the reach of terrorists. And the trade controls will deny terrorists easy access to the ingredients they seek.

Of course, these controls can never be perfect. But the convention will give us new and vital tools for preventing a terrorist attack involving chemical weapons. By tying the United States into a global verification network and strengthening our intelligence sharing with the international community, this treaty can be an early warning that is essential for combating terrorism.

Congressional action on the Chemical Weapons Convention will also strengthen the hand of our law enforcement officials while protecting our civil liberties. Right now we have a limited ability to investigate people suspected of planning a chemical attack. Today, for example, there is no Federal law on the books prohibiting someone from actually cooking up poison gas. The legislation that is needed to put the treaty into place would change that and give us the

most powerful tools available to investigate the development, production, transfer, or acquisition of chemical weapons, as well as their actual use.

We in America have been very fortunate in never experiencing a terrorist attack with chemical weapons. Japan, the only country that has suffered such an attack, saw the value of the Chemical Weapons Convention instantly. Within one month of the sarin gas attack in Tokyo, Japan completed ratification of the convention.

Let's not wait. For the safety of our troops, and to fight terror here and around the globe, the Senate should ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention now.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 3:50 p.m. on September 6 at the Church Street Station in Orlando, FL, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 7.

Statement on the Death of Arthur Flemming

September 8, 1996

Arthur Flemming was a close friend to me and the First Lady. He was a wonderful human being and great public servant who thought of nothing more than the health and well being of his fellow Americans. He transcended party, generation, and race in search of consensus on some of the great issues of our day. The First Lady and I, and the country, will greatly miss him.

Remarks Announcing Counterterrorism Initiatives and an Exchange With Reporters

September 9, 1996

The President. Thank you. Let me begin by thanking the Vice President and the commission for all their hard work and for this excellent action plan. This is partnership at its best, Government and private citizens, Democrats and Republicans, joining together for the common good.

As the Vice President has said, we asked the members of this commission to do a lot of work in a little time. They rolled up their sleeves; they delivered. We know we can't make the world risk-free, but we can reduce the risks we face, and we have to take the fight to the terrorists. If we have the will, we can find the means. We have to continue to fight terrorism on every front by pursuing our three-part strategy: first, by rallying a world coalition with zero tolerance for terrorism; second, by giving law enforcement the strong counterterrorism tools they need; and third, by improving security in our airports and on our airplanes.

The Vice President's action plan goes to the heart of this strategy. So I want everyone to understand that whenever this plan says, "the commission recommends," you can understand it to mean, "the President will."

Today I will direct the Federal aviation authority to instruct their personnel in the field to convene immediately those responsible for security at our Nation's 450 commercial airports so they can strengthen security as a team. I will direct that all airport and airline employees with access to secure areas be given criminal background checks and FBI fingerprint checks. I will direct the FAA to begin full passenger bag match for domestic flights at selected airports. And I'm proud to say that several of the commission's recommendations will be put into place immediately.

Last Thursday, Secretary Peña announced a rule to require more accurate and detailed passenger manifests on international flights, a priority for families of victims of aviation disasters. Families of victims also deserve a single point of contact for receiving information. That is why today I will sign an Executive order to give

the National Transportation Safety Board the job of coordinating the response for families of victims. And our military has agreed to provide, starting next week, several dozen canine teams for key airports.

But as the Vice President's action plan makes clear, there is much more which must be done, and we cannot meet that responsibility without willingness to commit our resources. Shortly, I will submit to Congress a budget request for more than $1 billion to expand our FBI antiterrorism forces and to put the most sophisticated bomb detection machines in America's airports.

As a result of these steps, not only will the American people feel safer, they will be safer. Close to half our requests will be used to make the improvements in aviation security the Vice President and this commission have asked for.

As I said, we want to put the most sophisticated bomb detection equipment for screening passengers, baggage, and cargo in America's airports. We should do this as quickly as possible. We want to significantly expand the number of FBI special agents dedicated to fighting terrorism. We want to expand the use of bomb-sniffing dogs in our airports—the no-tech program the Vice President has recommended—and train additional bomb-sniffing dogs for Government use as well.

In addition to improving security in airports and airplanes, the focus of the Vice President's plan, we want to use these funds to keep advancing the other two parts of our strategy, combating terrorists beyond our borders and here at home. We need to continue to improve security at our military and diplomatic facilities overseas so we can better protect those who wear our Nation's uniform and serve our Nation's interests abroad. We need to continue to expand our intelligence capabilities to combat terrorists worldwide. We must train and equip fire departments and medical teams so they can respond to biological or chemical attacks like the sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway. We must tighten protection at a number of high profile public sites including Government buildings, national landmarks, and national parks.

These counterterrorism funds are a smart investment in our Nation's security and our people's safety. I urge Congress to join with me in combating terrorism by giving us the resources we need to do the job right. As I requested, the Vice President and this commission took just 45 days to deliver their action plan. Now Congress should act with the same dispatch before they leave in October to pass the funding that will bring these security measures to life. Our people deserve no less.

There are other areas where Congress can and should act to strengthen our fight against terrorism. We need new laws I have proposed to crack down on money laundering and to prosecute and punish those who commit violent crimes against American citizens abroad, to add taggants to gunpowder used in bombs so we can track down the bomb makers, to extend the same police power we now have against organized crime to tapping all the phones a terrorist uses so we can better prevent terrorist attacks. And I again call upon the Senate to ratify without delay the Chemical Weapons Convention.

We need all these laws, and we need them now, before Congress recesses for the year. Terrorists don't wait, and neither should we. The American people should be grateful that the Vice President and this fine commission didn't wait and in fact delivered on their mandate within just 45 days.

Thank you very much.

TWA Flight 800

Q. Are you any closer, Mr. President, to finding a solution to the TWA crash?

The President. Well, we don't have an answer for you. They are continuing to work, and they continue to piece the evidence together, but we don't have an answer now.

Q. Do you think a missile caused it?

The President. Excuse me?

Q. A missile?

The President. It would be wrong for me to comment until I see the people who are doing the reports' final report.

Counterterrorism Technology

Q. Mr. President, the high sophisticated technology that you mentioned this morning for screening passengers for bomb detection technology can see through clothes. Do you expect there to be a major debate over privacy issues and civil rights in connection with the deployment of this technology? And could it thwart some of the commission's actions?

The President. Do you want to answer that?

The Vice President. Let me respond to that. We think that particular concern has been great-

ly overstated in some of the preliminary reports. That's only one of several technologies that are discussed in this report. Incidentally, the commission is recommending the establishment of a civil liberties advisory board to review and give advice upon any of the recommendations that might raise privacy or civil liberties concerns. But we think that particular concern has been vastly overstated.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, in Iraq are we abandoning Kurdish rebels who took a stand against Saddam Hussein and now are being hunted down by his forces?

The President. Well, what we know of what is happening is that the Kurdish forces themselves are continuing to fight. Obviously, Saddam Hussein is supporting one side over another now. But the primary fight is being carried on between the Turkish forces—I mean the Kurdish forces, excuse me. We're doing everything we can to get out of Iraq American citizens and those who have worked with us. And we have done everything we could to make it clear to the Kurds that we think that there should not be any cavalier killing of civilians and others who are not combatants in this.

As to the intelligence matters, I can't comment. But we are doing everything that we believe we can do and that we think is appropriate.

Hurricane Fran

Q. Have you gotten any updates on the damage from Hurricane Fran and anything else that you can do to—particularly for the people suffering from the flooding?

The President. Yes. I got updates all weekend on the extent of the damage, and I expect to hear from Mr. Witt today about where we are with the floods and whether we need to do any more to go back to try to get some extra help for the—it's quite extensive, and I think it's—the hurricane itself, except for the terrible loss of life in North Carolina, was not as damaging as we thought it would be, but the aftermath of the flooding has been, I think, worse than was anticipated. And so I expect to get a more updated report today in terms of what else should be done. And when I know something, I'll say.

The Vice President. Could I add a brief word on that, Mr. President?

In fact, a couple members of the commission coming from Virginia were impeded in their attendance at this event this morning by the flooding. And I want to single out retired General Mike Loh, who worked so hard on this commission report. And the other members of the commission are listed in the back. Not all of them could make it here this morning, and a couple of them for that reason.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, do those that you are trying to get out of Iraq include the members of the Iraqi National Congress, who are apparently holed up in a mountain hideaway somewhere and hoping for political asylum?

The President. I think it would be better for me not to comment now. I'd like to stay with my first statement. We're doing everything we think we can to help anybody that needs to be out of Iraq.

Q. Mr. President, what are your concerns about the building strength of Saddam's ground forces, though?

The President. Well, the main thing that we wanted to say was first of all, the United States has done a great deal to help the Kurds over the years. And we've worked very hard. They make it more difficult to help them when their leaders continue to promote fights within the Kurds, within the Kurdish faction. And as you might expect, Saddam Hussein would try to take advantage of that.

Our ability to control internal events in Iraq is limited, but what we did do, which I thought was important, was when we found that what he had done contravened the United Nations resolution and constituted repression of his own people by carrying forward the military attack on Irbil himself, what we did was to expand the no-fly zone and enforce it and take out air defenses, which means that every day he has to pay a price in terms of his capacity to maneuver in his own country and threaten his neighbors.

And so we have done what we thought was appropriate there. I would still like to do more to help the Kurds, but frankly, if you want the fighting—for the fighting to be ended, the leaders of the various factions are going to have to be willing to go back to the peace table and talk it through. We have worked very hard with them, but that's a decision they're going

to have to make, which will have a lot to do with the fate of their own people.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House after receiving the initial report of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Memorandum on Assistance to Families Affected by Aviation and Other Transportation Disasters

September 9, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Transportation, the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board

Subject: Assistance to Families Affected by Aviation and Other Transportation Disasters

When an aviation or other transportation disaster occurs, the Federal Government properly bears responsibility for addressing the needs of families of the passengers involved. In the event of a disaster occurring abroad, the Department of State currently performs such functions. In the event of a disaster determined to result from criminal activity, the Department of Justice aids the families of victims. No unit of the Federal Government, however, now has clear responsibility, authority, and capacity to assist families of passengers involved in domestic disasters not determined to be criminal.

To fill the gap, I am asking the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB), as the unit of the Federal Government with the lead role in investigating transportation disasters, to coordinate the provision of Federal services to the families of victims. Such services might include, as appropriate in the circumstances, providing speedy and accurate information about the accident and recovery efforts, ensuring that families who wish to travel to the accident site receive all necessary assistance, and arranging opportunities for counseling and other support. I am also asking the NTSB to work cooperatively with State and local authorities and with private relief organizations, such as the American National Red Cross, to ensure appropriate coordination of the services they provide with those of the Federal Government.

To enable the NTSB to perform these coordinating functions effectively, I am directing the heads of the Departments of State, Defense, Justice, Health and Human Services, and Transportation, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency to recognize the NTSB as the coordinator of services to families and to cooperate fully with the NTSB regarding the prompt and effective delivery of such services.

In particular, within 15 days of the date of this directive, the head of each listed department or agency is to designate an official who has primary responsibility for working with the NTSB to provide services to families. Within 30 days of this designation, each listed department or agency is to enter into a memorandum of understanding with the NTSB, specifying services the department or agency will provide at NTSB's request, as well as specifying any other cooperative arrangements to go into effect in the event of an aviation or other transportation disaster. The heads of the listed departments and agencies shall notify me promptly of all such memoranda.

By ensuring that a single agency has the responsibility to coordinate the provision of support services and the authority to call on other departments and agencies to provide such services, this directive will improve the capacity of the Federal Government to address the needs of the families of victims of aviation and other transportation disasters. In so doing, it may provide some small measure of comfort to families that have suffered grievous loss.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom

September 9, 1996

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the White House. It's a great pleasure for Hillary and for me to welcome all of you here, but especially our distinguished honorees and their families; Members of Congress who are here, Senator Lugar, Congresswoman Collins, Congressman Conyers, Congressman Dellums; Secretary Christopher, Secretary Shalala, and Secretary Cisneros.

We're here to award the highest honor our Nation can bestow on a citizen, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. President Harry Truman established these awards as a tribute to those who helped to win the fight for democracy in World War II. President Kennedy elevated the medals to honor contributions by citizens to all aspects of American life.

Although we confer these medals today on worthy individuals, we recognize even more than individual achievement. We honor the American values that unite us as a people: opportunity and responsibility; a community in which all have a part; determination, dedication, and loyalty; faith, courage, and country. We are honoring renewed faith in the freedom that has brought this Nation this far and the freedom that will sustain us into the next century.

William Faulkner once said that we must be free not because we claim freedom but because we practice it. The 11 men and women we honor today have raised the practice of freedom to new heights. I would like to introduce each of them to you now.

As the Archbishop of Chicago, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin is one of our Nation's most beloved men and one of Catholicism's great leaders. When others have pulled people apart, Cardinal Bernardin has sought common ground. In a time of transition in his church, his community, his Nation, and the world, he has held fast to his mission to bring out the best in humanity and to bring people together. Throughout his career, he has fought tirelessly against social injustice, poverty, and ignorance. Without question, he is both a remarkable man of God and a man of the people.

Fifteen years ago, James Brady was at President Reagan's side when a would-be assassin nearly killed them both with a handgun he had purchased at a gun shop. But Jim Brady is living proof that courage and determination were stronger than the assassin's bullet. Since that day, Jim and his wonderful wife, Sarah, who is with us today, have waged a moral and political battle to save lives and keep handguns out of the hands of criminals. His life is a testament to bravery, and every American family and every American child is safer because of it.

I don't think it's an exaggeration to say that Millard Fuller has literally revolutionized the concept of philanthropy. Twenty years ago he founded Habitat For Humanity to provide decent homes for disadvantaged people. To fund his plan he didn't ask people for their money; instead, he asked for the sweat of their brows. In return, he gave them something no tax deduction ever could, tangible proof that they had improved someone else's life with a home.

Hillary, the Vice President, Tipper, and I, like so many Americans, have all swung hammers for Habitat For Humanity, and I was honored to sign a law passed earlier this year to provide the first Federal support for land and infrastructure for Habitat. It's an interesting testament to Millard, to his wife, Linda, to all the wonderful people at Habitat that the three people who testified in favor of the law were Millard Fuller, Henry Cisneros, and Newt Gingrich. They did a good job at bringing America together, and we are all the beneficiaries of Millard Fuller's vision.

Physician, scientist, and educator David Hamburg has devoted his life to understanding human behavior, preventing violent conflict, and improving the health and well-being of our children. At Stanford he did pioneering work in the biology of mental illness and went to Tanzania to rescue four biology students who had been kidnaped there. He has worked to avoid all kinds of violent conflict, from nuclear war to ethnic strife. He has used his presidency of the influential Carnegie Corporation to support efforts for better parenting, strong families, and stronger childhoods, focusing especially on early childhood and adolescence. He is a truly remarkable man and a genuinely effective humanitarian.

Ten years ago I had the honor of recognizing John Johnson for his contributions as a native of our native State, Arkansas. John rose from poverty in Arkansas and Illinois to become one of the world's greatest pioneers in media, founding the landmark magazines Ebony and Jet. He gave African-Americans a voice and a face, in his words, "a new sense of somebody-ness," of who they were and what they could do, at a time when they were virtually invisible in mainstream American culture. A humble man despite becoming the most influential African-American publisher in history, he continues to inspire young African-Americans to succeed against the odds and to take advantage of their opportunities.

Speaking of opportunity, hardly anyone has ever done more personally to give people who didn't have it, opportunity, than Eugene Lang. In 1981 he made a simple promise to pay the college tuition of every student from his East Harlem alma mater who graduated from high school and wanted to go to college. Since then, his "I Have A Dream" Foundation has opened the doors of college for thousands of young people who seize the opportunity he offered. He has helped to make the most of their God-given abilities. We are all the beneficiaries of Eugene Lang's innovative vision, and it is a great tribute to him that since 1981 other philanthropists, many State governments, and now, I hope, our National Government, have joined him in trying to guarantee the dream of a college education to all people. He began it, and we are all in his debt.

Jan Nowak has dedicated his life to the fight for freedom. In World War II, he risked everything to carry vital information to the Allies. After the Nazis' defeat, he saw his native Poland once again in the grip of oppression, and he vowed to break it. For 25 years he was a dominant voice in Radio Free Europe, the great beacon of hope that brought so many people through the dark hours of communism. He continued to fight until the day he saw freedom triumph over tyranny. In America, his commitment to the ideal of democracy continues to inspire us all, and I can tell you that his inspiration is still felt in his native Poland where the people will never forget what he did and what he stood for.

Paz y respecto, peace and respect: These are the values that define the life and work of Antonia Pantoja. Her efforts to create educational and economic opportunity for all Puerto Ricans have made her the most respected and beloved figure in the Puerto Rican community. Through Aspira, the educational program she helped to found 35 years ago, she still dares young Puerto Ricans to dream and to work to achieve their dreams. Her dedication to her people and, therefore, her contribution to our country is unsurpassed.

When Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus 40 years ago, she ignited the single most significant social movement in American history. When she sat down on the bus, she stood up for the American ideals of equality and justice, and demanded that the rest of us do the same. When our descendants look back in time to trace the fight for freedom, Rosa Parks will stand among our Nation's greatest patriots, the legendary figures whose courage sustained us and pushed us forward. She is, and continues to be, a national treasure.

Ginetta Sagan's name is synonymous with the fight for human rights around the world. In World War II, she paid dearly for her dedication to the cause of freedom. For more than a year, she was imprisoned and tortured but not broken. Instead, she devoted her life after the war to saving others from the ordeal she had endured. Through her tireless work with Amnesty International and her Aurora Foundation, she has drawn the world's attention to the plight of prisoners of conscience and of their families. Amnesty International has created a fund named in her honor designed to help stop torture and especially to stop the persecution of women and their children. She represents to all the triumph of the human spirit over tyranny.

Morris Udall represents everything a lawmaker should be: dedicated to seeking common ground; committed to improving the political process; and singularly possessed, as no one in my adult lifetime has been, of the one trait no Member of Congress should be without, an extraordinary sense of humor.

Mo was fond of quoting Will Rogers, who once advised us that in life you ought to get a few laughs and do the best you can. Well, he got a lot of laughs, and he did better than most. He set a standard few could match by his passionate commitment to preserve our national resources and to leave our children a safer environment. His life is an inspiration and more. His work is a gift to all Americans, and we

are especially grateful that his son could be with us today.

Now it is my great honor and privilege to present to each of you the Presidential Medal of Freedom with great respect for your work, your dedication, the example you have set for all your fellow Americans.

I ask now the military aide to read the citations.

[*At this point, Lt. Col. Michael G. Mudd, USA, Army aide to the President, read the citations, and the President presented the medals.*]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, we're going in for a reception now. But I wanted to say one thing. Rosa Parks was delayed in Detroit just as many of these people were delayed trying to get here because of the traffic. So we will have another time to give her her medal. We're sorry she couldn't be here. We're delighted everyone else is here. Please come in for the reception.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:16 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Remarks After Surveying Flood Damage Along the Potomac River and an Exchange With Reporters

September 9, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. I have just completed a tour by helicopter of flooded areas in nearby Virginia and Maryland, along the Potomac and the C&O Canal with Interior Secretary Babbitt and FEMA Director James Lee Witt.

Let me first say that our thoughts and prayers are with the people who have suffered losses along our Eastern States because of the effects of Hurricane Fran. Lives have been lost; homes and businesses have been destroyed or badly damaged.

For many of our people, the effects have been truly devastating. I want to reassure the people who have suffered that we will provide quick action to help in their urgent time of need. We will do whatever we can to help them get back on their feet.

Virginia has been severely affected. We can see the flooding along the Potomac, but it has also occurred along the Dan, the James, the Roanoke, the Shenandoah, and the Rappahannock Rivers. On Friday, the day after Virginia Governor George Allen requested a disaster declaration, I authorized FEMA to provide 100 percent funding for direct Federal assistance to help with the cleanup of all counties in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

In addition, based on visits to the affected areas by Director Witt, additional assistance is being made available to several cities: Danville, Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Waynesboro, and to Augusta, Halifax, Madison, Pittsylvania, and Rockingham Counties, through FEMA's individual assistance programs.

Today five additional counties have been added to that list: Mecklenburg, Page, Rappahannock, Shenandoah, and Warren. This will give help to individuals, including temporary housing, family grants, and low-interest loans. Residents in Virginia counties designated for the individual programs should call FEMA's hotline to receive help.

The FEMA number is 800–462–9029. That's 800–462–9029. In North Carolina, where many lives have been lost, 24 counties have been declared eligible for the individual assistance programs as a result of Hurricane Fran. More than 4,000 people have already registered for help in the State of North Carolina.

FEMA will continue to assess the damage from storms, high winds, and flooding until we're sure that the needs of all the affected populations are met in Virginia, North Carolina, and in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

In disasters such as this, it takes all of us coming together to help our fellow citizens get back on their feet. Many have offered donations. A hotline has been set up for those donations as well. That's 800–747–8920. 800–747–8920. The American Red Cross is also helping to get aid to people in need.

Back in the winter, severe snowstorms caused terrible damage along the C&O Canal, as I saw

again today. Those damages were repaired by determined people, and because of their work, our people were able to enjoy the paths and the beauty along the canal through the summer. Much of that work will now have to be done again because it's been undone by the flooding. But our people have always been resilient in the face of disasters, and we know that they will be resilient again.

We will do everything we can to get help to them as quickly as we can, and to stay with them for as long as it takes. Again, let me thank Secretary Babbitt, Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Pena, the others who have worked on this, and especially, as always, Director Witt, for an excellent job. Thank you very much.

Flood Assessment

Q. Mr. President, there's another storm brewing in the Caribbean, Hurricane Hortense. How many—what if that should hit the States, and how many can we afford for emergency relief?

The President. Well, Hortense is brewing in the Caribbean, and of course, our first concern now, as I understand it, is for Puerto Rico. And we will just watch it, but we'll have to afford as many as we have to sustain. We have to put a high priority on this.

I think the thing that impressed me—you asked me if there was any one thing I saw that impressed me—the thing that impressed me today was seeing those areas so heavily flooded around Great Falls that I visited. You remember the Vice President and I went out there—I think it was on Earth Day—and helped to clean away some of the debris with a lot of the young people that were there with the AmeriCorps and local conservation programs. To see it all under water again and the power—the sheer energy and power of the Potomac manifesting itself all the way downriver and the flooding of Old Town in Alexandria, the inundation of Hains Point, where I run so many times, and those other places that it really reminds you of the incredible impact that a hurricane and its storm center can have, even in areas where it doesn't directly hit.

Q. Is that area salvageable now, sir? This is the second big hit in——

The President. Absolutely, sure it is. Secretary Babbitt pointed out that actually a lot of the major investments that were approved by the Congress to fix what was done before have not been made yet. So they have almost all their major capital investments still to make. And therefore, the funds have not been, if you will, wasted or broken, and we'll be able to go forward.

Is that right?

Director James Lee Witt. Absolutely.

Q. Sir, do you see the—to the Republicans—[*inaudible*]——

The President. No, I think Americans, without regard to party, believe in aggressive disaster relief. I would hope they do. We've been through a 500-year flood in the Middle West, the big flooding in the Pacific Northwest, the earthquake, and all the terrible other problems that we had in California, the fires and the floodings. So just about every region of America has been touched in the last 4 years by some form of disaster or another, and I think we all understand our shared responsibilities there.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:39 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel and an Exchange With Reporters

September 9, 1996

The President. Is everybody in? Let me just say very briefly, it's a pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Netanyahu back to the White House; Mr. Gold; our new Ambassador from Israel, welcome, sir. I'm especially glad to have this chance to visit with him so soon after his historic meeting with Mr. Arafat, and I'm looking forward to getting a briefing on that and discussing the issues that are still outstanding.

All of you know the United States is still committed to peace and security, and I think we're making some progress in that direction.

And I'm going to do whatever I can to advance it.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, when do you think you'll pull your occupation troops out of the Golan Heights and Lebanon?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Well, you didn't waste any time. [*Laughter*] First of all, let me say that I'm delighted to be here with President Clinton and Vice President Gore and Secretary Christopher.

We've renewed our commitment to achieving peace with the Palestinians and with the Syrians. I think that we've been greatly assisted by President Clinton and his staff in resuming the negotiations with the Palestinians. It's not an easy road ahead, but it's one we're committed to and we'll pursue it. And I went over the notes of the conversation that I had with President Clinton a few months ago here, and we've pretty much done what we set out to do, again, with the support—I think the very important support of the United States.

I hope to have the same kind of support as we seek to resume the peace talks with the Syrians. And in fact, we're enjoying American assistance, and so far we're awaiting the Syrian response.

Q. Where do both of you see the process going with, first, with the Palestinians, and with the Syrians?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Mr. President.

The President. Well, that's what we're going to talk about.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Dore Gold, Policy Adviser to Prime Minister Netanyahu; Israeli Ambassador to the United States Eliahu Ben-Elissar; and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland and an Exchange With Reporters

September 9, 1996

The President. I'm delighted to have the *Taoiseach* here today and a good day: The talks began again today. Senator Mitchell is over in Belfast, and I just want to talk to him about where we go from here.

Also, I want to note that Ireland is assuming the Presidency of the European Union, and we have a lot of common interests there, a lot of things we have to work on together, including our common interest in the worldwide fight against narcotics trafficking, and so we'll have lots to talk about, and I'm glad to have you here, sir.

Prime Minister Bruton. Thanks very much, indeed. Well, the talks have gotten off to a very good start in Belfast today. Obviously, we'd like to see an IRA cease-fire, because as long as the threat of violence is there, the negotiations are not going to work as fully as they need to.

Also, I'll be awaiting the opportunity to talk to the President about European Union business. As the President has said, we need to cooperate to combat drug trafficking, and we also need, I think, more business cooperation between Europe and North America, and the United States in particular, and I have certain ideas I'll be putting forth to the President on that matter.

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, at this point, do you really see any advance in the talks? I know they started in June, but it doesn't really seem like they've gone very far.

The President. I would go back to what the Prime Minister said: We'd like to see a cease-fire restored. But I think that actually, we do have a chance to make some progress in these talks, and that's one of the things we're going to talk about here.

We're always better off when they're talking than when they're not, and I can see circumstances under which we can make some real progress there if we got one or two good breaks, so we're going to keep working.

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Prime Minister Bruton's Visit

The President. Let me just, first of all, welcome you all here and say that I am deeply honored, as always, to have the *Taoiseach* here, coming especially as he does today as the talks have opened again in Belfast. I'm looking forward to hearing his ideas about where we go from here and any suggestions he has about how the United States can help.

I also want to talk about the work we can do together, as Ireland assumes the Presidency of the European Union, on international narcotics trafficking and any number of other issues. I have a very, very high regard for the Prime Minister for his leadership for what he has tried to do for the cause of peace in Northern Ireland, and I'm really looking forward to having this chance to visit with him.

Prime Minister Bruton. Thank you very much. Obviously, I'll be updating the President on the talks in Belfast, which have gotten off to a very good start today. It's important that they should move as quickly as possible to discussing the substantial issues that they were set up to deal with, having dealt with the procedure and questions, which are very important but which I think can be dealt with quite quickly at this point.

Also, I will be talking to the President in my capacity as President of the European Union and putting forward some ideas to him on closer business cooperation across the North Atlantic. And I will also be anxious to bring to agreement proposals that are in discussion about closer cooperation to combat the international drugs trade, both in the Caribbean area and in regard to what are known as precursors, which are chemicals which are used in the manufacture of drugs. I think we need cooperation between the European Union and the United States if we're to combat this menace at its source.

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, if I may ask you, sir, Mike McCurry told us today that you chose to be optimistic about the prospects for peace. Can you tell us how you can possibly be optimistic at the moment and how optimistic you might be, for instance, of a new IRA cease-fire?

The President. Well, I want to talk to the Prime Minister about that. I think there should be a restoration of the cease-fire so that everyone who needs to be in the talks can be a part of them. But the thing that makes me optimistic is the clear interest that the people, all the people in Northern Ireland have in a successful resolution of this and their evident desire for it, which I saw so clearly last year.

And of course, unfortunately the people have already paid a price this year in the fact that when the cease-fire was lost and things seemed to be drifting in the wrong direction, it was costly in terms of tourists, in terms of business investment.

So I just believe that we're still on the right side of history, and I can also see the development of events in a way that would make it possible for us to make some real progress. But they're just beginning. I have a lot of confidence in Senator Mitchell and the team there, but mostly I believe the people of Northern Ireland want peace, and I think the determination of the Irish Government and also the British Government, Prime Minister Major's government, to try to work to create conditions in which peace can be developed, I think those things make me optimistic.

Prime Minister Bruton. I'd like to add, if I may, that I think it's very important that we do have an IRA cease-fire, because we're not going to have a truly heartfelt and enduring agreement as long as the threat of violence continues.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe that the loyalist parties should now be excluded from the talks process, as demanded by Dr. Paisley today?

The President. I can't say that. I think that the only position I've taken on this whole thing is that the cease-fire ought to be restored for full participation of all of the parties. I don't want to get into that.

I think that the people who are there on the ground are perfectly capable of making their decisions. I think on balance, what we want is the largest number of people possible who will be affected by this in the end participating, and I think that that's what we should look for. But I don't think——

President's Travel Plans

Q. Do you anticipate going back to Ireland, Mr. President, in December?

Q. Mr. President, will you make the golf match with Dick Spring this time?

The President. I'll do my very best. Only an intervening circumstance stopped me last time. I hope I can come back and do it. He wants the privilege of beating me on the home soil, and I suppose I'll have to let him do that someday.

Q. Are you definitely coming to Dublin in December?

The President. I don't know yet.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:25 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to George J. Mitchell, Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives for Ireland; and Deputy Prime Minister Richard Spring of Ireland. A reporter referred to Ian Paisley, Northern Ireland Democratic Unionist Party leader. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Welfare Reform in Kansas City, Missouri

September 10, 1996

The President. Let me thank you, Clyde and Gayle and Congresswoman McCarthy and Mayor Cleaver, and to all of you who have come here. I was with some of you back in 1994 to talk about what Missouri was doing, and I wanted to come back because, as all of you know, the welfare system is about to change nationwide. And I have worked very hard in the last 4 years to help people move from welfare to work. There are nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I became President. And we've done it by working with States and giving them waivers from Federal rules.

But this new welfare reform law fundamentally changes the bargain. It basically says, we will continue to guarantee to every person on welfare health care, food for the children and the family, child care if they go to work, but what used to come in the monthly check will now be given to the State either to continue as a monthly check or to be used in some other way to move into the workplace.

And the States have to meet very stiff requirements on getting jobs for people. And I'm convinced that the only way the States are going to be able to really move large numbers of people to work in a short time is with a partnership with the private sector, doing what Missouri has done, using what used to be the welfare check or a food stamp check as an income supplement to a private employer who can then engage in training and work, and do what you've done.

I'm going over to speak to the Southern Governors' Association, which Governor Carnahan is hosting here, to talk to these Governors about what they have to do now. But before I do, I wanted to come back here and listen to all of you and thank you, those of you who have moved from welfare to work, and thank the employers for being involved in this program but also to emphasize to the American people and to the press and, through them, to the American people what has to happen next.

As I've said repeatedly, the whole debate on welfare in Washington was largely a political debate until this law was signed. And I'm sure when you read in the newspaper or saw on the evening news some of the things that were said, it didn't strike you as particularly real, based on your own experience; it's just—a lot of it was politics.

But the politics is over now. The law's changed, and the States and the communities now have a responsibility to create a story like yours for every able-bodied person on welfare in America. That's basically what this law says. And we've got to have help from employers, or we can't make it. So it's very exciting to me.

And let me just make one other point about this. I really believe—and that's why I wanted you to have a chance to tell your story to the country, thanks to the help of these people who are with us here—I really believe that what we should want for people who hit a rough spot in their life and don't have much income is what we want for all American families: What we want is for people to be able to succeed in raising their children and to be able to suc-

ceed in the workplace. And if our country has to make a choice between one or the other, we're going to be in trouble. Everybody's most important job is raising their kids. But if the economy doesn't work, we're in trouble. And if we have to give up raising our kids to make the economy work, we're in trouble.

So, to me, welfare reform is part of a larger agenda to help all Americans succeed at work and at home. We lowered taxes for the lowest income working people in 1993, 15 million of them, so that they wouldn't have any incentive to fall back on welfare. We've tried to help people with immunizing their children and in a whole range of other areas.

And one thing that's become, unfortunately, controversial again in the last couple of days—the first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law which basically says you don't lose your job if you take some time off when a baby's born or a parent's sick. I think it should be expanded in a limited way to let people go to parent-teacher conferences or regular doctor's appointments with their kids. But I certainly don't think it should be repealed. I think that would be a mistake, because what we're trying to do, again, is to create an environment in which people can succeed at home and at work.

And I'm trying to take all these issues out of politics, if I can, and get them down to people. So that's why I'm glad to be here; that's why I thank you for letting me come. And Clyde, why don't you go on with the program and maybe we'll all learn a lot about what you're doing here.

[*At this point, Clyde McQueen, president, Full Employment Council, invited former welfare recipients to share their experiences with the employment program. A participant stated that moving from welfare to work made her a better role model to her children, suggested that more men should participate in the program, and described program services.*]

The President. You made a comment about how it's important to get the men involved. Let me just say—maybe everyone in the press knows this, but let me emphasize, the reason that's important in terms of what they're doing here in Missouri and what we can do under welfare reform is that with certain rare exceptions—some States cover two-parent households with welfare—but basically, single men cannot get welfare in America; if they get any income supplement, it's something they get from the State. What they have been getting from the Federal Government is food stamps, and if they're able-bodied, that's been cut back.

But what Missouri is doing is taking the food stamps income that men could get, along with the welfare income that women could get, and making them both available as supplements to employers if they will hire people either off welfare or idle men who are only getting food stamps. And so this State has really done, I think, a remarkable job of trying to use all the tools available to it.

[*Participants described their experiences with the program, emphasizing the assistance they received in child care and health insurance coverage.*]

The President. Now, under this welfare reform bill we can leave people with their Medicaid health insurance for a year, maybe more. And also with—if their jobs pay a low enough income, they can also get the food stamp supplements. And we have a lot more money for child care than we did before.

Now, it's conceivable we could run out of child care money, but if we do, it will be what I would call a high-class problem. If we run out of child care money, it will be because we've had so many good employers who have taken people and would just—and I think the Congress would probably help us some then, because they—we got the money we thought we would need based on what we thought we could do in placing people in work.

[*Participants continued to relate their experiences with the program. An employer then described his satisfaction with new employees hired under the wage supplement program.*]

The President. Has the wage supplement helped you?

Participant. Oh, absolutely.

The President. I sort of see it as like a premium we can pay to get a private employer not only to train people for the job but also to train people for the workplace, the whole—changing the culture.

[*The participant discussed training new employees. Other employers discussed their participation in the program.*]

The President. Well, the one thing that I wanted to put in here is that even if there's

turnover, that the employers that have participated in this program are doing something very positive because we are really trying to have everybody be able to tell the stories we're hearing around this table. And it's a different journey for some people than others, and it's a longer journey for some people than others. But we're basically trying to break up a mindset and an almost physical isolation from the world of work. That's what Birdella was talking about, how it changes even the neighborhoods, how they work, how they function, how the kids feel.

And the way this new law works, everybody, unless you have a disability or there's a child with a disability or some reason, everybody has a lifetime limit of 5 years you can do this if you're able-bodied, and a limit at one time of 2 years before you have to move into some sort of work environment. So even if there's turnover, even if somebody only makes it 30, 60, 90, 120 days, that's still a work experience they never had before, it's some touching of the world of work they never had before. And it gives you a better chance to make it the next time.

[*Mr. McQueen mentioned the link between the wage supplement program and economic development initiatives in the Kansas City empowerment zone. Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II of Kansas City then discussed an agreement for Harley-Davidson to employ residents of the empowerment zone, with the wage supplement program as an incentive.*]

The President. You see, I think this will be very valuable in—I believe that there will be a movement, particularly of smaller scale, like 300 and down, manufacturing facilities back to urban areas in the next 10 years, because I think the property will be cheaper, and I think the work force will be there. And I think if you have a serious welfare-to-work effort like this, you can really make it work.

Between the funds we're trying to give the cities to clean up environmentally polluted areas to make them attractive for new investments again, the so-called brownfields initiatives, and we're going to try to triple the number of these empowerment zones—I believe that you can have this story repeat itself.

It's going to change your image, Mayor, with Harley-Davidson here; you're going to have to wear one of those neat jackets. [*Laughter*] It will be a major lifestyle change for you.

[*Mr. McQueen, Representative Karen McCarthy, and Gayle Hobbs, executive director, Local Investment Commission, discussed public-private partnerships and the program's benefits for the community.*]

The President. The primary purpose of this bill, in many ways, was to end the waiver process and then to have some standards of performance for the States so they had to actually get it in gear. But the worst mistake that could possibly be made would be to supplant what used to be the Federal rules and regulations with just a State bureaucracy, because this plan, this program had been run by the States for years; it hadn't been run by the Federal Government. And the States have basically had control over the benefit amount while the Federal Government has set the rules governing who could qualify and making sure that people got the food stamps and the Medicaid and the other stuff.

So what I see as absolutely imperative is that every State is going to have to do what has been done here. You're going to have to devolve the ultimate decisionmaking to community groups that involve employers, the nonprofits, and the people who are going to be the ultimate customers of this system, people who are going to move from welfare to work.

And this model, this kind of encounter we're having here, this is going to have to occur in every community in the country if we're going to meet the very ambitious goals of the bill. I think we can do it, but only if we do it in this way.

And I would point out, 2 years ago I went to Vermont to talk to the Governors, and I asked every Governor to ask me for a waiver to do what Missouri was doing and what only—at that time, only Oregon and Missouri had asked to do. Now, since then, Wisconsin has asked to do this, before the welfare reform bill, and one other State—I believe Vermont—in a modified way. But every State in the country can now do this, do what you're doing, and therefore involve people like Tom and Bruce. And it's the only way it's going to work.

[*Participants described how the program addressed the wide-ranging needs of welfare recipients.*]

The President. That's a wonderful story. Let me just say again—I mean, I know I'm beating

this to death, but it's a point I want to make to the American people. The act I signed is the beginning of welfare reform. What it does is it creates very strong incentives for every State to, in effect, empower communities to develop community-based systems like this.

There is no way even a State, much less the National Government, can know how much money any community needs for transportation—that depends on what the facts of the community—much less whether there should be a program for helping people with their dental or clothing needs or anything like that. This has got to be pushed down to the grassroots level, where community people who care about their community and care about the people that they come in contact with as individuals, can fashion solutions that will work. And I think now you've got the tools to do it, and we've just got to make sure we do it right.

But I just wish everybody in America were as far along as you all are. I want to say a special world of thanks to Tom and Bruce, too, for participating, and all of the other employers that you represent here today.

I have two feelings about this that a lot of the skeptics who were worried about me signing this bill didn't. I believe the business community's response will be overwhelming, because I think most people in business would like to end the way the welfare system has worked and would be willing to do their part in doing it. That's what I believe. I think most business people will stretch a little, especially if we're at least sharing the cost of early training and development of work habits. And I have hardly ever met anybody on welfare who did not want to get off once they believed that they could, you know. So you all have strengthened my faith and optimism.

[*Various participants expressed their appreciation for the President's support.*]

The President. Now, in the next couple of days, when people all over America start calling you and wanting their addresses and everything, I don't want you all to be put out with me. I want you to help them do just what you did.

Participant. We'll do it.

Participant. We'll keep moving.

The President. Thank you.

Q. Could I follow up on something you mentioned? Senator Dole says on the family medical leave that it's another example of big Government meddling where it doesn't belong—[*inaudible*].

The President. Well, I just disagree. Look at the evidence. Twelve million people have taken a little time off when a baby was born or when a parent was sick, and small businesses are exempt because of the problems with work schedules. And the American economy has been growing like crazy since we passed the family and medical leave law. We've had a record number of new businesses started; we have had 10½ million new jobs. There is no compelling evidence that this has been bad for the economy.

Anything you do that helps people to succeed at home and at work is a good thing to do. That's basically what welfare reform is all about. It's just what Tom says: We've got to find a way for every American to have a chance to succeed at work and at home, and that's what family and medical leave was all about.

So I just simply—I just respectfully disagree. I think we were right to do it. I think those who opposed us have been proved wrong by the evidence. And I think a very modest and limited expansion—it's like anything else, you could overdo it, but we're talking about a very modest and limited expansion, directed toward helping people go to their parent-teacher conferences and go to regular doctor's appointments. It's not a big, radical step. It's pro-family and pro-work.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. at the Full Employment Council office. In his remarks, he referred to former welfare recipient Birdella Smith; Tom Davidson, president, Davidson Archives; and Bruce Gershon, president, Arrow Fabricare.

Remarks to the Southern Governors' Association in Kansas City
September 10, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you for the warm welcome. Thank you, Governor Carnahan and Governor Allen, Governor Patton, Governor Caperton, Governor Miller, Governor Beasley, Governor Huckabee—nice pen, Governor Huckabee—[*laughter*]—I like that.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be back at the Southern Governors' Association. I'm glad to be back at a time when I feel good about the direction of our country. And I know we all feel challenged, as Governor Carnahan said, because of our new responsibility in the aftermath of the passage of the welfare reform law.

I have just come from a very moving encounter at the Full Employment Council here in Kansas City. Mayor Cleaver and Congresswoman Karen McCarthy took me over there. I thank them for going. I thank Clyde McQueen and Gayle Hobbs for being there, and I'll talk about the other people who were there in a few moments.

But let me say I am very glad to be back here and to discuss, as the Governor said, a problem that is keeping our people from becoming all that we can be. The country is clearly moving in the right direction. We have the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years, 10½ million new jobs, the lowest combined rates of inflation, unemployment, and home mortgages in almost 30 years. The deficit has gone down 4 years in a row for the first time in a President's term since John Tyler was the President in the 1840's. I always tell everybody, the bad news is John Tyler was not reelected. [*Laughter*] But it was still a good thing that he did. [*Laughter*]

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row, thanks in no small measure to efforts made by the Governors here and around the country. The welfare rolls are nearly two million smaller than they were the day I took the oath of office. The Government is the smallest it's been since President Kennedy was in office. We are working hard to help people to succeed at home and at work. The average closing costs for first-time homebuyers has been cut by about $1,000, thanks to an initiative led by Secretary Cisneros and the FHA. The earned-income tax credit reduced taxes for 15 million of the hardest pressed working families on lower incomes. We're immunizing more children and trying to give more parents the power to protect their children through things like the V-chip, the television rating system, the new educational television programming that will be coming forth soon.

The family and medical leave law has allowed 12 million families to take some time off for the birth of a child or the illness of a parent without losing their job. I think it should be modestly expanded to allow parents to go to parent-teacher conferences and regular doctor appointments. It plainly isn't hurting the economy, and anything that helps us to succeed with our families and to strengthen the economy I think is a very, very good thing.

I think it's also important to note that we're trying to change the way Washington works. The thing I loved most about being a Governor was that the job was a lot more about what are we going to do than who are we going to blame. And in Washington, I think in part because it's so far from where people live and you have to pierce through all the layers between you and the folks back home, that too often it becomes more about who to blame than what to do. So I hope we have changed that.

And let me say that——

[*At this point, a live local news broadcast at the back of the room interrupted the President's remarks.*]

The President. Does that guy want to give a speech back there? [*Laughter*] We'll be glad to listen to you, but we can't both talk at the same time. [*Laughter*]

I do believe that this business about what to do and not who to blame is going to be brought into play more powerfully on the issue of welfare reform than any other issue in recent history. And I'd like to ask you all just to stop a few minutes and think with me about what it means.

First, let me say the States should be very proud of themselves. Our administration has now given 77 waivers to 43 States who have moved 1.8 million people from welfare to work. That's a pretty good record, and I'm proud of the States. I'm proud of the community groups

that work on this. I'm proud of the employers who have done the hiring. Of course, part of it is due to the rising tide of the economy, but an awful lot of it is due to the special efforts being made State by State, community by community.

There is a passion in this country now to liberate people from the dependency of a welfare system which has not worked, to move people from welfare to work in a way that enables them to support their children and live in greater dignity. It is sweeping the country. It is felt in every corner of the country by people from all walks of life, of all political persuasions, of all racial and ethnic groups. It is running at high tide, and a lot has happened in the last 4 years.

The new welfare reform law dramatically increases the possibilities of moving people from welfare to work and the requirements to do so. And just to basically review what the law does, it says essentially this: There will continue to be a national guarantee, funded by the Federal and State governments of health care, nutrition, and now more child care for people who move from welfare to work, but that portion of our welfare expenditures that used to go in monthly entitlement checks to welfare recipients will now go to the States in a big block of money, and they, in turn, will have to move people who are able-bodied from welfare to work within 2 years, and in no case can able-bodied people have more than 5 years total of welfare benefits unless there are extenuating circumstances in which case the States can keep a little money back to decide to deal with the odd case that always comes up, that doesn't quite fit anybody's formula.

The States, in turn, have to figure out how to work at the community level with the existing institutions, the educators, the welfare case workers, the job trainers, the job placement people, and by far most important, the private employer community, which includes not only people in free enterprise but also churches, nonprofits, people who are employers who are nongovernmental employers, to figure out how to move people from welfare to work.

Now, this law isn't perfect, and I've said what I think is wrong with it, and I want to say a special thanks to at least two members of the Southern Governors, Governor George Bush and Governor Lawton Chiles, for agreeing with my position on the ill-advised nature of cutting off all benefits to all legal immigrants, no matter what happens to them. And I hope we can change that.

But I signed this bill because it gives us an historic opportunity and, therefore, an historic responsibility to really change the culture of welfare. And I think we cannot minimize that. I just had the opportunity, as I said, to go with Mayor Cleaver and Congresswoman McCarthy over to visit with Clyde McQueen and Gayle Hobbs, who are here, and some people who have moved from welfare to work, and two employers who hired them. I want to tell their story; then I want to talk about where we go from here. But I'd like to ask them to stand up. I'll introduce them.

Clyde McQueen is the director of Kansas City's Full Employment Council. Gayle Hobbs is the executive director of the Local Investment Commission. Let me introduce them all. Shaira Burriss is a 30-year-old former welfare recipient who is now earning quite a bit above the minimum wage at Arrow Fabricare and supporting two children. Birdella Smith is a woman I met here 2 years ago when I came to announce my welfare reform program. She has three sons—the oldest is a freshman at the University of Missouri, here in Kansas City—and she's now been working for 4 years. Cathy Romero is another former recipient I met in 1994. She has a 5-year-old daughter who just started kindergarten. She dropped out of high school, was on welfare at 17, and she's now been working for several years. We also have three women that I met before here, Vicki Phelps, Arlenda Moffitt-Hayes, and Pamela Ruhnke; all of them are people who have worked very hard to make something of their lives.

And I want to introduce two employers: Tom Davidson, who is the president of Davidson Archives, a records management storage business. And he pointed out, they do some work for the Federal Government that they won on bid. He has 25 employees; 5 of them came out of this program. Five of them moved from welfare to work. We thank him. And Shaira Burriss' employer's here, Bruce Gershon, who is the president of Arrow Fabricare, an 80-year-old family dry-cleaning business and one of the first to take part in this program. Let's give them all a hand, and I'll tell you what they did. [*Applause*]

I met some of these ladies 3 years—2 years ago when I announced my welfare reform plan

in Kansas City at the Commerce Bank, which is the place where Harry Truman had his first job. A good place to honor work. And all of these people have shown remarkable, good citizenship and vision, those who have moved from welfare to work, and those who have helped them to do so.

I heard them talking again today, and I was reminded, as so many of us have been who have worked on this problem for many years, that the people who live on welfare want to change it more than anybody else. Everyone knows that it's better to work than to be trapped in dependency.

Secondly, I'm reminded that it is not as simple as it sounds. First of all, there has to be a job there. Secondly, people who very often have been isolated for virtually their entire adult lives, oftentimes isolated from mainstream education, certainly isolated from mainstream work, very often not having adequate work habits—and as some of these ladies explained to me today, they've got a group here now helping women move into the work force just to make sure they know how to do an interview and have clothes that would not disqualify them from getting a job when they show up, and other very basic things.

We see in what they have done that if you have real flexibility and a grassroots commitment that encompasses the entire community, you can do something.

Now, I want to emphasize one thing in particular to explain what they've done here and then to ask you to imagine how this can be done in every State, in every community in America, and how we can get even more business leaders involved.

Missouri asked for a welfare waiver to be able to do two things: One is to convert the welfare check into a wage supplement to private sector employers, and to say to employers—they say to employers, "If you will hire this person off welfare in a real new job, not just replacing somebody you've let go or replacing someone who has moved but a real new job, you can have the welfare check for 4 years as a wage supplement, for up to 4 years for this employer. If you'll leave the new job in place, even if this particular person goes on to do something else with her life, you can have that slot and the wage supplement for 10 years."

Now, you have to pay a lot more than the wage supplement, but you don't have to pay what you would otherwise have to pay. And we're going to give you the wage supplement because we want to help you move someone from welfare to work, and we understand that there may be a lot of extra costs to you in training people and helping to work with them and making sure that they can balance the demands of family and work and move out of relative isolation into the world of mainstream work and be a part of your employee team. That's what they're doing. They're also saying you can have Medicaid coverage for up to 4 years here, which I think is the most exceptional health care coverage offered by any State in the country, Governor.

But it is working. In Missouri, also—and this is something that because there are a lot of single men who aren't on welfare but are not in the work force, who are eligible for food stamps but not welfare—in Missouri they also have the right to take the food stamp check going to single men and use that for a wage supplement, to do exactly the same thing. And they have had astonishing success here. But I think it is because they're all working together at the grassroots community level.

I met their board, their employees at the Full Employment Council. It's a one-stop place: If you need to get your GED, you can get it; if you need some basic job training, you can get it, in terms of how to do the interviews; if there are other sort of support services your family needs because you have certain problems, you can get them there. And the employers are heavily involved.

But I bring this out today because the Governors sought this welfare reform law, and I gladly signed it. And now—we have now moved welfare beyond the realm of political rhetoric and blame, and it's no longer a question of who to blame. It is entirely a question of what are we going to do. And if you look at the hiring goals here, the reward States get for placing more people from welfare to work, but the enormous problem States will find if you wind up having people running out of their 2-year time deadline and they've never been to work, we have all got to get it in gear. I think you can make a compelling case that if we can keep the economy strong, the most significant responsibility the Governors have shouldered in many years is the responsibility to design a system that will permit every community to succeed in doing this in the way Kansas City has suc-

ceeded because of the work these people have done. It is a huge responsibility.

And it seems to me that at least we have to begin to say every State ought to take the income supplement idea and put it at the heart of the new plan. Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia, Oregon, and at least six other States have asked to do this; it's an important part of the Wisconsin plan.

But if you think about it, there's not enough money around to create enough public jobs to solve this welfare problem. Plus which what we really want is for people on welfare to be part of the mainstream economy. So it's better if—I mean, the ideal thing would be that every private employer in the country, not just in the free enterprise system but every church of any size, every nonprofit of any size, everybody could just take one person and that person's family and say, "You will be part of our work family now," or "We're going to go forward together."

Now, that's what these employers have been willing to do. And what they got from their Governor and their local Full Employment Council was what used to be the welfare check. "Here's the welfare check, you add to it, you've got to pay them a minimum"—Congresswoman McCarthy was in the legislature at the time Missouri's plan was adopted, and I think she said they had a minimum payment of $6 an hour at that time, because that was—and I think the Missouri check worked out to be, I don't know, 2½ or 3 dollars an hour, something like that—a substantial support system. But as the employers were telling you, most of these people, they do so well, they pretty soon are earning more money on their own merit and going forward and moving to greater independence and going beyond that.

You think about it, just think what it would mean to this country if every employer the size of these two said, "I will take one slot. I will create one new job for a decade if you will give me the income supplement for a decade. And I'll work one person for 4 years, another one for 4 years, another one for 2 years"—that's the Missouri system—"or, if I can move 10 people through this entry level slot, I'll move 10 through."

But we need to break this responsibility down to think about how we can make it a good deal for the business community, a good deal for local community life, a good deal for the States, a good deal for America, and most importantly, a good deal for the people who are trying to move from welfare to work, so we don't wind up with a bunch of nightmares saying, "We've passed all these tough laws. We didn't create the jobs, and here are all these people in the street with no right to get any help."

We have to prove all the skeptics wrong. But one thing I know, I know that the employers of this country want to do this. I believe that every employer who has ever said a disparaging word about the welfare system, which includes every one of us, including me, should be challenged to assume the responsibility to help be a part of the solution to this problem.

I have proposed some more things that we can do at the national level to give special tax credits available only to people who are moved from welfare to work or to single, idle men moved from food stamps to work. We're going to have to move about a million people, a million more people, at least a million more people from welfare to work by the year 2000 to come anywhere close to meeting the requirements of the law, and to avoid causing either a humanitarian crisis for the States or an enormous drain on your own treasuries. So I would start with that.

I propose also to give private placement firms the kinds of things that many Americans use to find better jobs and many employers use to hire people, a bonus if they help to find permanent jobs for people who are moving from welfare to work. I want to give the communities that are hardest hit some resources, extra resources to help deal with this problem. But the most important thing, I will say again, is establishing a State and then a community-based partnership with the private sector and with others who have to fill the needs of people who are trying to move from welfare to work.

I'd like to salute two prominent business leaders in this State who heard the challenge that I issued and have expressed a willingness to step forward and take it. Because they represent larger business organizations, they are in a position to do even more. Robert Shapiro, the CEO of Monsanto, which is based in St. Louis, and Bill Esrey, the CEO of Sprint, based here in Kansas City, are with us today. They have made a commitment to fully participate through their companies in this program. I'll explain a little more about that in a minute, but I'd like to

ask them to stand up and be recognized, please. [*Applause*] Thank you.

The day after my speech on this in Chicago, Bob Shapiro asked all his division heads to study every aspect of the company to see what they could do to help people on welfare find jobs at Monsanto. They're coming up with a plan for their own operations, and even more, they're asking their suppliers and other business contacts to do the same. That is amazing stuff.

Bill Esrey's company has already begun hiring people off welfare. Its headquarters here in Kansas City, they're a part of this revolution that's going on here in Kansas City. He wants Sprint to be a part of meeting this challenge all around the country. So I'm proud that Sprint is announcing today that it will provide an 800 number that any employer in America can call to find out what he or she can do to help move people from welfare to work in their own employment.

Thank you both.

Here you have two CEO's of major Fortune 500 companies who believe this challenge is so important to our future that they are willing to help recruit other CEO's and other companies to take part in this effort. I have asked them to gather a small group of them who are ready to rise to this challenge to come to the White House in the next few weeks to discuss with me how we can get businesses all across America to hire people off welfare.

But the Governors will be able to do this more—more because they know personally all the heads of all of the biggest companies in their State, more because they know personally the heads of smaller and medium-sized companies and the organizations that are part of them.

And again I will say, I am convinced that there are literally hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people out there who feel that it is part of their civic responsibility to help do something about this, who really do understand, even if they don't know all of the details of the welfare reform law, that we had changed this big time. And now, we really are saying, "If you're able-bodied, there's just only so long you can draw a check without doing something for it," and we are finally going to change that, but the Government cannot create these jobs, and we want to, anyway, change the environment in which people are living. That's what Birdella said when she was talking this morning. She said, "You can't imagine what it's like when you get in a neighborhood and a few people move from welfare to work, and the kids have pride and the crime rate goes down and everything gets better at the same time."

And I think people know this at a visceral level. So I would say that while this is the biggest challenge that Governors have faced in a very long time, it is also the biggest opportunity, and it has the potential to bring us together across party lines, racial lines, income lines, you name it—whatever that's dividing us today, we can forget about it because all of us believe that this ought to be done, that at the core of human nature is the need to be useful and productive.

At the core of the desire to be a good parent is the desire to be a good role model and to be able to prove that you can do something that matters. And one of our employers said today that work was really a part of the essence of life and that it was a great privilege to be an employer just to give somebody a chance to be an employee, to fulfill a big part of what being alive is all about. I think that feeling is out there in this country.

And so I come here today to say to the Governors: You asked for this, and now you've got it. [*Laughter*] I know that Tennessee is one of the States in the Southern Governors' Conference, and that very famous philosopher from Tennessee, Chet Atkins—[*laughter*]—who occasionally plays guitar as well, and I think is a good Republican, Governors—I once heard him say, "You know, you've got to be careful what you ask for in this old life. You might get it." [*Laughter*]

So we asked for it. And I wanted it. And now we have it. And so it's no longer a political issue. It's no longer occasions for finger-pointing, and none of our one-liners amount to a hill of beans anymore. We need to all throw away our welfare speech. The only thing that matters now is whether we are going to give the opportunity—not the guarantee but the opportunity—for dignity and purpose and meaning in life, to help more people live up to their God-given potential as parents and as workers.

And to do it, it is plain that we're going to have to learn from people who know what they're doing. These people in Kansas City, they know what they are doing. It is miraculous what they are doing. They know what they are doing. These business leaders, they know what they're doing; they can imagine. They get paid running

these big companies; they have to think about what this country's going to be like 10, 20, 30, 40 years from now. And nobody who's thinking about the 21st century wants America to have a big permanent under class. Nobody wants us to continue to split apart in terms of income.

Anybody that can visualize the future wants us to be coming together and celebrating our diversity and having it be a source of strength and seeing every child have a real chance and believe that he or she has a chance to live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities. That's what this is all about.

This is the best chance we've had to do that in a long time. That's all this bill does: It gives us a chance. If we fail, it will exact a higher price from us than the old system did. But the old system would never have given us a chance to succeed, and that's why I took the gamble I did. I'm glad I did, and I believe if we work together and learn from those who have done it, in about 4 or 5 years we're all going to be very proud of what each of us did to make real welfare reform a reality, because there will be more people, like these fine women sitting here on this front row who can stand up and say, "I'm earning a living; I'm supporting my child. I live in a crime-free neighborhood. My child goes to a good school where the parents participate, and our country is coming together because our communities are coming together around people who are given a chance to succeed if they're responsible." That's my dream, and I think we can make it happen.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m. at the Ritz Carlton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Governors Mel Carnahan of Missouri, George Allen of Virginia, Paul E. Patton of Kentucky, Gaston Caperton of West Virginia, Zell Miller of Georgia, David M. Beasley of South Carolina, Mike Huckabee of Arkansas, George W. Bush of Texas, and Lawton Chiles of Florida; Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II of Kansas City; and musician Chet Atkins.

Remarks on the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and an Exchange With Reporters in Kansas City

September 10, 1996

The President. Today in New York, the United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to adopt the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and open it for signature later this month. On behalf of the American people, I will have the honor to sign this historic treaty.

Our signature, along with that of Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom, and the vast majority of nations around the world will create an international barrier against nuclear testing as soon as we sign.

With this treaty we're on the verge of realizing a decades-old dream, that no nuclear weapons will be detonated anywhere on the face of the Earth.

This has been a dream of American leaders going back to Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. They long worked for a safer world at home and abroad. By banning all nuclear tests for all time, the treaty will constrain any nation from improving its existing nuclear arsenal and end the development of advanced nuclear weapons and help to stop their spread.

We're taking the next crucial step to lift the dark cloud of nuclear fear that has hung over the world for 50 years now. Over the past 4 years we have permanently extended the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, dramatically cut existing nuclear arsenals under the START treaties, persuaded Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakstan to give up the nuclear weapons left on their land after the USSR dissolved, frozen North Korea's dangerous nuclear program, and today no Russian missiles are pointed at our cities or our citizens.

For four decades visionary statesmen like Prime Minister Nehru of India worked tirelessly to make the comprehensive test ban a reality. More recently, Britain's John Major, France's Jacques Chirac, Russia's Boris Yeltsin, China's Jiang Zemin—all have made courageous decisions to halt their country's nuclear testing programs. I want to thank them, along with Foreign

Minister Downer of Australia and the chairman of the CTBT negotiating committee, Netherlands Ambassador Jaap Ramaker, for all the work they have done.

I'd also like to express my gratitude on behalf of our country to our Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, Stephen Ledogar, along with the entire United States delegation. They worked very hard for the last 3 years to bring us to this happy day. I'm proud that our American leadership has played an important role in this success.

Now, together, the United States and the nations of the world have taken another giant step toward making our world safer. It is in that spirit that I will urge all nations to sign the agreement.

Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, there were three votes against——

The President. There were: the Indians, and Bhutan voting with India, and Libya. The Indians have some concerns which they have made clear in public, but now that we have voted overwhelmingly to do it, and when we sign it, then we'll have to work out the entry into force provisions. I am convinced we can do it, and I believe we can find a way for the Indians to have their security concerns met.

And so this is a big plus today. We're a lot closer today than we were yesterday toward realizing the dream of a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

Same Sex Marriage

Q. Mr. President—[*inaudible*]—same sex marriage bill passed today. Are you still going to sign it?

The President. Yes.

Q. Why?

The President. For the reason that I said all along—I said back in '92 that while I believe that gay partners can have certain contractual rights and other considerations, that the term marriage should not be applied in law. And this bill simply says that no State has to recognize any other State's law to that regard. So it's consistent with the position I took back in '92, and therefore I will sign it.

I will say again as I have repeatedly said, this should not be cause for any sort of discrimination or gay bashing, and I regret that the Senate failed by one vote to adopt the anti-discrimination bill with regard to employment discrimination, which I think is a very good bill. And we're so close, and I feel comfortable we'll be able to get it sometime in the near future.

Thank you.

Iraq

Q. [*Inaudible*]—Saddam Hussein—[*inaudible*]——

The President. Well, we don't have any independent confirmation of their allegation about firing the missiles. And again I will say I will take the position that I have taken from the day I took this office: We will evaluate them based on what they do, not what they say.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:14 p.m. at Kansas City International Airport, prior to his departure from Kansas City. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; President Jacques Chirac of France; President Boris Yeltsin of Russia; President Jiang Zemin of China; Foreign Minister Alexander Downer of Australia; and Jaap Ramaker, Netherlands Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on the Medicare Demonstration of Military Managed Care
September 10, 1996

Today I am pleased to announce, on behalf of more than one million Medicare-eligible military retirees, a new demonstration that will expand health care options for our Nation's military retirees.

This initiative moves forward an idea—Medicare subvention, or Medicare reimbursement of Department of Defense health facilities—that the military retiree community has sought for many years. This administration first embraced

the concept of Medicare subvention 3 years ago under health reform. More recently, the administration moved the concept forward in a legislative proposal for the Department of Veterans Affairs.

The demonstration I am announcing today, the "Medicare Demonstration of Military Managed Care," is a partnership between the Departments of Health and Human Services and Defense that can generate multiple benefits: expanded health care options and improved access to military treatment facilities for Medicare-eligible military retirees; a better way for the Department of Defense to care for retired beneficiaries and support medical readiness; and savings for the Medicare Trust Fund by providing health care to Medicare-eligible military retirees at a lower cost in the DoD health care system.

Under this demonstration project, Medicare-eligible military retirees in five communities could enroll in Defense's new TRICARE Prime managed care system, and Medicare would reimburse DoD for these enrollees at a rate below what is traditionally paid to Medicare managed care plans. To protect the Medicare Trust Funds, Defense would receive Medicare payments only after meeting its current level of funding effort. The demonstration will test whether Medicare subvention is a cost-effective alternative for delivering accessible and quality care to dual-eligible beneficiaries.

We will submit legislation reflecting this agreement shortly. I am pleased that there is strong bipartisan support for this demonstration, and I look forward to working with Congress in quickly enacting enabling legislation this year.

We owe a great debt to those who have risked their lives defending our Nation. This agreement is an important step toward repaying that debt.

Statement on Signing the District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1997

September 10, 1996

I have signed into law, H.R. 3845, the "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1997." This Act provides $719 million in Federal appropriations for the District of Columbia.

The total amount of Federal funds appropriated to the District for FY 1997 includes $660 million for the Federal payment to the District of Columbia, $52 million for the Federal contribution to retirement funds, $5.7 million for Presidential Inaugural expenses, and $1 million to help address the District's drinking water problem.

I am disappointed that the Congress has excluded the $52 million increase in the Federal contribution to the pension payment proposed in my FY 1997 Budget. The $52 million requested increase was intended to begin to address the District's $5 billion unfunded pension liability. I am committed to working with the Congress to develop a solution to address the District's single largest financial obligation.

The Act sets the total operating expense spending level for the District of Columbia at the requested level of $5.1 billion, $119 million above FY 1996.

The abortion language in the Act is the same as current law, which prohibits the use of both Federal and District funds to pay for abortions except in those cases where the life of the mother is in danger or in cases of rape or incest. I continue to view this prohibition as an unwarranted intrusion into the affairs of the District.

The Act includes a provision that applies civil rights standards provided for in Executive Order 11246 to Federal construction contracts funded under the District of Columbia School Reform Act of 1995.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 10, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3845, approved September 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–194.

Remarks to the Community in St. Louis, Missouri
September 10, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, it is wonderful to be here. Thank you for this vast sea of people. Thank you for all these wonderful signs: "Students for Clinton," "Teachers for Clinton," "Cardinals and Clinton," "Seniors for Clinton." There's one that says, "I'm from Haynes, Arkansas." "I'm from Hope, Arkansas." Good for you. My favorite one is that one back there that said, "I'd vote for anyone smart enough to marry Hillary." Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, first of all, I want to thank all these people who are here with me. I want to thank my friend Al Green for singing the national anthem. Wasn't he great? I want to thank those who preceded us on the program: your comptroller, Darlene Green; your president of the board of aldermen, Francis Slay; Representative Skelton, our Democratic chair; the county prosecutor, Bob McCulloch; Dr. Hammonds, the superintendent; all the principals who are here; the people from the school board; the State treasurer, Bob Holden; the secretary of state, Becky Cook; Joe Carmichael, our State Democratic chair. Senator Banks, thank you for being here.

Thank you, Gateway Elementary and Middle Schools, for welcoming us here. I love this place. I also want to introduce just one person I brought with me, my deputy campaign manager, the former Congressman from Missouri and former nominee to the United States Senate, Alan Wheat is here with me today—a great American. I thank him.

I want to thank your mayor for his aggressive leadership in education and housing and fighting crime, in proving that this city can be given back to its people and that, just as the motto of this school says, if you empower people and give them a chance to make the most of their own lives, they will do it. That's his philosophy, and that's what we're doing together.

I want to thank Governor Mel Carnahan for being one of the most enlightened and progressive Governors in the entire United States, for a person who believes that welfare reform means putting people to work, not putting them on the street, and giving our children and our families a better chance at a better future.

I want to say a thank you to Joan Kelly Horn for being willing to put herself on the line and run for the Congress again against the well-financed members of the other party, knowing that they are wrong and she is right. And you need to prove her right on election day.

I want to thank Congressman Dick Gephardt for being a great majority leader, a courageous minority leader, a man who is the best prepared person in the country to be the next Speaker of the House of Representatives, and I hope you will help him to do that.

And when I heard your own Congressman, Bill Clay, up here talking—what I want you to know is that when he's in a room alone with me in Washington he sounds just like he does when he's up here talking to you over a microphone. [*Laughter*] He's the same person every place and every time, and he loves, he loves the children of this district and of this country. He believes in education. And if you make Dick Gephardt the Speaker, you will make him the chairman of the House Education Committee, and that will be a good thing for America.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm honored to be back in St. Louis. We had one of the most memorable rallies ever here in 1992. I know we're a little late today, and I want to tell you the main reason we are, and I hope you'll understand and be glad. I had to take a little time in Kansas City to make a statement about a very momentous event that occurred today in New York City.

The United Nations has begun to meet again, and today, by an overwhelming vote, with only three nations in the entire world dissenting, the nations of the world voted to end nuclear testing once and for all in the entire world.

I came into office determined to lift the cloud of nuclear threats from our children and our future. We got the countries of the world to agree not to sell or develop nuclear weapons and give them to other people. We ended a nuclear program in North Korea. We finally succeeded in removing most of the nuclear weap-

ons from any place within the old Soviet Union. There are no nuclear missiles pointed at the children of the United States tonight for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age.

And now, if we can see this all the way through, with the vote of these nations today it means that we will be able to take another giant step toward ensuring the safety of our planet and our children and the children of the world if we can ban forever nuclear testing, a dream first born by President Eisenhower and President Kennedy so long ago. It's a great day for America and a great day for the world.

Just a few days ago, after the Democratic Convention in Chicago, we started a trip on the bus, Hillary and I and Al and Tipper Gore, in Cape Girardeau, Missouri. We had a huge crowd there on a hot day, once again demonstrating that our country is on the right track to the 21st century. Do you believe that? [*Applause*] We are.

Compared to 4 years ago, we've got the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years, 10½ million new jobs, wages going up again for the first time in a decade, 4 years of record—record starts of new small businesses, record numbers of women and minorities owning businesses in this country. We have a 15-year high in homeownership. I am proud of these things. We're moving in the right direction.

Fifteen million hard-working American families got a tax cut so they would always want to stay off welfare and keep working; 12 million families got to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs for the birth of a baby or the illness of a parent; 40 million Americans got their pensions protected; 10 million Americans on October 1st are going to get an increase in their minimum wage. Every small-business person in the country will be eligible for a tax cut if they put more money into their business to improve their productivity so they can hire more people or give their employees a raise. This country is moving in the right direction. I'm telling you, we are moving in the right direction, and we don't need to turn back now.

Here in St. Louis I was talking to the mayor about something called the brownfields initiative. That doesn't mean anything to most of you, but it will before long. A brownfield is a place where there used to be jobs in a city where there's now nothing but pollution. And what we aim to do is to clean up those brownfields so we can get rid of the pollution and bring back the jobs. And we're going to do it all over America, and we're going to do it right here in St. Louis.

We cleaned up more toxic waste sites in the last 3 years than were cleaned up in the previous 12 years. We brought the deficit down in each of the 4 years I've been President for the first time since before the Civil War, to take the debt off our children and keep the interest rates down on their parents. There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare, and child support collections are up 40 percent. This country is moving in the right direction.

I came into this job that you gave me—and Missouri sure played a big role in giving me this job for 4 years, and I thank you—with a simple vision for these little children here. I wanted us to go into the next century with the American dream alive and well and real for every person who is willing to work for it.

I wanted us to be one strong community coming together, not drifting apart; made stronger by our differences, not made weaker by them. I wanted us to continue to lead the world for peace and freedom and prosperity, and we are on the right track.

And let me say that I have tried to practice the politics of what to do instead of who's to blame. I don't care much about who's to blame, but in elections you do have to make choices, and it's important to know what decisions are being made. And when you think about Bill Clay and Dick Gephardt or Joan Kelly Horn, when you think about the races for Congress and the race for President, there are some things that are important to know.

In 1993 and 1994, we said yes to reducing the deficit in a way that was fair to all Americans and continued to increase our investment in education, in protecting the environment, in protecting Medicare and Medicaid. And the folks on the other side, they said no. We said yes to a crime bill that put 100,000 police on the street and banned assault weapons; and they said no. We said yes to a less expensive student loan program that gave young people the option to repay it as a percentage of their income. And all of them said no. We said yes to the AmeriCorps program that gives people a chance to solve problems in their communities and earn money for college, and the leaders of their party said no. We said yes to the family leave law, and the leaders of their party said no. We said yes to a tax cut for the 15 million Americans

with children in their homes that are working the hardest for the most modest wages, and they all said no. We said yes to the minimum wage increase, and most of them said no. We said yes to more funds for Head Start, for smaller classes, for safe and drug-free schools, and they said no.

And then, when they had their turn, they said we'll balance the budget by giving people like the President, who didn't need it, a tax cut and cutting Medicare, destroying Medicaid's guarantee of 30 years to poor children and pregnant women and middle class families with members with disabilities and the elderly in nursing homes, by cutting back on education when we need to be investing more, by weakening our environmental protection when we need to be doing more. That's what they said yes to. And then we had our chance, and we said no. We said no.

And that's really what this election is all about. It's a clear, unambiguous choice about building a bridge to the future or going back to a past that didn't work the first time. That is the choice. It's a choice between building a bridge that's wide and strong enough for all of us to walk across arm in arm or trying to recover a past that is not recoverable.

My fellow Americans, that's what this election is about. I want to build a bridge to the future that keeps our economy growing strong so that every single person who is willing to work has a chance to work and to be a part of the American dream. Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*]

Now, that means we do have to balance the budget. Every time I say this in Washington all the experts say, "Now, Mr. President, don't go into a city where most of the voters are Democrats anyway and talk about balancing the budget because it bores people. People don't care about it unless the economy's in bad shape, and then they think it will fix it."

Let me tell you why you ought to care about it. Our Republican friends said something last year I agree with. They said if we had no plan to balance the budget, interest rates would be 2 percent higher, so the Government would be borrowing money, the same money you're trying to borrow. You know what that means? You figure it out when you go home tonight. What would 2 percent mean on your home mortgage, your car payment, your credit card payments? It's a lot of money. What would 2 percent mean to all these business people? You want to borrow money in St. Louis and start new businesses or extend their businesses so they can hire more people. That's a lot of money. It would be bad for the economy.

So we say, yes, let's balance the budget, but let's do it without gutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. Yes, let's have a tax cut, but let's have a tax cut to people who need it, to help them raise their children and educate their children and save for a home and save for a college education and save for health care. And let's pay for that tax cut.

Let's don't go back. Let's don't go back and adopt an unwise tax program that sounds so great. "Oh, I'll give you more money," they say. What they don't say is, "I'll give you more money and then we'll have to cut Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment even more than we tried to cut it before, and the deficit will go up so you'll have higher interest rates." I say let's build that bridge to the future. We don't want to go back to that past. We tried it the first time and we didn't like it. Let's keep going. Will you help me build that bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

Ten million American children, 10 million of them are still living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. If you will stick with us, we'll clean up two-thirds of those, the worst ones in the next 4 years, so that all of our children will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help me build that bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

We want to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street. We've got the law on the books, but they've tried twice to stop it. I don't know why. The crime rate is down dramatically. The murder rate in St. Louis has dropped dramatically. It is not complicated. We've got police on the street working with the friends and neighbors of people who care about their neighborhoods and their children. We can bring the crime rate down. We've got it down for 4 years in a row. If we bring it down for 4 more years in a row, we may finally get to where we like living in this country and we feel secure in all of our neighborhoods, in all of our cities. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to America's future? [*Applause*]

My opponent said just the other day that he still thought Mr. Clay and Mr. Gephardt and I were wrong in passing the family and medical leave law, said it was antibusiness. All the bill

says is, if you work in a business with 50 or more employees and your spouse is about to have a baby or you are or your mama or your daddy's real sick or your baby's real sick, you can take just a little time off from work without losing their job. Now, you tell me, is that antibusiness?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. If it's antibusiness, how did this economy produce 10½ million new jobs? That's more jobs, more job growth, faster rate than any Republican administration in 70 years. It's not antibusiness. It's good for America when people can raise their families and be good to their kids and succeed at work. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Most important of all, I look at this beautiful, beautiful educational complex, and I look at the even more beautiful children out here. I know and you know that the only way, in the world we're living in and certainly in the world we're moving to, that we can protect all of our children and give them a chance to live up to their God-given abilities is to have education that is world-class quality for every child in America. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I was told that this is the first new school construction in St. Louis in 25 years. We've got the largest number of young people in school today in American history. I was in a school the other day in Tampa, Florida, a beautiful old school, where there were five or six trailers outside, prefab buildings that had to be brought in just to house the students.

One of the things I want to do is to have the National Government help those cities and those school districts that are willing to make an extra effort at school construction to rehabilitate old buildings or build new ones so that we can help them bring the interest rates down and lower the cost of school construction if they will make the extra effort. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Let me tell you something else I think we ought to do. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in this country—40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country—are still not able to read a book on their own.

Audience member. Not in Gateway!

The President. But we know—we know—you said not in Gateway—that's the idea. What I want them to say is, "Not anywhere. Not in Gateway, not anywhere." We know if our young people can't read, they can't learn other more complex subjects. They won't be able to write, use the language, learn another language, master computers. We know this is important.

I want to mobilize an army of reading tutors, starting with the AmeriCorps volunteers, the young people on work study, specially trained teachers and volunteers so that we can go into the schools of this country and help the teachers and help the parents and say by the year 2000 every 8-year-old boy and girl in America will be able to pick up a book and look at it and say, "I can read it by myself." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Let me say one other thing. We've got the chance now for the first time in the history of our country to give every child, no matter where that child lives, no matter how poor their neighborhoods, the same access to the same information in the same way at the same time as the children of the wealthiest school districts in America, because of technology. It requires computers in every classroom. It requires trained teachers on those computers. And it requires us in the next 4 years to hook up every one of those classrooms in every school in America to the information superhighway, to the Internet, the World Wide Web. Once we do it, education will truly be democratic and open to all Americans. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, let me say, we have got to put a college education within reach of every single American who wants to go and is willing to work. The scholarships, the AmeriCorps program, the improved student loan program, all this has helped. But we want to do more. I want us in the next 4 years to make at least 2 years of community college education as universal for every American of any age who wants to do it as a high school education is today. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

I want to do it in the following way. I want us to say to everybody, we will give you a tax credit, a refundable tax credit for up to $1,500 a year. That will cover the typical community college tuition in any State at any community college. Nearly every American lives within driving distance of a community college, and every American needs at least that much education. That's the right kind of tax cut for America, to send the American people to school. I want

to give the American families a tax deduction for the cost of any tuition after high school, undergraduate, postgraduate, you name it, at any age, up to $10,000 a year. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

That's the kind of bridge I want to build to the 21st century. I believe that we owe it to the children and to their parents to build a country in which people can succeed at home, raising their kids, and at work; where everyone who wants to get another education or more education has the chance to do it; where we say, you do not have to wreck the fabric of America's community to balance the budget. If you do it in the right way, it will make America a stronger community. That is the kind of America I want to build.

And let me tell you, folks—this election, you just heard, is 56 days from today, 8 weeks from today. In the next 8 weeks you think about how many people you're going to speak with. Think about all your friends and family members, everybody you might talk to on the telephone living inside or beyond the borders of the State of Missouri. And I want to just ask you to remember this—this is a wonderful rally; you've made me very happy today—but I want you to remember what I said. These are big choices, and the choices you make in the races for Congress and the choice you make in the Presidential race is a choice that has more to do with you than us. It has more to do with these children. They have all their tomorrows in front of them. And we owe it to them to make sure that our best days are still ahead. We owe it to them to make sure that the future is brighter than any of our glorious past.

And we can do it. We have it within our means if we have the vision and the will and if we make up our mind, each and every one of us, to be good citizens.

Yes, we have done a lot in the last 4 years, but the last 4 years is just an indication of what we can do in the next 4 and the years beyond if we will build that bridge together. Would you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. Let's go get it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:25 p.m. at Samuel Shephard Gateway Educational Park. In his remarks, he referred to singer Al Green; Darlene Green, St. Louis city comptroller; Francis G. Slay, president, St. Louis board of aldermen; Robert P. McCulloch, St. Louis County prosecutor; Cleveland Hammonds, superintendent, St. Louis public schools; Joseph Carmichael, Missouri State Democratic chair; State Senator B.J. (Jet) Banks; Mayor Freeman R. Bosley, Jr., of St. Louis; and Joan Kelly Horn, candidate for Missouri's Second Congressional District.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in St. Louis
September 10, 1996

Thank you so very much. Thank you, Jeff, for that wonderful statement and for the way that you have handled this terribly difficult and painful situation and for the way that you have led your very great company.

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for giving me a great time in St. Louis, for getting those 18,000 people there today at that absolutely wonderful educational complex that I think would be the envy of any community in the entire Nation. St. Louis can be very, very proud of that. It was extremely beautiful and, obviously, extremely effective. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Gephardt. I want to say a little more about him later. Thank you, Governor, for your friendship. We were sitting at the table tonight reminiscing about how Mel Carnahan, when he was trying to become Governor of Missouri in 1992 and should have been paying attention to his own business and the primary, endorsed me for President at a time when only my mother thought I could win. [*Laughter*] I was worried about his political health. But he seems to have weathered that burden quite nicely, and I thank him for it.

Mel and Jean and their children have been a real credit to the people of Missouri. And we were over in Kansas City earlier today with Mayor Cleaver and with Alan Wheat, who used to represent them in Congress but is now my deputy campaign manager, and Congresswoman McCarthy, and we had a wonderful meeting

there at a welfare reform center which I think will prove to be the model for the entire country as we come to grips with our new responsibilities to move people from welfare to work and not leave people behind. And on that account alone, I think he has earned the confidence and the support of the people of Missouri for a second term. And I thank you for everything you've done.

I'd like to thank Joan Kelly Horn for being here and for presenting herself as a candidate for Congress again. And I hope she's successful. Thank you, Joan. I thank Becky Cook and Bob Holden for being here and for being with me all day today. And I'd like to thank a man who's here who I believe is responsible for the first speech I ever gave in the State of Missouri as a public official about 10 years ago, Senator Tom Eagleton, who's here. Thank you, Tom, for being here. Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate what all the previous speakers have said, and I very much appreciate your support here at this fundraiser for the Democratic Party and for what we are trying to do in the next 8 weeks.

I'd like to go back to something that Mr. Gephardt said. It is true that, I think probably more than any other single action, his courageous leadership as the majority leader for the economic program that we put through the House and the Senate in 1993 by only one vote in each House made him the minority leader of the House.

We also passed the crime bill that was intensely controversial because it came on the heels of passing the Brady bill, and it contained a ban on 19 kinds of assault weapons. And a lot of our rural members were defeated by people telling them that—telling their voters they had gone to Congress and voted to take their weapons away. The truth was something far different. In fact, that bill contained the first legislative protection ever for 650 different kinds of hunting and sporting weapons, but it did ban assault weapons. And in the moment of '94, for those and for other reasons, the Democrats became the minority in the Congress. And we are attempting not only to win a Presidential election but to change that.

I'd just like to point out something. When you make a judgment about that, sometimes people say, "Oh, well, maybe we should have a divided Government," and we did get a few things done here at the end of this last session; we certainly did. I'll say more about that in a minute. But you think about where this country would be if those Members of Congress who gave up their seats had not voted on those two bills that cost them their seats.

In 1993 when we voted to bring the deficit down, it was projected to go over $300 billion. The latest projections are that it will be $117 billion. That economic plan brought the deficit down 4 years in a row for the first time in a President's administration since the 1840's; that's how long it had been since that's happened.

The crime bill, putting 100,000 police on the street, banning assault weapons, stiffening penalties, giving communities things for the young people to say yes to, to keep them out of trouble in the first place, played a major role in the fact that we have also had 4 years of declining crime rates in America, including big drops in the murder rates in many major American cities, including St. Louis.

And so I would say to you that if the purpose of politics is—in the 21st century will be, as I believe it—is to create the conditions and to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives—because governments can't deliver guarantees anymore in a global society—then those two bills showed that the leadership of Dick Gephardt and those who followed him and our friends in the Senate did an enormous amount to create the conditions and to give people the tools to improve their own lives in the State of Missouri, in St. Louis, in the neighborhoods of this community. And I just think that that ought to be taken into account in 1996 because there was bitter, bitter partisan opposition to both of those things.

The leaders who now want to stay in the majority and capture the White House claim that our economic plan would lead to a recession. They claimed it would increase the deficit. They claimed the crime bill would be ineffective. They told people they were going to take their weapons away from them.

Well, 4 years later, we've got 10½ million jobs; we have seen an enormous recovery because of lower interest rates; we've got 4 years of declining crime rates. Dick Gephardt was right, and they were wrong. And I think that ought to be part of everybody's calculation when they go to the polls and vote 8 weeks from today.

Now, let me say in a more positive sense, we did those things hoping that we wouldn't be punished for them politically, but basically because we thought we were in a tight—we had a terrible crime problem, we had a terrible economic problem; we had to do something about it.

I'd like to talk tonight a little bit about the economy and about the economic strategy we have followed and the one we propose to follow. It is true that Dick and Tom Foley, who was then the Speaker, George Mitchell, who was then the Democratic majority leader in the Senate, came to me and said, "This deficit has just been revised upward again, and unless we do something about it, we're never going to be able to grow the economy." It was absolutely clear.

So I went to Washington with a simple, straightforward economic strategy, as I said, to create the conditions and give people the tools to succeed in the global economy that we have today and the one we're certainly going to have in the 21st century. I wanted to, first of all, get the deficit down to decrease interest rates and increase investment in the private sector.

Secondly, I wanted to increase investment in education and technology and research in the areas that would grow the economy, which meant that if we're going to do that while reducing the size of the Government, we had to rather dramatically reform the way the Federal Government works and the way it delivered services.

The third thing I wanted to do was to expand the ability of the United States to sell our products and services around the world on terms that were not just free in the traditional sense but also fair in the global trading system. And that's what Governor Carnahan, among other things, was referring to when he talked about the airline route, which is one of the areas where we are consistently shut out because American airline companies are by far the most productive and efficient in the world and the airline routes are one of the few areas that are still protected and not covered by a lot of our trade agreements. So it's a continuing battle for us to open those routes.

But if you look at where we are now, bringing the deficit down has paid big dividends. But the investments are also paying dividends, and they make an enormous difference. When we invest more money in education, from Head Start to smaller classes to experimental schools like these charter schools which teachers can form within public school systems to meet the special needs of special groups of people, when we make college loans more available at lower costs, these investments are well-made. When we refined our space mission, these investments are well-made. When we invested in technology to help companies that were reducing their defense expenditures diversify into nondefense areas, this is very, very important.

Let me just give you a couple of examples of what our investment has produced. A lot of you, I'm sure, watched the Democratic Convention when Christopher Reeve made his very emotional speech about investment in medical research. And you know, just in the last few weeks that kind of investment has produced, for the first time ever, lower leg movement in laboratory animals that had been paralyzed, through nerve transplants.

In the last 4 years, because of our investments in medical research and because of our reforms of the drug approval process at the FDA, we have more than doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS, in only 4 years—way more than doubled.

We are about to build a supercomputer in partnership with IBM that will in one second do more calculations than you can go home and do on a hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Our space program is about to have two unmanned missions to Mars at the end of this year, coincidentally, right after we had this stunning apparent discovery of a microorganism coming from the planet of Mars millions of years ago. It's ironic that the second of these unmanned space missions will land on Mars on July 4, 1997, Independence Day. That was not planned in coordination with the producers of the movie, but it may give them a sequel after all. [*Laughter*]

So these things matter. There are some areas where public investment is important to the health of the private sector. We reduced the size of the Government. Our friends in the Republican Party often attack Government, but I found they hadn't done much to reform it in the last several years. So we did.

The Government is now smaller by about 250,000 than it was the day I took office. It will be down by about 270,000 by the end of this year. The last time it was this size was when John Kennedy was President. As a percentage of our workforce, your Federal Govern-

ment is now the same size it was in 1933 when Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office before the New Deal. We are spending less on—in other words—transfers and mechanisms and bureaucracies and more on investing in the American people and their future. And it's good policy.

We've negotiated 200 and something trade agreements, 21 with Japan. And the areas where we've negotiated trade agreements with Japan, our exports are up 85 percent. The United States auto industry, a big deal in the State of Missouri, is now number one in the world again for the first time since the 1970's. And we can be very proud of that. That's what our people did.

But I also believe an important part of the right kind of economic strategy for the 21st century is recognizing that more and more businesses will have to be constantly changing—more and more entrepreneurial. And we have to find ways for people to compose their lives so that they can work hard, keep up with the changes, and raise their kids.

And we have to emphasize small business more. I'm very proud of the fact that our Small Business Administration—we cut the budget and doubled the loan volume. I'm proud of the fact that we increased by 250 percent the tax cuts small businesses can get when they invest more money in their business. These things will make a difference, and all of this is contributing. We now have had 4 years in a row where we've had more new businesses started in America than ever before, each year breaking the successive record—the previous record.

So this economic strategy is working. And the Democrats didn't try to create our jobs in the Government; 93 percent of the 10½ million new jobs we have were created in the private sector. This is a partnership strategy. And I say this because one of the reasons that we want to win this election is to keep going on the right track and to build on this.

We have to continue to balance the budget as Dick Gephardt says. But it's very important that we balance the budget consistent with our values and our interests. If we balance the budget by cutting our educational investments or cutting back on our investments in technology and research or cutting back on our commitment to cleaning up the environment while we grow the economy, we would pay a terrible price for that.

One of the ways that the St. Louis economy will grow faster, and the economy of every city in this country, is if we invest more money in environmental cleanup. Our brownfields initiative, so-called—a lot of people don't know what a brownfield is; a brownfield is a place in a city that used to have jobs and now has pollution. That's what a brownfield is. And what we want to do is get rid of the pollution so the jobs can come back.

All the major economic analyses are that it'll become economically advantageous for people to reinvest in cities again for new jobs in the future if we can take away the environmental problem. So, yes, balance the budget, but be careful how we do it. Do it in a way that brings us together, doesn't drive us apart.

In the last day or two we've had another debate between Senator Dole and myself over this question of family and medical leave. He says, and I think he honestly believes, because he led the fight against it repeatedly, that it was an antibusiness initiative because it was a Government requirement on companies of 50 or more employees that you couldn't fire somebody if they had to take a little time off when a baby was born to them or their spouse, or when there was a sick parent, or when there was some other medical emergency in the family.

But we've now had 3 years of the family and medical leave law, almost 4. Twelve million people have taken advantage of it, and I believe we are stronger, not a weaker economy because of it. Surely, one of the objectives of the American enterprise system ought to be for people to succeed at work and at home. Surely, all of us ought to want to create an environment in which we have productive workers who are also effective parents. This 10½ million jobs that the American economy has produced in the last 3½ years represents one of the most rapid periods of job growth in the last 100 years—one of the very best periods. So it couldn't have been too damaging to the American economy to say to people, "You know, you can take care of your family and still work and do well."

So as we look ahead, I'd like to ask you just to think about these things. What do you believe the role of your Government should be? I believe we should be in the business of creating opportunity, rewarding and even demanding responsibility when we can do that, and building a stronger sense of community so we go forward

together. And having the right kind of economic growth strategy is critical to that.

Yes, we need to balance the budget, but we've got to do it in the right way. Can we afford a tax cut? Yes, but we ought to only have the tax cut we can afford, even if it means that most of us in this room don't get it or don't get all of it. We ought to only have what we can afford. I believe it would be good for the economy over the long run to give people some help with their childrearing expenses and with education expenses, to let many more people, people with incomes up to $100,000 in family income take out an IRA and then withdraw without penalty for education costs or medical emergencies or buying a first home. I don't believe people should pay capital gains when they sell their homes. I think we ought to foster homebuilding by families and homeownership by families, and a lot of people are lucky enough to have appreciation in their homes, but that's the only investment they've got that amounts to anything for a lot of people. So I think we can have that, but we should only have a tax cut we can afford, consistent with our other interests.

And we need to continue to pursue aggressively—as the late Ron Brown did at the Commerce Department, as Mickey Kantor did as our trade ambassador, as now he is doing as our Commerce Secretary—a strategy that says you have got to give America a fair deal in the global economy. You have got to do it. We're entitled to do it. And we can't win all of these fights, Jeff, but we're fighting them hard, as you know. And I think it's fair to say that our administration has had the most aggressive, comprehensive strategy of any recent administration of either party in trying to break down the barriers to selling America's goods and services around the world, and I think it's important. So I ask you to think about that.

The other thing I would like to say is that the greatest market for America that's untapped is the market of Americans who haven't fulfilled their own economic potential. If we want to speed the growth rate of the American economy, we have to continue to save and invest and improve productivity, but we have to have more customers. To have more customers in America, we've got to have more people that can make a living and can be our customers. That's why I want to triple the number of our empowerment zones. I want to dramatically increase the number of these community development banks that are in the business of loaning money to people to set up small businesses in communities that the economy and its recovery have passed by.

That's why I want to give special tax credits to people who will move people from welfare to work and invest in communities that have been overlooked. The biggest untapped market for America are all of the Americans who aren't fulfilling their economic potential. And if they have jobs and incomes, they will be our biggest consumers. They will pay taxes. They will help us to balance the budget. They will be happier. The crime rate will go down, and we'll be better off.

So I believe it is imperative—when we look at this welfare reform bill that I signed, I believe in what I did. But let me tell you what I told them in Kansas City today. I've worked on welfare reform for 16 years. What this new bill says is, we will continue to guarantee to the poor health care, child care, and nutrition, but the income check now goes to the States and every State has to work with the community to figure out a way to move able-bodied people from welfare to work.

If we do it wrong, the present system will be better for the poor than the new system. But the problem is, the old system would never let people be liberated. If we do it right, we can liberate people who have been isolated and downtrodden and ignored and turned away from, and we could ease our conscience by saying, "Well, at least they're getting a welfare check."

And what I saw in Kansas City today is what I want to see everywhere. States can take the welfare check and give it to employers and say: Take this as an income supplement. Train these people. We'll help you pay for them. Keep it for 3 or 4 years. But every single person in the United States that ever said a bad word about the welfare system now has a personal responsibility to look at what he or she can do to hire people off welfare and put them to work and give them a chance to build a better life.

The last thing I want to say is, I hope you will help me achieve our educational objectives. That's a big part of building the right bridge to the 21st century. And let me just say, there's a thousand things I could talk about, but I want

you to think about two things, because a lot of you can help this happen.

Yes, we need to get the computers in the classrooms, and we have to do that. A lot of you can help, and a lot of you are helping. Yes, we have to have the right educational software for the computers, and we have to have teachers trained to at least keep up with the kids, which is more than I can do. This summer we began a terrific program with 100,000 teacher volunteers to train another half a million teachers so they could go in the classrooms this fall prepared to work with computer technology.

But think of this. We propose in the next 4 years, if we get our contract renewed, to hook up every classroom and every library and every school in America to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, to that information superhighway. That will make it possible for the first time in the entire history of America for the kids in the poorest classrooms in America to get the same information in the same way in the same time at the same level of quality as children in the wealthiest classrooms. It has never happened before. It will revolutionize educational opportunity and performance if we do it right, and we need to make that commitment as a country to do that in the next 4 years. That will also help the American economy.

And the last thing I'd like so say is that a lot of us in this room have been saving for our children's college education a long time. We're facing that decision at home, you know, and we have this conversation three times a week. And I have my broken record answer, which is, "Go wherever you want to go. That's what I've been saving for 16 years for. I make enough decisions at work." [*Laughter*] "This is your decision, and I will honor it."

But not every person can do that. And we know, if you just look at the census figures, we know that one of the reasons that incomes have been splitting apart in America after coming together for so long is that you cannot continue to have a job that grows in earnings unless you have appropriate levels of skill. We ought to set as a national goal that by the year 2000, in 4 years, we will make 2 years of education after high school, at least a community college degree, as universal in 4 years as a high school degree is today. That would revolutionize the American economy and opportunity for America.

And this requires no bureaucracy, no program, no nothing. Almost every American is within a driving distance of a community college. Almost every community college performs at a very high level of effectiveness or it wouldn't be in business. All we have to do is to give a tax credit to the American people that will cover roughly the cost of tuition at community colleges in all the States of the country. That's paid for in our balanced budget bill. Then I think we ought to give a tax deduction for any kind of college education for up to $10,000 a year. This will be good investment for America's future.

Now, all these things, it seems to me, are good economics, but they'll also bring us together. And that's the last point I want to make. You look around this room tonight. We have African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, Arab-Americans, Jewish-Americans. It looks like the Olympics team here tonight—a few years later. [*Laughter*]

When I saw our Olympics team, I couldn't help thinking: We had people from 197 different countries in the Olympics; our largest county in America, Los Angeles County, has people from 150 of those places, in one American county. This is an enormous opportunity for us.

The rest of the world marvels at it. You have no idea how much of your time I have to spend as President trying to get other people to behave themselves because they'd rather kill each other because of their racial, their religious, their ethnic, or their tribal differences.

We joined the French and went to Rwanda to save people from starvation because the Hutus and the Tutsis didn't have enough to get along with. In the first place, they should have been working together to put their countries together—instead chose to slaughter each other in record numbers, including their children, in Rwanda and Burundi because they were of different tribes. One day they're all living together, they're big friends; the next day, they're killing each other.

We're going to have the first elections in Bosnia in about a week. And we've been a year without violence. But for 4 years, after living together for decades, people set upon each other and slaughtered each other and even killed children, ravaged families. And the Muslims, the Croats, and the Serbs are biologically indistinguishable. They are Muslims, Croats, and Serbs because of accidents of history and where empires ended in Bosnia.

In Northern Ireland, they still fight over what happened 600 years ago, when the young people have forgotten what all the fighting is about and they just want to get along and have a good life and build a future.

I saw the Prime Minister of Israel yesterday, and we practically had a celebration because he spoke with Mr. Arafat. But the truth is the Palestinians and the Israelis need each other. And if they were getting along, there would be no end to the good they could do for themselves and for their children and the future in the Middle East.

Now here we have that because our Founding Fathers said, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, you can have a home here." We were hypocritical. We had to work through our racial bigotry, and then we had to work through the fact that women didn't even have the vote. But we had the ideal from the beginning. And if we hadn't had the ideal, we would have had nothing to measure ourselves against, and we never would have made the progress that has been made. The civil rights movement was made with reference to the American Constitution.

So I say again, look around this room at all of you. And that's the last thing I want to say. That's why I was so angry about the church burnings and every time a synagogue is defaced or an Islamic center is burned, why I am outraged, because we have to stamp that stuff out here before it gets started. We have to prove that we are happy to be a country of many different races, many different creeds, many different beliefs, because it is our meal ticket to the future. It is in our self-interest to do what is morally right. And we have to do that.

I'm a little more sober than I meant to be here—I don't mean "sober" as opposed to "drunk"—[*laughter*]—I mean "sober" as opposed to "upbeat"—because I got started thinking when Jeff gave me the introduction, he was talking about meeting with those victims' families.

But let me tell you, one of the great honors, even though it's sometimes a burden, of being President is to see people in their hour of greatest pain, because it has a wonderful way of crystallizing what really matters in life. And when I was there with all those TWA families, including the people from the airlines, including people who were from Italy and France and Britain and America—I could tell you a lot of stories, but I'll just tell you one, tell you why I sort of changed my tone when I was listening to him talk.

This woman came up to me, and she showed me a picture of her perfectly beautiful daughter, who was on this plane, who was one of your flight attendants—she was a beautiful woman—and her perfectly beautiful grandson, who was also on the plane. And she told me a story about how this beautiful 10-year-old boy had walked away from a big opportunity that he had because the people wanted him to say something bad about me. He was a kind of a model, and they wanted him to be in some sort of an ad, or something.

And she started telling me about her grandson. And then she said, "I want you to have this." And she gave me a picture of this blond-headed 10-year-old kid, standing by a fireplace. And I looked at that child, and I thought to myself, I can't do anything to bring him back, but what my job is, is to remember this boy and to make sure that everyone like him that's still around has a great country and a greater country to live in when we start a new century, in a new millennium, in a completely new world, changing the way we work and live, but holding fast to the things that have made this country great for over 200 years.

And that's what I want all Americans to think about for 8 weeks. Most of the stuff comes and goes in elections. It's gone like chaff in the wind. It doesn't amount to a hill of beans. But I'm telling you, we're going to make some big decisions in this election, consciously or unconsciously. I want you to be aware of them. I want you to be happy you're making them. And I want you to make the right ones. We are still where we are today because almost all the time when the chips are down, we do the right thing. And if we stay on the right track, if we really believe in opportunity for all and responsibility from all, and if we really relish the fact that we have all this diversity in this country, the best days of this country are clearly ahead of us and not behind us.

And that's what it is our obligation to do, because that little boy—I'll keep that picture with me until the day I die of that kid standing by the fireplace. And I'll remember that our obligation is to all those little boys that can still stand in front of the fireplace on holidays and have those pictures taken. And if we do that, this country is going to be just fine.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:25 p.m. at the Hyatt Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Jeffrey H. Erickson, president and chief executive officer of Trans World Airlines and dinner cochair; Gov. Mel Carnahan of Missouri and his wife, Jean; Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II of Kansas City, MO; Joan Kelly Horn, candidate for Missouri's Second Congressional District; Becky Cook, Missouri secretary of state; and Bob Holden, Missouri State treasurer.

Memorandum on Employees Affected by Hurricane Fran and Its Aftermath

September 10, 1996

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Excused Absence for Employees Affected by Hurricane Fran and its Aftermath

I am deeply concerned about the devastating losses caused by Hurricane Fran and the impact on the well-being and livelihood of our fellow Americans who have been affected by this disaster. Elements of the Federal Government have been mobilized to respond to this disaster.

As part of this effort, I request heads of executive departments and agencies who have Federal civilian employees in the areas designated as disaster areas because of the effects of Hurricane Fran and its aftermath to use their discretion to excuse from duty, without charge to leave or loss of pay, any such employee who is faced with a personal emergency because of this storm and who can be spared from his or her usual responsibilities. This policy should also be applied to any employee who is needed for emergency law enforcement, relief, or clean-up efforts authorized by Federal, State, or local officials having jurisdiction.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 11.

Teleconference Remarks to the Regional Meeting of the White House Conference on Environmental Technology

September 11, 1996

I wanted to take this opportunity to welcome you to this regional meeting of the White House Conference on Environmental Technology. I'm sorry I can't be there with you. But our administration is very well represented by my Science Adviser, Jack Gibbons, and Fred Hansen, Sherri Goodman, and Al Alm, and I thank them all for being there.

I want to say a special word of thanks to Governor Romer for working with Jack to host this event and to thank Ralph Peterson and the other Colorado industry leaders who have worked so hard to put this meeting together.

I know that you're very committed both to promoting economic growth and job creation in Colorado and protecting your priceless environment. And by deploying a new generation of innovative environmental technologies and building a world-leading environmental industry, you know that you can do both. Promoting the development and deployment of new environmental technologies by American industry enables you to do a better job of cleaning up and protecting the environment at lower cost. And by strengthening the United States environmental technology industry, of course, an industry that already has created more than 1.2 million high-wage and high-skill jobs for American workers, you're making America's economy and our environment stronger. And of course, you're especially helping Colorado.

I'm very pleased that there are so many industry, environmental, and State and local government leaders here today working together to make this happen. I look forward to hearing your recommendations. And again, I want to thank Jack Gibbons and the other members of our administration team for being there, and I want to thank all of you for being there.

Thank you very, very much, and have a great meeting.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 a.m. by telephone from the Ramada Inn in Pueblo, CO, to the conference meeting in Golden, CO. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado and Ralph Peterson, president, CH2M Hill Corp.

Remarks in Pueblo, Colorado
September 11, 1996

Thank you very much. Good morning. It's great to be back in Pueblo again. I want to say first, Dr. Martinez, thank you for welcoming us here to the courthouse. And all of you who live here must be so proud of this magnificent building. I love it. I think we should give Josh Rael another hand for doing such a good job on the national anthem. [*Applause*]

I want to thank all of those who spoke before me, Mike Beatty, Al Gurule, Lieutenant Governor Gail Schoettler, and Tom Strickland. I hope you will send Tom Strickland to the United States Senate. I have a lot of confidence in him, and as I'll say in a moment, when these people present themselves for Congress and the Senate, there are real consequences to your lives.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be back here today because this is an election season, but elections should not be divorced from our lives. The choices we make as citizens for those who represent us affect the way we live after the elections are over.

As I was sitting here looking at Mayor Webb making his remarks, and my longtime friend and former colleague, Governor Romer making his remarks, and I couldn't help thinking how lucky Colorado is to be served by public officials like this who can make a positive difference in people's lives.

I also have to tell that I was talking with Patricia Heine before she got up here to speak; she told me that she had become a police officer 7 years ago, after working on raising her sons. And I thought to myself, it's a pretty great country when a mother who loves her children and cares for other people's children has the willingness, the ability, and is given the opportunity to go back to work in public safety to make this community and this State and our country a better place. And we thank you.

Today I want to talk, as Governor Romer said and Mayor Webb said, about the issue of crime, about the link between crime and drugs, and about what we have to do to make our streets safer if we're going to realize our vision for the 21st century. As your President, I have worked hard on a simple, straightforward vision for the next century, and especially for the children in this audience. We're only 4 years away from a brand new century and a brand new millennium. We're undergoing enormous changes, as all of you know, in the way we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world.

I want us to go into that next century as the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. I want us to go into that century with all the American people in our mosaic from all different ethnic groups, all different walks of life, growing together and being stronger together in a close-knit community that help each other to make the most of their own lives. And I want to make sure the American dream is alive and well for every single man or woman, boy or girl, who is willing to work for it. And that is my vision: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and everybody has a place in our American community. I hope you'll help me to realize that.

We've worked very hard in the last 4 years to create economic opportunity, and this country is better off than it was 4 years ago. We have the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years; 10½

million new jobs. We have 4½ million new homeowners. The deficit has gone down for 4 years in a row for the first time since the 1840's, before the Civil War. Wages are rising again for average working people for the first time in a decade. There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare today than there were the day I took the oath of office.

Child support collections are up 40 percent; 40 million people have had their pensions protected; 12 million Americans have taken some time off in the family leave law, keeping their jobs while their babies were born or they had a sick parent they needed to take care of. The air is cleaner for 50 million Americans, and we have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in the 12 years previous. We are moving in the right direction.

On October 1st, 10 million hard-working Americans will get a pay raise when the minimum wage law goes into effect. And that's a good thing for America.

Twenty-five million Americans will be helped by the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill which says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because someone in your family gets sick or you have to change jobs. This country is on the right track for the 21st century.

I have worked hard to make these things possible by working with all people of good will who were willing to move our country forward, to change the politics of Washington from who's to blame to what are we going to do about it, and what can we do together?

I have asked the American people to join with me in building a bridge to the 21st century, a bridge that we can all walk across together, a bridge that will be strong enough to realize our dreams for the future, to give every child the chance to live up to his or her God-given potential. And I want you to help me build that bridge. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

We have to make educational opportunity available for all. That means we have to create the most excellent system of education in the world for all of our children without regard to their racial or ethnic background or whether they're poor, rich, or middle class, whether they live in poor, rural communities or big cities or some place in between. I have a plan to make sure that every 8-year-old child in America will be able to read on his or her own by the year 2000. And we need to do that.

If we keep to our commitment to make sure that every classroom and library and every school in the United States is hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000, every child for the first time in the history of this country—every child—will have access to the same information at the same level of quality in the same time as every other child, rich, poor, or middle class. That will revolutionize education. And we have to do that.

And finally, let me say, in this great community which has, among other things, a perfectly wonderful community college where I was the last time I came here—I want to ask you to help me make sure that in the next 4 years we make 2 years of education after high school, the equivalent of a community college degree, just as universal in America as a high school diploma is today by giving people a tax credit for the tuition there.

By giving people a tax credit for the tuition cost of a typical community college, by giving our American people a $10,000 tax deduction per year for any tuition cost at any institution of higher education—undergraduate, graduate, community college, you name it—by letting the American people and letting more Americans take out more savings in an IRA, save that money, and then withdraw it tax-free to pay for college education, health care, or to buy a first-time home, that will build a bridge to the 21st century.

To build that bridge, we have to keep this economy growing steady and strong until every American has a chance to benefit from it. That means we have to balance the budget. But we have to do it in the right way. We must balance the budget to keep the interest rates coming down so that you can afford house payments, car payments, credit card payments. So that small-business people can afford to borrow money to build their businesses, we have made every small business in America eligible for a tax cut if they invest more money in their business. We are growing small businesses at a record rate, but we have to continue to balance the budget. But we can do it. And we must do it without wrecking Medicare, Medicaid, cutting back on our investments in education and protecting our environment. We have to do that.

We have to build a bridge to the 21st century where families can succeed at home and at work. Most parents—whether the family is a one-parent or a two-parent household—most

parents are working today, and most parents have to work. I hardly ever meet a family that doesn't tell me there has been some time in their lives when they've really faced a dilemma in the conflict between their obligations at work and their obligations at home.

That's why we worked hard to pass the family leave law. That's why we worked hard to increase childhood immunizations, to increase Head Start, to pass the V-chip law to give parents the ability to control inappropriate programming and its access through television to the young children. That's why we've worked hard to protect our young people from the dangers of marketing and selling tobacco which is illegal in every State but prevalent in every State. And that's why I believe we should expand the family and medical leave law to say in a very limited way, people also ought to be able to take their children to doctor's appointments and to the local parent-teacher conference without losing their jobs in this country. And I hope you'll help me do that.

We have a lot of environment work to do to build our bridge to the 21st century. There are still 10 million American children—listen to this—10 million American children living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. I want to clean up two-thirds of those dumps, the worst ones, in just the next 4 years, by far the most rapid pace in history. But it's important to us. Our children should be growing up next to parks, not poison. And I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

But let me tell you, we cannot—we cannot—build the right bridge to the 21st century unless our children and their families are safe in their homes, on their streets, in their schools, in their communities. Four years ago, I came to this wonderful community just 2 weeks before election day. I said I wanted to prove, and I quote—this is what I said then, that "you could be tough on crime and smart at the same time." Well, 4 years later, I can tell you that that approach is possible, and it's working.

Just 2 years ago this Friday, in one of the proudest moments of my Presidency, I signed the 1994 crime bill. We began to put 100,000 police on our streets. We're about halfway home now. We have about 500 already funded in Colorado, five right here in Pueblo. We made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land. We began helping States to build 100,000 new prison cells. We began to expand prevention programs so our young people would have something to say yes to, not just no.

And let me say, not a single sportsman or hunter in Colorado—notwithstanding what they were told in 1994—has lost their hunting or sporting weapon—not a single, solitary one, not one. But you know what? Sixty thousand felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get a handgun because of the Brady bill. It was the right thing to do. We are safer because of it.

Now, this strategy is working. For 4 years in a row, the crime rate has come down. But no matter how tough our penalties, no matter how many new prisons we build, we will never break this problem until we break the cycle of crime and drugs and stop the revolving door between prisons and drug use on the streets.

Let me be clear, the best antidrug program is still parents teaching their children right from wrong. It's still those D.A.R.E. officers in the schools standing up there in front of those classes and letting those little children with their wide eyes look at people in uniforms and say, "That's the kind of person I want to be, and that's the kind of behavior I want to have."

That's why I fought for the safe and drug-free schools program, which puts antidrug counselors like Officer Heine in the classroom. The first bill I vetoed as President, the very first one, was a bill passed by this Congress that would have gutted the safe and drug-free schools program. I don't know about you, but I think we need more people like her, not fewer, in front of our children in the schools of America.

Last year Congress gave me about $700 million less than I sought to fight drugs, and that's wrong, and I hope we can correct it before they go home. I appointed a four-star general, an American military hero, General Barry McCaffrey, to lead our attack on drugs, and he has developed a strategy for us that we will follow with great discipline over the next 5 years, targeted at keeping drugs away from our children and he deserves the support that he needs.

Illegal drugs are a significant force behind the vast majority of violent crimes in this country and a big part of the problem with juvenile crime. Drug dealers with guns, criminals on drugs, they contribute a lot to the misery that the rest of America has to endure.

Listen to this: Two-thirds of the men in State prisons have substance abuse problems. I have

signed an Executive order to require drug testing of anyone brought into the Federal system, but I have not been able to affect that. Listen to this. When criminals on parole go back on drugs, the chances are enormously high they will commit new crimes. Sixty percent—listen—60 percent of all the heroin and cocaine sold in the entire United States goes to people on bail, on probation, or on parole. Seventy-five percent of the prisoners with a history of heroin or cocaine use who are released without treatment go back to drugs within 3 months and return to crime. We have to stop this cycle, or we'll never get on top of the problem.

In spite of this problem, States often don't do much to test parolees or prisoners, or provide adequate treatment. That has to be changed. Drugs don't belong in prisons or in the hands of parolees. Parole is not a license to break the law, use drugs, and slip back into crime; it is a chance to go straight and live a better life.

So today I propose to offer legislation that will say to every State in the country, we are prepared to continue to use funds from our crime bill to help you build your prisons. But if you want that money, you now must start drug testing prisoners and parolees to break the cycle of crime and drugs. It's time to say to inmates, if you stay on drugs, you'll stay in jail; if you want our of jail, you have to get off drugs. It's time to say to parolees, if you go back on drugs, you'll go back to jail; if you want to stay on the street, stay off drugs. And I want you to help me send that message to America.

We know the States are hard-pressed, and we intend to do our part. Today the Department of Justice announced $27 million in grants to States for testing and intervention with prisoners, to help them break this cycle. States can start using this money right now for drug testing and for intervention to help prisoners and parolees.

And let me tell you something, folks, this is not an election year pledge. This will work. A new report shows that in Delaware, prisoners who got treatment in prison and during work release were 75 percent drug-free and 70 percent arrest-free after 18 months; but 80 percent of the prisoners who did not receive treatment went back on drugs, and two out of three were arrested again. It is simple. We know what to do, now let's go do it. Let's build a bridge to the 21st century that breaks the cycle of crime and drugs.

I want to say to all of you, I am more optimistic than I was when I came here 4 years ago about our future. I am more idealistic about the possibilities of Americans to do good things together. But we must make a commitment to work together, to create opportunity for all, to get responsibility from all of our citizens, and to reach out to one another across the lines that divide us so that we can go forward together. That is the bridge that I seek to build to the 21st century, and I hope you will help to build it.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:17 a.m. at the Pueblo County Courthouse. In his remarks, he referred to Richard Martinez, Pueblo County commissioner; Josh Rael, student, Pueblo South High School; Michael Beatty, chairman, Colorado Democratic Party; Al Gurule, candidate for Colorado's Third Congressional District; Lt. Gov. Gail Schoettler and Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado; Colorado senatorial candidate Tom Strickland; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver; and police officer Patricia Heine. The President also referred to his memorandum of December 18, 1995, on Federal arrestee drug testing, published in the *Public Papers of the Presidents: William J. Clinton, 1995, Book II* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), p. 1904.

Remarks in Sun City, Arizona
September 11, 1996

Thank you very, very much. I'll tell you, we're off to a pretty good start. Hello, Desi. I'm glad to see you. See that lady right there? She used to take care of my daughter right after she was

born. Her name is Desi Centers. Give her a hand, she did a good job. [*Applause*]

I'll tell you, all the reporters on the plane wanted to know why I was coming to Arizona, and was it about politics and did we really think we could win? And I said, "Look, I just got my AARP card. I thought I'd come check it out." It looks pretty good to me. It looks pretty good to me. [*Laughter*]

Well, Rose Mofford did what she usually does, she stole the show already. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Governor. When I saw her backstage, she said, "Well, I'm still your adopted mother." [*Laughter*] She and my mother had a lot in common. I have always loved Rose's irrepressible optimism and her very straightforward manner. And I can tell you this: When we served together as Governors, she loved the State of Arizona, and she took care of you. And I'm glad to see her here today.

I want to thank my good friend Ed Pastor for being here with me today. He is a true leader in the Congress, leading for the people of Arizona, leading for the Hispanic Caucus, leading for the concerns of people all over the United States. And thank you, Dennis Jensen, and thank you very much for this beautiful bolo, which I will treasure. I collect them. I love to wear them when I have different attire on. [*Laughter*] I did wear my boots. If I'd known I was going to get a bolo, I wouldn't have worn a tie. [*Laughter*] Thank you very, very much. Is the gentleman who did that here? Stand up. Give him a hand, he did a wonderful job. Thank you very much. [*Applause*]

I want to thank a number of others who are here—the chairman of the Arizona Democratic Party, Sam Coppersmith, former Member of Congress, a very good man; State house minority leader, Art Hamilton; Steve Owens, our nominee for Congress in the Sixth Congressional District and a very good man; Barbara Sherman, our nominee for corporations commission, thank you for being here. Thank you, Mayor Paul Johnson, from Phoenix, for being here. Thank you, Vice Mayor Crawford, from Tucson, for being here. Thank you, State Senator Sandra Kennedy. And I want to thank the labor leaders, the Native American leaders, the county officials who are here. All of you who have come out to be here, we are very, very grateful to you.

This is a great day for me to be back in Arizona and to be here with all of you. I want to thank the Temptations. The Temptations were singing when I came in the back. I heard them, and they were just great, weren't they? For a moment I thought I was crashing a dance instead of coming to a political meeting. [*Laughter*]

I want to echo what has been said already about other distinguished Arizonans. I am personally very, very grateful to Bruce Babbitt for his willingness to serve in our administration and for the heroic fights he has taken on, to preserve our natural resources, to fight back on ill-advised attempts to sell some of our national parks, to help to save Yellowstone from a gold mine, to create in the Mojave Desert the largest national park in America south of Alaska, and to be a good steward of our national resources.

I was profoundly honored to present to Mo Udall's son Mark the Presidential Medal of Freedom, which I gave him a couple of days ago. And no American deserves it more. All of you can be very proud of that.

And I know I join all Americans in wishing Senator Goldwater well in his recovery. And let me tell you—you're probably like me—I first met Barry Goldwater 28 years ago when I was 21 years old—almost 29 years ago now. And he was giving a speech at the University of Arkansas at the invitation of Mack McLarty, who later became my Chief of Staff and is now the White House Counselor. And we were there. And I worked at the time for Senator Fulbright from Arkansas who, as some of you—maybe most of you know, was a Democrat. And he and Senator Goldwater had a great difference about the war in Vietnam which was the major issue back then. I will never forget how kind Barry Goldwater was to me as a 21-year-old college senior, a person he could never have known would amount to a hill of beans, and some of his fellow Republicans still think hasn't amounted to a hill of beans. [*Laughter*]

I'll never forget that. But the thing that means the most to me is the incredible kindness and sensitivity he has shown toward the First Lady over the last 4 years. It means a great deal. So I wish him well. And I thank God for his civility and his service to our Nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to be here. I've had an interesting couple of weeks. A lot has been going on in the Nation's Capital, and a lot has been going on out in the country. We had our great convention in Chicago. And before that, I was on the rails, on the track to Chicago. And after that, Al and Tipper Gore

and Hillary and I took a bus trip. And since then, I have been going back and forth to work in Washington and then back to the campaign trail when I could.

When I ran for President in 1992, I told the American people I had a very straightforward but profoundly important vision for our country in the 21st century; that we were going through this huge period of change in how we work and how we live and how we relate to each other and the rest of the world, a sweeping period of change; and that I wanted to see us manage this change into the next century in a way that kept the American dream alive for every single person in this country, that kept this country coming together as we grow ever more diverse and not being driven apart as so many nations are by their diversity, and that kept us the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world.

I said then, I reiterate today, I thought the only way to do that was to find a way to meet our challenges and protect the values that have made us the greatest country in history. And that our strategy should be simple, straightforward, and profound. We should work for opportunity for all, for responsibility from all, and for an American community that really is growing stronger together, where we respect each other for our shared values and we accept our differences, and we're proud of them because we know it makes us stronger and stronger, especially in a global society where there are people from all over the world with whom we must do business, with whom we must make peace, and with whom we must relate if we want to beat back the problems and seize the opportunities that the next century is going to offer us.

And for 4 years, I've worked on that. And I have to tell you that it may be a little immodest, but I think the evidence shows that we're better off than we were 4 years ago.

Look at the evidence. The latest evidence we have is that unemployment is down to a 7½ year low—5.1 percent—in the Nation, the highest consumer confidence in years, 10½ million new jobs. The economy is on the right track. We have almost 4½ million new homeowners. Another 10 million homeowners have refinanced their mortgages at lower rates because we've been able to get those interest rates down. I see those folks everywhere. We have record numbers of new small businesses formed in each of the last 4 years. Our exports of American products and services are at an all-time high.

Twelve million Americans have been able to take advantage of the family and medical leave law to take a little time off for the birth of a baby or the illness of a parent without losing their job. Fifteen million of our hardest pressed working Americans got tax relief so that if you work 40 hours a week with children in the home, you'll never be in poverty now. That's very, very important.

Forty million Americans—and this is something that's important to a lot of people in this room—in 1994, we passed a bill to protect the pensions of 40 million Americans—40 million Americans.

Our air is cleaner. Our drinking water is safer. Our food is purer. We have closed more toxic waste dumps in the last 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12.

And in the last 2 weeks before Congress left office, we had some more good news. On October 1st, 10 million Americans will get an increase in the minimum wage. And every single small-business person in the country who invests more money in his or her business to make it more productive, to hire more people, to grow, will get a tax cut.

And 25 million Americans, because of the passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, will be eligible not to lose their health insurance just because they got sick, someone in their family got sick, they had to change jobs. The minimum wage bill also made it easier for people in small businesses to take out pensions and for the employees in small businesses to keep those pensions if they move from job to job. And it gave families a $5,000 tax credit if they adopt children. So that bill was pro-work, pro-business, and pro-family. The country is moving in the right direction. We are moving in the right direction.

The welfare rolls are down by 1.8 million from the day I took office, and child support collections are up by 40 percent, $3 billion. The crime rate has dropped in each of the last 4 years, as we are about the business of putting 100,000 more police on the street, attacking violence against women and children, working for safe and drug-free schools. And yes, we passed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. But contrary to all the hysteria that was whipped up in 1994 against the people who voted for the crime bill, not a single Arizona hunter or

sports person, not a single Arkansas hunter or sports person lost their weapon. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did lose the right to get a handgun because we passed the Brady bill, and we're better off because of it.

The Government we have today in Washington is very different from the Government we had 4 years ago. It is, first of all, smaller by 250,000. The Government is now the smallest it's been since John Kennedy was the President of the United States in the early sixties. And I might say, to give you a better impression of how much we've shrunk the Government, it's a bigger country now than it was in 1960, more people live here. As a percentage of the civilian work force, the Federal Government is today the smallest it's been since Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office for the first time in 1933.

We have reduced the size and burden of the Federal Government, but we still have a Government that is strong enough to help us meet our challenges and protect our values. The role of the Government today is to create the conditions and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives, and that's what we are attempting to do.

And finally, let me say, we have plainly maintained our responsibility to be a force for peace and freedom and prosperity, with 200 new trade agreements, 21 with Japan alone—American exports up 85 percent in the areas covered by our trade agreements with Japan; the United States number one again in automobile production and sales around the world for the first time since the 1970's; working for peace in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in Haiti, throughout the world; reducing the nuclear threat—for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age in the last 4 years, there's not a single nuclear missile pointed at the children of America. And you can be proud of that.

Just a couple of days ago I had the great honor of supporting and then being able to announce that the United Nations voted overwhelmingly to ban nuclear testing forever, a huge event. And now the United States Senate is considering something called the Chemical Weapons Convention, and if we pass it—160 nations have signed it, 60 have ratified it, we need to follow suit and ratify it in the Senate because it will enable us to reduce the availability of chemical weapons for terrorists, for countries that would promote chemical weapons and use them in an inhumane way. Nobody is immune from this. You saw from the terrorist attack in the Tokyo subway what can happen when innocent people are subject to this.

So I implore the Senate to go on and ratify this. This is a bipartisan thing. This treaty was negotiated when President Bush was in office, but it has never been ratified. And we must ratify it so we can continue the work of making the world a safer place, especially from terrorists.

And finally let me say on that subject, as all of you know, in recent days it became necessary for me to order our pilots to take certain actions in Iraq, to increase the chances that we could prevent Saddam Hussein from threatening his neighbors because of what he was doing to his own people. I just want to say, again, that we are going to do everything we can to make sure our own pilots are safe, that they can fly their missions in safety. We will do whatever is necessary to protect them. And the determination of the United States in dealing with the problem of Iraq should not be underestimated. We will do what we must do to protect our people and our soldiers.

Now, you heard Rose Mofford say that I called her back in 1988. When I was a Governor I was often appalled by what I saw coming out of Washington, frankly, because it seemed to me that the further you got away from the people and the closer you got to Washington, DC, the more our politics became about rhetoric and the less about reality. There was more name-calling and less working in ways that would change people's lives.

The things that I have just said to you, it seems to me, document beyond question that we are capable of working together in a partnership that will have a positive impact on the lives of the people of the United States.

So let me say again, I have tried to change the politics of your Capital from who's to blame to what are we going to do? And even though we have come a long way in the last 4 years, I think we all know we still have a lot of challenges to meet to make sure when we start that new century and a new millennium, our country is the kind of country we want it to be. We do have to build a bridge to the 21st century, but we've got to build it on ideas, not insults. And this campaign ought to be a campaign of ideas about what is best for the American people.

Now, let me say very briefly where I think we should go and the bridge that I hope you will help me build. First of all, if we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century of opportunity, we have to make sure that every American who is willing to work has a chance to participate in that opportunity. In a world dominated increasingly by high technology, by rapid movement of information, by global competition, education is more important to the well-being not only of individual Americans, but to our country than ever before in the history of the United States.

In the past 4 years I worked on a broad front to improve education, from increasing Head Start to giving our schools funds to raise their standards, stay open after school for kids who are in trouble, try innovative reform measures that would enable them to achieve higher levels of learning. We reformed the student loan program to make the loans lower cost and to have better repayment terms so more people could go. And we fought back what I considered to be very ill-advised efforts to cut back on education funding at a time when education is more important to our future than ever before.

Now, what are we going to do in the future? I think, first of all, we should have a clear agenda that includes at a minimum the following items: Number one, 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country still can't read a book on their own. Even though improvement in math and science is going up, even though our schools are plainly getting better, 40 percent of those kids can't. I propose to put together an army of 30,000 mentors from national service volunteers, from young people on work-study in college, from trained reading tutors, to mobilize a million true volunteers to go into every high school in this country—I mean—excuse me—every grade school in this country where it is needed to make sure by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in America can pick up a book and say, "I read this myself."

Second, we have an opportunity that is truly revolutionary because of technology to do something never before done. We are working hard not only to get computers and educational materials and software to go into computers in all the classrooms of America, we've also worked to train teachers who can at least keep up with all these young kids who are computer wizards, something I can't do.

This summer, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the school principals, and other education groups put together 100,000 teachers who began the work of training 500,000 more teachers to make sure that the teachers could actually use the computers in the classroom to teach the students. And now it is time to make sure that we do the last thing. We need to make sure that every classroom and every library and every school in America is hooked up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, to all these networks of information.

Now, let me just say for a moment what the significance of that is. What this means is that for the first time ever in the history of the country, if we do it, children in the smallest, most isolated rural school districts in America, children in the poorest inner-city school districts in America, no matter where these children are, they will have access to the same information in the same form in the same time at the same level of quality as children in the wealthiest school districts in the country. It has never happened before. We can do it in the next 4 years, and we should—and we should.

Finally, in the next 4 years we should truly open the doors of college education to anyone of any age who needs to go—of any age. And I propose to do the following:

Number one, we ought to set as a national goal in 4 years, we'll make at least a community college degree as universal in America as a high school diploma is today. How? Almost every American is within driving distance of a community college, and those places work. They're open; they're flexible; they're results-oriented; they're democratic—small "d," that is they're open to everybody. They work the way America ought to work more. And all we have to do to make community college available to everybody is to say to people, "If you'll go, we'll give you a tax credit of up to $1,500 a year for the tuition," which would cover the typical tuition cost throughout the country.

Second, we should give a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any education after high school so we can encourage people to go forward, encourage parents and grandparents to help their children and grandchildren go to college.

The third thing I want to so do is to recognize that a lot of adults need more education as well, and that we have 70—70 at least—different

programs in the Federal Government that have developed for the best of reasons over time. But you need a slide rule to figure out whether you qualify for them. And what I want to do is to say to someone, if you qualify for Federal educational help because you have lost your job or because you are grossly underemployed, instead of these 70 different programs you have to figure out, I want to put all that money in one pot and give a skills grant worth up to $2,500 a year to people and say, take it to your local community college, take it wherever it's best for you. But here it is, go get an education so you can go up not down on the job scale if you lose your job. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] I need your help.

I think we should promote more homeownership. Our Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros has worked hard, and we have cut the average closing costs for first-time homebuyers by nearly a $1,000. We have a 15-year-high in homeownership. But I want this to be within reach of every American. We have lots of initiatives to do that. But one of the things that I think we should do is to change the law so that people simply do not have to pay taxes when they sell their home even if it appreciates in value up to a half a million dollars. I think we should do that.

And finally, let me say, if we want to have opportunity, we've got to keep this economy going. And that means that we have to continue to finish the work to balance the budget, but we have to do it in the right way. And I want to talk a little about that. There's been a huge debate about that, you know, in the last 2 years since our friends in the other party won the Congress. And you can see from outside that they're a little sensitive about the fact that America didn't like their budget. [*Laughter*]

But let's talk about it. We do have to balance the budget. Why? Well, one thing that our Republican friends said last year that I agree with is—they said last year—not this year, but last year—they said, "If we're not on a path to balancing the budget, interest rates will be 2 percent higher." I agree with that. Now what does that mean? That means—you just figure it out for yourselves—that means 2 percent on your car payment, your credit card payment, your home payment. Even more important for the overall health of the economy, it means 2 percent on those loans that business people need to take out to start those new businesses or to expand the businesses. And keep in mind, we've had 4 years in a row of record formation of small business. But that's where most of the new jobs are coming from.

So we do need to go on and balance the budget. So the question is how. And that's what we're revisiting in this election. The budget I vetoed that the Congress passed, I vetoed not because I didn't want to balance the budget but because I thought it was wrong to basically end Medicaid's 30-year guarantee of health care to poor women and little babies; to end the 30-year guarantee of health coverage to middle class families who had members with disabilities where they were struggling to take care of those people in their own homes and go to work every day; wrong to end the guarantee of those who had very limited incomes and needed that help if they had to be in nursing homes.

I thought it was wrong to create a two-tier Medicare system which said to people, if you're unfortunate enough to be older, poorer, and sicker than most other seniors, you could well get second-class care. I thought it was wrong not to keep up with inflation and population growth in Medicare and instead to have real cuts that were going to force people to make payments out of pocket, designed to fund a budget system that had an enormous tax cut that went to people like me, and I didn't need it. I thought that was wrong. I don't apologize for that. I still think it was wrong. I still think it was wrong.

I thought it was wrong—I thought it was wrong for us to be cutting the safe and drug-free schools law, to be abolishing AmeriCorps, to be turning our back on our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street, to pass a budget that would have raised taxes on 9 million of our poorest working people, actually raise taxes on them. I thought it was wrong to allow a raid on the pension funds in America of nearly $15 billion. We went through that pension collapse just a few years ago. Are we going to go back and make that mistake all over again? I thought that was wrong.

So I plead guilty. I vetoed it, and I'd do so again because I thought it was wrong. But that does not mean—again, that does not mean that we should not balance the budget. It does not mean that we don't have to have some savings in Medicare to stabilize the program so it's going to be there not just next year but

10 years from now, 15 years from now, 20 years from now for all who need it. But the changes should be made by someone who believes in Medicare and believes it's served our country well, not someone who doesn't care whether it exists or not. Now, that should be done.

But we have to keep doing the work of balancing the budget. But you know, if we turn around and walk away from our obligations to invest in environmental protection and new technology and education, we'll hurt ourselves. Let me give you one other example. Arizona has become a center for precision manufacturing because of the dry air and because of the good climate for manufacturing and for working. You have a huge stake here in this State in seeing that we continue on the cutting edge of manufacturing technology, high technology.

Whether you do anything that has anything to do with that or not, everyone who lives in Arizona has a big stake in seeing that America maintains its technological lead. That means that we have to do some public investment in research and elemental development. We must do that.

In biomedical research, Government-funded research has led to unprecedented gains in many areas in the last 4 years. Public research has led to a lot of things that we now take for granted; the Internet—the Internet is the product of a Federal research project. But as soon as it was obvious that it was going to work, the Government did exactly what the Government should do. We couldn't run it. We got out of it and let the private sector take over.

Right now we are engaged in a joint venture with IBM to develop a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you could go home and pick up a pocket—a handheld calculator and do by yourself—listen to this—in 30,000 years.

Now, we have to make those kinds of investments because the private sector can't afford to do it, it's too problematical. You have to break through these barriers, but this will make a huge difference in the future of our country.

So I say to you, go out and tell your fellow Arizonans, whether they're Republicans, Democrats, independents, you name it, "Yes, balance the budget, but do it in a way that brings us together instead of drives us apart. Do it in a way that honors our obligations. And do it in a way that builds that bridge to the 21st century." That's what we have to do.

Folks, let me just make a couple of other points more briefly. We have to build a bridge to the 21st century that honors responsibility. And I just mentioned two points there. I just signed a welfare reform bill that was fairly controversial, and I didn't think it was perfect. But I did it because I think it is imperative to end the isolation of those people who are trapped on welfare generation after generation. I think it is imperative to bring people into the world of work, to bring those families into contact with other families, to make them believe that they can change their lives.

And now the challenge is to take this new system and make it work. The new system says, if you're poor, we will still give you health care for your children, we will still give you nutrition, and now we will give you more in child care if you go to work. But now the income check will go to the State, and they must find a way to move able-bodied people from welfare to work within 2 years.

My challenge is to every Governor in this country and every private business person: now we have to create the jobs, a million more jobs at least, in the next 4 years for people who have been trapped on welfare. We have reduced the welfare rolls by 1.8 million. If we can do a million more with the hardest-to-place cases, you will see that we can end welfare as we know it and bring people back into mainstream America and make poverty a temporary, not a permanent, condition for a whole generation of young people. We have to do that and I want you to help me do that.

The second thing I want to talk about briefly is the crime problem. Crime is still a big problem in America. Yes, the crime rate in the country has dropped for 4 years. Yes, in most major cities it's going down. But it's still going up in some suburbs and small towns. It's still a problem. And it will be a problem until you can go home at night and turn on the evening news and the first story is not a crime story. Or if it is a crime story, you're absolutely shocked, instead of saying, what else is new. That's how you will know. We'll always have some crime. You'll know when we've got this thing whipped when you're shocked when you see a crime story leading the evening news at night instead of saying, what else is new.

Now, instead of 4 years of a declining crime rate, we need 8 years of a declining crime rate. That's what we have to do. We have to finish

putting those police on the street. We ought to take the cop-killer bullets off the street; they have no hunting or sporting purpose. We ought to extend the Brady bill. The Brady bill has worked well. It now applies to any felons. I think the Brady bill ought to apply to anyone who abuses a child or a spouse in the home, as well. We should try to reduce that.

The last thing we have to do is build a bridge to the 21st century that strengthens our American community. And I want to mention some things real quickly. The problem I hear young people talk most about, and even people that aren't so young, who may still have children in the home, is that they are constantly finding examples where they feel torn between their obligations to spend time with their children and do things with their children, and their obligations at work. That's why I fought for the family and medical leave law. I didn't want to interrupt the free enterprise system, but it seemed to me that if you had people all torn up and upset at work because their kids were in trouble at home and they couldn't take care of them, that wasn't going to be very good for the economy.

It also seems to me that if we make Americans make a choice between succeeding at work and succeeding at home, we are defeated before we start. Whichever choice they have to make—whichever choice they have to make, we lose, because most parents are working and most parents have to work. Whether it's a single-parent household or two parents in the household, it's not as if it's an option for most people.

So if we want to come together as a community, we have to begin with the building block of our community, the family. That's why I thought family and medical leave was important. That's why I thought more Head Start and more immunizations for kids was important. That's why I thought it was important to try to protect children against the dangers of marketing and selling tobacco, which is illegal in every State in the country, but it happens everywhere. That's why we fought for the V-chip and the television rating system, so parents could have some control over the programming their young children see. If it's inappropriate, they'd have some control over that. Because I think we have to struggle to help people succeed at work and at home. And that will be a continuing challenge for us.

I'd like to see a very limited amendment in the family leave law which says you can also have a little time off without losing your job to take your children or your parents to regular doctor's appointments, and to go to parent-teacher conferences at school. I think that would be a good thing. It would be very limited. I might say to you that there has been a study on the family leave law in which almost all the businesses in the country say that it hasn't cost them any money to comply with. And it obviously hasn't hurt the economy, since we're growing like crazy. So I think we ought to do that.

The second thing I'd like to say is, we can't preserve our sense of community unless we're committed to growing the economy while preserving our natural environment. I am very proud of the things we've done to make drinking water and food safer, to set aside more national parks, to make the air cleaner, to expand community right-to-know. This is going to be a challenge that every one of us has to face. But let me just point out, there are still 10 million children in this country—10 million children living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. And that's in spite of the fact that we closed down more in 3 years than were closed down in the 12 years before I came here to Washington.

I propose to close 500 more, two-thirds of them, the two-thirds worst, in the next 4 years so I can go to a crowd like this, and I can look in the eyes of these children, and I can say, the children of this country should grow up next to parks, not poison. And I want you to help me do that. It's very, very important.

The last point I want to make is this: This country has come a long way in its relationships with each other across racial and ethnic lines and religious lines since I was a boy. But we're having even more challenges. You know, when I had the honor of representing you at the Olympics it was thrilling to me to see teams there from 197 different nations. And when I was watching all the teams go in carrying their flags, it all of the sudden struck me that the biggest county in America, Los Angeles County, has people in one county in America from 150 of those 197 places. That's a stunning insight.

Then I looked at the American Olympic team, and it struck me that if they didn't have American jackets on, they wouldn't have a clue which country they were from. These are from the Middle East. And those are from Asia somewhere. And those folks are from Latin America.

And these are from the Caribbean. And those are from Africa. And well, those folks are from Scandinavia. I mean, you get the picture.

And really, if you look at the Olympics, I think one reason we like it is we think that we ought to live that way all the time. Everybody agrees to the rules. Most people don't win medals, but even the ones that don't win are better off, because they try in an honorable way and they do their very best. Nobody disqualifies you because of what your religious faith is or what your race or your ethnic group is. You can't get ahead—you can't break in your opponent's room the night before and break his legs and get a medal for it. [*Laughter*] Nobody admires you if you stand up behind a microphone and tell everybody how terrible the person you're racing against is. We sort of like the way the Olympics work. We think the world ought to work that way.

And so that's the last thing I leave you with. We have to stand—when you see these church burnings or these synagogues being defaced or these Islamic centers being burned, you have to stand against that.

Remember how much of your time as President—because all my time belongs to you—you think about how much time, your time, I've had to spend dealing with places where people insisted on killing each other because of their religious, their racial, their ethnic, or their tribal differences. You just think about it: Rwanda, Burundi, the Middle East, Haiti, you name it. Any of these countries. We're trying to hold elections in Bosnia where they lived in peace for decades, where there is biologically no difference between the Muslims, the Croats, and the Serbs. They belonged to different religious groups because of historical developments, and they started killing each other in the flash of an eye, and did it with abandon for 4 years.

And so when we see the slightest evidence of that in this country we have to say, no, no, no, no, no. America is a place where, if you believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, and you're willing to show up tomorrow, you're our kind of person and we're going to walk across that bridge to the 21st century with you, too.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. at the Sun Dial Recreation Center. In his remarks, he referred to Rose Mofford, former Arizona Governor; Dennis Jensen, chair, Sun City Democrats; Paul Johnson, former Phoenix mayor; Vice Mayor Michael J. Crawford of Tucson; former Representative Morris K. Udall; former Senator Barry M. Goldwater; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks in Fresno, California

September 12, 1996

Thank you. Wow! Thank you so much. Thank you for being here. Thank you for your wonderful signs. Thank you for making me feel so welcome. Thank you, Dot Powell. Thank you, Cal Dooley, for being a great Congressman and a truly extraordinary human being. You're very lucky to be represented by Cal Dooley in the United States Congress. Thank you, Debbie Manning, for devoting your life to teaching. Thank you, Shianne Lenhof, for being such a good representative of the young people of today and the future of America. You both made me very proud, and I can't wait to tell Hillary that you did say, "It takes a village." Thank you.

I know there are a lot of schools here today and a lot of students represented, not only here from Dailey but also from Fresno High, from Waona, Tenaya Middle School, Powers-Ginsburg, Edison Computech, Edison High, Muir, and Holland. Thank you all for being here. I want to thank the people who provided our music: the McLean High School Highlanders, the Hoover High School Marching Band, the Roosevelt High School Mariachi, the McLean High School Marching Band, the Raisin Babies Jazz Band. Thank you all very much. Thank you.

I am delighted to be back in the Valley. I did not know until Cal Dooley told me on my way over here this morning—Cal and I were

in the car, and he said, "Do you realize that no President has ever come to the Valley twice in one term?" And I said, "I have a hard time believing that. What were they thinking about? I've had a good time here, and I'm glad to be here."

Your Valley contributes so much to America, especially in the power of its agricultural production, and it's been a great honor to me to work to open markets for the products produced here all around the world. And I'm proud that American exports and American farm exports are now at an all-time high, thanks to the efforts of the farmers right here in this fine Valley.

I understand we are also joined here today by some members of our Olympic champion softball team, all from Fresno State: assistant coach Margie Wright, Julie Smith, Laura Berg, Shelly Stokes, Kim Maher, Martha Noffsinger-O'Kelley. They're all here. Thank you very much for being here.

Ladies and gentlemen and boys and girls, I want to talk to you today about what you're doing here and what we have to do as a nation to give our children the best education in the world. Just this month, as you can see from the extra buildings around here, the largest group of children in the history of America began school, the largest group of children ever, the first class of American children to be bigger than the biggest of the so-called baby-boom classes.

The education that you receive today will determine the kind of country we live in and the kind of people we are tomorrow. We must say to ourselves, to our children, and for our future, we will expect and receive the highest standards from our students, our teachers, our schools, and all of us who have a responsibility to lift them up and support them.

You know, our country has had an interesting 4 years. I have pursued a straightforward strategy, that I believe in very much, to help all of you go into the 21st century with every person, every person that was talked about in the introduction, without regard to their race, their religion, their ethnic group, their background, where they start in life, every person having a chance to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given potential. The strategy is: opportunity for everyone, responsibility from everyone, and an American community where everyone—everyone—has a place, plays a role, and we all grow stronger together. And I believe that is the key to realizing our dreams in the 21st century.

If you look at where we are today, compared to where we were 4 years ago, this strategy is showing some results. We have the lowest unemployment rates in 7½ years; we have 10½ million new jobs; we have almost 4½ million new homeowners. We have a record number of new small businesses starting in our country in every year, record exports, the deficit has been cut in all 4 years for the first time since before the Civil War. We are moving in the right direction.

There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare; child support collections are up 40 percent. In October, 10 million hard-working Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage, and all small-business people will get tax cuts when they invest more in their businesses or when they buy health insurance. And it will be easier for them to take out retirement plans for themselves and their employees and for people to keep their retirement when they move from job to job.

Twelve million Americans have taken advantage of the family leave law, when a baby was born or a parent was sick, to keep their job, not lose it, and take care of their families. This country is moving in the right direction.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill made 25 million Americans eligible to get or keep their health insurance by saying you cannot be denied health insurance because somebody in your family has been sick or because you have to change jobs. That is a major step forward to strengthen the security of America's families.

And as we go forward, particularly in this election season, I ask you to remember that what works in our political system is not asking, who is to blame? What works is asking, what are we going to do together to make things better? And let's ask those questions and make this a season of ideas, not insults. We can lift the American people up. We can learn things from each other, and we can move this country forward.

Yes, we should build a bridge to the 21st century big enough and strong enough for every single one of the children in California and the children in the United States to walk across, and I want you, each and every one of you, to help to build that bridge. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

We should build a bridge with a growing economy, with a balanced budget that keeps interest rates down but does not harm Medicare and Medicaid, our commitment to education, to research, to preserving our environment. We should build a bridge where all Americans take responsibility.

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years now. We've got to keep it going down for 4 more years, and I want you to help me do that. Let's support our police on the street. Let's support the D.A.R.E. officers in the schools, preaching safe and drug-free schools. I appointed a four-star general, General Barry McCaffrey, to lead our fight against drugs. His last post in the military required him to do everything he could to stop drugs from coming into our country as the commander of all of our forces south of our border. Today he's in Los Angeles, carrying on that fight. But that's everyone's fight, and everyone has to take responsibility for waging it.

We should build a bridge to the 21st century where people can succeed at home and at work. We dare not ask our people to sacrifice their responsibilities as parents to succeed in the workplace, and we cannot expect people to have to fail in the workplace just to be good parents. We have to find a way to do both, and we have to build that bridge to the 21st century.

We have to build a bridge to the 21st century with a clean environment. Two-thirds—two-thirds—of our toxic waste sites can be cleaned up in the next 4 years, all of the worst ones. Let me tell you why that's important. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in the 12 years before I became President. But there are still—listen to this—there are still 10 million American children living within just 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. That is wrong. Our kids should be growing up next to parks, not poison, and we need to build that bridge to the 21st century.

But nothing is more important to building that bridge to a brighter future than what is being done here at Morris Dailey, communities creating a good education, young people taking responsibility for making the most of their potential. There are so many people here who deserve our praise and our thanks throughout this community with your community-wide literacy program, all of the things that are being done here.

And let me say that I appreciate what Cal Dooley said. I don't know if you can say that we've made more efforts to help our schools and our children than ever before in history, but I hope it's true. I'll say this: If we do it for 4 more years, it will be true. We have expanded Head Start, we've expanded the availability of college loans with the Goals 2000 program. We've given schools the flexibility to pursue national standards of excellence with local grassroots reforms. We have done a lot to help schools in California and other places try new experiments, allowing teachers to form even new schools, called charter schools. There are over 300 in the country, 90 of them right here in California, and our administration has helped to start them. Our next budget calls for 3,000 more. I believe we should let 1,000 flowers bloom, whatever it takes to bring the families, the parents, the community leaders in to support the teachers and the principals and the educators, so that together we can have the kind of village that it takes to make sure our children have excellence in education.

We should have higher standards. Every diploma should mean something. Standardized tests don't always work, but we can develop those which we give and which are passed as people are promoted, so that you know that when you get a diploma it means something.

And I'd like to talk about just three other things that I think we ought to do. I am so impressed by the work being done here in literacy and by the work being done in this school. But you should know that in our country as a whole—partly because we have so many young people whose first language is not English—40 percent of our third graders still cannot read a book on their own. One of the things that we ought to commit ourselves to as a country is to say by the year 2000, every 8-year-old in America will be able to pick up an appropriate book and say, "I read this all by myself."

I have proposed sending 30,000 literacy tutors, AmeriCorps volunteers, young college students on work-study, and others to mobilize a million citizen volunteers to show up at any school that needs them and say, "What can we do? We're there; we're trained; we'll help." We want our children to be able to read, every single one of them, so they can make the most of the rest of their education.

Second thing we ought to do is to make sure that every classroom in America, like Debbie

Manning's class today, is connected not just with computers and software but connected to the information superhighway, to the vast network of information that opens the whole world up potentially to every student in every classroom.

Last March the Vice President and I joined other Californians on NetDay, connecting 4,000 schools in one day. On October 12th, Californians again will come together to connect more schools. If in 4 years we can connect every classroom and every library in America to the information superhighway with adequate computers, good educational software, and trained teachers, for the first time in the entire history of the United States, every child—from the poorest inner-city school to the most remote mountain rural district to the wealthiest schools in America—every child for the first time will have access to the same information in the same way in the same time at the same quality. It will revolutionize educational opportunity in America. That's a bridge we have to build to the 21st century.

We have to do a better job of preparing and supporting our teachers. For the past 2 years, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future—chaired by my friend, the Governor of North Carolina, Jim Hunt—studied the state of teaching in America. The Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, today is announcing their findings in Washington. The report makes it clear that we should have high standards for teachers, but that too often teachers are not rewarded when they do a good job. If the treatment is the same, if the support is the same whether people are succeeding or not, we don't have the right incentives.

We have to make sure that teachers are properly prepared, that they're supported throughout their teaching careers, that they can count on community support they need. We have to recruit and retain good people. We have to require the right high licensing and certification standards. We ought to find ways to identify and reward good teachers; we should be lifting our teachers up, not bashing them and finding ways just to be critical. When people should not be in the classroom, the removal should occur fairly but quickly, with less expense than it does today.

But the main thing is, if we had a system that supported all teachers—not just in the best schools with the best principals, not just in the best school districts with the best system—if every community had parents and teachers and principals and community leaders working together and every community said, "High standards yes, but people can meet these high standards if we'll get out there and support them," this will be a better country and we would have a better, better school system for all of our children.

Today I am directing the Secretary of Education to work with States and local school districts to follow up on these commission recommendations. I hope that some people here in Fresno will read this report. A lot of times, these reports are ignored, but this is a good one, and it's worth reading.

What I want to do is to give every State in this country explicit information about how to use the Federal funds they get to achieve the highest standards for teachers; second, to collect information from every State about what is working and share it with other States and school districts; and finally, to issue reports to let parents know how well their State, their community is doing in promoting excellence and demanding accountability. We have to set higher standards for all education, including our schools and our communities. We have to do our part, each and every one of us, if we're going to have the best schools in the world.

And finally, let me say we have to make sure that the young men and women who will be finishing these wonderful schools we're going to build, every single one of them, without regard to their economic circumstances and their parents, when they need, it have the opportunity to go to college and get a college education.

In the last 4 years, we have expanded college scholarships for needy students. We've reformed the college loan program to reduce the costs and improve the repayment terms so that you can never be charged more than a percentage of your income if you're in our direct loan program, and no one ever need fear going to college because they don't think they can repay that loan. We've got 50,000 young people working in AmeriCorps, earning money for college while they serve in their communities, but we have to do more. I want to make this commitment and ask you to share it with me. By the year 2000, we ought to make at least 2 years of education after high school, the equivalent of a community college degree, just as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And we can do that.

We should have a $1,500 tax credit which will cover the cost of community college education, a HOPE scholarship, for every person in this country who needs it. If we would simply pay for this in the form of a tax credit, then literally we could say we are making community college education free for you if you're responsible enough to go and do a good job. It would be one of the best investments we ever made.

For those who go on to 4-year schools or graduate schools, I believe we should provide a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of tuition so people can afford to go on with their education. And I propose to let families with incomes of up to $100,000 save more money in an IRA and withdraw from that IRA without any penalty to pay for an education. That will help America open the doors of college education to all.

And I might say, every penny of that tax cut is paid for in my balanced budget plan, dime for dime. We're not going to let interest rates go up; we're not going to let the deficit go up; we're not going to go back in the direction that got us in so much trouble before. We're going to educate America, build America, and lift Americans up through education, all Americans.

Now, think of this. Think of this. If we do all these things, we will reach our dream of a bright future for all Americans who are willing to work for it, an America in which every 8-year-old will be able to read, every 12-year-old will be able to log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old will be able to go to college, every parent that loses a job will be able to go back and get a better education and move up, not down, in economic well-being. And that bridge to the 21st century will be big enough and strong enough for every single one of us to walk across together. Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. at the Morris E. Dailey Elementary School. In his remarks, he referred to Principal Dorothy Powell, teacher Debbie Manning, and student Shianne Lenhof.

Memorandum on Promoting Excellence and Accountability in Teaching

September 12, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of Education

Subject: Promoting Excellence and Accountability in Teaching

Every child needs—and deserves—dedicated, outstanding teachers, who know their subject matter, are effectively trained, and know how to teach to high standards and to make learning come alive for students.

In order to make sure every child has the teachers he or she deserves, as a Nation we must:

- Recruit and retain the most talented people into teaching;
- Require tougher licensing and certification standards for teachers, invest in high-quality preparation and ongoing training to help teachers meet these standards, and increase dramatically the number of teachers who meet the demanding standards set by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards;
- Remove incompetent teachers quickly, fairly, and at less cost than at present and for those teachers who need such assistance, try to restore their enthusiasm or counsel them out of the profession; and
- Create systems for identifying and rewarding good teachers for achieving outstanding levels of knowledge and skills, especially as reflected in National Board Standards or other standards of quality adopted by States or local school districts.

I hereby direct you to assist States and local communities in meeting these challenges by:

(1) Notifying State and local education officials within 90 days of the date of this memorandum of the Federal resources available to address these challenges; and

(2) Identifying and disseminating within 6 months promising State and local practices responding to each of these challenges.

Please report annually to me on how States and local communities are responding to these challenges.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Remarks in Rancho Cucamonga, California
September 12, 1996

The President. Wow! Thank you very much. Thank you all. Thank you for coming. Thank you for standing out here on this hot, fine day. Thank you for your enthusiasm. Thank you, thank you, thank you. Thank you, Dr. Jerry Young, for making me feel so welcome at Chaffey College and for the work you do here. Thank you, Congressman George Brown. Ladies and gentlemen, there is not a Member of the entire Congress who knows more about the role of technology in your future, in California's future, in America's future than George Brown, and I hope you will send him back to the United States Congress so that he can continue to serve you.

Thank you, Kerri Matthews, thank you for your wonderful speech. Thank you for bringing your wonderful children and thank you for the power of your example. You, in your efforts to be a good parent, a good learner, and a successful worker in the future, you're what this country is all about, and I'm proud to be on the platform with you.

I would like to thank the folks who were here before, Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis, State Comptroller Kathleen Connell, Assemblyman Joe Baca, Mayor Bill Alexander, Art Torres, the San Bernardino County supervisors who were here, the other officials who were here, and I would like to thank the Olympians who were here, Mike Powell and Evelyn Ashford. Thank you. Where are they? They're over here somewhere. Thank you. Hi, Evelyn. Hi, Mike. Thank you.

I'd like to thank Karen Kraft who sang the national anthem, the Rancho Cucamonga High School Marching Cougar Band. Thank you very much. Thank you. The Loveland Church Choir, thank you for singing. I'll tell you, I have had a good time already, and I thank you for that. Thank you for these great signs out here.

You know, so many times in the last 4 years when I have come to California, I have come to help the people of California with a problem they had, whether it was an earthquake, a fire, a flood, a base closing, trying to protect our borders in the south—always a problem. I come today to tell you we've also been working hard to create opportunities for the people of California, and we're on the right track to the 21st century.

In this election season, you have to ask first of all where are we now compared to where we were 4 years ago, when we had high unemployment, stagnant wages, rising crime, a dividing society, and rising cynicism. Look at where we are today. The lowest unemployment in 7½ years, 10½ million new jobs, nearly 4½ million new homeowners, the deficit's gone down for 4 years in a row by 60 percent, the first time that's happened since before the Civil War, in the 1840's. We're in better shape than we were 4 years ago.

Fifteen million of the hardest pressed working Americans got a tax cut so they could raise their children and work and not be tempted to fall back into welfare. The welfare rolls are down by 1.8 million and child support collections are up by $3 billion, 40 percent.

For 4 years, the crime rate has gone down, 12 million Americans got to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a parent was sick without losing their jobs because of the family and medical leave law. On October 1st, the new minimum wage law will become effective and 10 million Americans will get a raise.

That law will also make every small business in America eligible for a tax cut when they buy health insurance. They'll make it easier for small businesses to invest in their businesses, to hire more people, and they will be eligible for more tax relief. And we made it easier for people

who work for small businesses to take out retirement plans and to keep them when they change jobs, and so many people change jobs today that's very important.

And finally, that bill gave parents who adopt children a $5,000 tax credit to promote adoptive families. There's a lot of children out there who need it, and I hope it helps.

We passed the health care reform bill that made 25 million Americans eligible to get or keep health insurance by saying simply, you cannot lose your health insurance or be denied it now just because somebody in your family has been sick, or you moved from job to job. It can revolutionize health care security for millions of Americans.

And you may have noticed that at the Democratic Convention, I said that I thought we ought to do more in health care, and two things I mentioned: One, I don't think it's right to throw a new mother and her newborn child out of the hospital before at least 48 hours go by; and I believe we ought to make a beginning at providing some insurance for people. There are millions and millions and millions of families who need some health care in the mental health area, and I think we ought to make a beginning of that, and I'm here to tell you that this week, the Congress in both Houses has voted to do both those things. We are moving in the right direction, we are on the right track to the 21st century.

Now folks, I have tried in the last 4 years to move our country toward the America I want for the 21st century, a country in which every person, without regard to color, gender, or any other difference can live out their dreams and live up to their God-given capacity, a country where—look out at this sea of people—where all of us with all of our diversity will be able to come together and not be divided, a country that will still be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And our formula is simple: We have to meet our challenges; we have to protect our values—opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community in which every single person who works hard and plays by the rules, no matter whatever else you want to say about them, has got a role to play, a place at the table—and we'll be walking across that bridge to the 21st century together. I want you to help me build that bridge. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

So now, we have to ask ourselves: Are we going to build a bridge to the future, or a bridge to the past? Are we going to build a bridge where everybody can walk across because we recognize our obligations to help each other make the most of our own lives, or are we going to say, "You're on your own."

Frankly, folks, I think Americans ought to work the way our community colleges work. Look at this place. It is democratic—small "d"—that is, it's open to all; it's flexible; it's oriented toward results; the programs have to be good and relevant, otherwise people don't profit from them when they leave; they're changing all the time; and they represent partnerships between people in business and people in education; and no one asks you what your political party is or what your position on this, that, or the other issue is. You're just given a chance to make the most of your own life. Nobody gives you a guarantee, but everybody gets a chance. That's the kind of America I want to build for everybody all the time.

Since I became President, I've worked as hard as I could to change the way politics works in Washington, to get away from the old who are we going to blame politics, and instead say, What are we going to do about it? How are we going to make America better? No more who to blame; let's ask what to do. No more insults; let's have a campaign and a life in America of ideas and change, positive change toward a better future.

We still have a lot to do if we're going to build the right kind of bridge to the 21st century. We have to provide the best educational opportunity in the world to everybody. And let me just mention two or three things. Number one, I have proposed a program to mobilize 30,000 mentors, including college students on work-study, AmeriCorps volunteers, other trained teachers to mobilize a million volunteers to go into all of our schools where there are reading problems so that every 8-year-old in America will be able to read on his or her own by the year 2000.

I want to have a country where every classroom in America, every single classroom and library in America is hooked up to the information superhighway, with good computers, good teachers, and the Internet and the World Wide Web for everybody. What that means is, if we do that, for the first time in history, every student in every classroom in the poorest urban

areas and the most remote rural areas will have access to the same learning in the same way at the same quality in the same time as the people in the wealthiest institutions in America. It will revolutionize opportunity in education, and we have to do it.

I want to help our public schools to meet their challenges; to stay open later for the kids that need a place to go, a positive place to go; to have more flexibility to get greater results; to be judged by their standards; but to be given freedom from rules that stifle them. I've done a lot I'm very proud of in this area because I spent a lot of time in public schools as well as community colleges.

One of the things that California has led the way in is in the creation of new schools in public school districts, called charter schools, where a group of teachers gets together and says, "Here's who we're going to serve. Here's what we're going to produce. Give us a charter and if we don't produce it, take it away from us. Hold us accountable. We'll educate our children better."

There are about 350 of these schools in America today, 90 of them in California. Today, we released another $1¼ million to put 12 more in California, and if you will give me 4 more years, we'll build 3,000 more in America and all across this country.

Finally, let me say that we have to make college education available to every single solitary person in America. Within 4 years, if we do the right things, we can make a degree from a community college just as universal in America as a high school diploma is today. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Here's how we're going to do it. I propose to give families a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction in their taxes for the cost of the average community college tuition for 2 years so that everybody can afford to go to community college. We'll make it free. All you have to do is show up, do a good job, make your grades, learn, and go on to build a better life. It'll make America stronger.

And I want to make it easier for people to go on to 4-year schools, to postgraduate education, for older people to go back to college. So we also propose a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of any college tuition after high school for people of any age. We will do this. And when we do, America will be stronger.

Finally, let me say that I think families ought to be able to save, and save more through an IRA, an individual retirement account, and then withdraw from it without any tax penalty for education or buying a first home or taking care of their health care needs. Now, we can revolutionize educational opportunity. If we do those things and you keep doing your job here, we will be able to say in 4 years, "We've opened the doors of college to every person in America and a college education at least at a community college is just as universal in the year 2000 as a high school diploma was 4 years ago." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have to keep working to keep this economy growing. California's suffered too much and too long, and there are still people here who want jobs who don't have them. That means we have to keep interest rates down and investment going. That means we have to balance the budget, yes, but we have to do it in a way that continues to invest in the technologies of the future and the education of our people, in the protection of the environment, and providing the protection that Medicare and Medicaid give to children, to families with disabilities, and to the elderly. We don't want to divide this country, and we don't have to, to balance the budget. Will you help me do it in the right way? [*Applause*] That's an important part of our bridge to the 21st century.

We have to build a bridge to the 21st century that keeps the crime rate coming down. We've got 4 years of declining crime. The leaders of our friends in the other party, they fought us on the crime bill. They're still against putting 100,000 police on the street, although for the life of me I can't figure out why. They were against the Brady bill, they were against the assault weapons ban. They told people they would lose their weapons. Well, it's 4 years later. Not a single hunter, not a single sportsman has lost a single weapon. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns to terrorize the American people because of the Brady bill, and we are safer because of it.

We ought to go further. We ought to ban the cop-killer bullets and we ought to extend the Brady bill and say, "If you have brutalized your spouse or your child, you ought not to be eligible to get a handgun either." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We passed welfare reform, but all it does is give us a chance to reform welfare. It says, now people on welfare will still get health care for their kids and nutrition and child care, if they take a job, more than ever before. But the income must now be used to move people to work. So I have a plan to create a million jobs. I don't want to see children and their parents in the street. I want everybody working and succeeding at home and at work. Will you help me create those million jobs to put people to work who have never had it before? [*Applause*]

I want us to build a stronger American community and a stronger and safer world. That means we have to build strong families. I'm proud of the fact that the first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law, and I'd like to see it expanded a little to say you can also keep your job and still have a little time off to take your child to the doctor or to that parent-teacher conference at the school. It'll make America stronger.

We've had 10½ million new jobs since I signed the family leave law; it's been good for business because when families are happy, when they're succeeding at raising their children, they're more productive at work and they make America stronger. Let it be our goal to say, success at home and success at work go hand in hand. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Let me say, in California you know we have to build a bridge that protects our environment. I'm proud that we've destroyed more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were destroyed in the 12 years before I took office; proud that our air is cleaner, that our food is safer; very, very proud that we created the country's largest national park south of Alaska here in California in the Mojave Desert; very proud that we saved Yellowstone from a gold mine and that we are moving forward on a whole broad range of fronts.

But we still have problems. Ten million American children—10 million—live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump, and that's wrong. In 4 more years, if you will give them to us, we'll close 500 of those dumps, the worst ones, because our children should grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Finally, let me say that we have to build a bridge to the 21st century that is safe for our children. I am so proud of the fact that just a couple of days ago, almost every country in the world—only three voting no—voted to ban the testing of nuclear weapons forever. We are making this a safer world.

I'm proud of the fact that there are no nuclear missiles pointed at America's children for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, proud that your country is leading the way to peace and prosperity. But we have more to do. We have more to do. You saw it in Iraq. We cannot allow anybody anywhere to believe they are not bound by the rules of civilized behavior.

So I say again, I don't want to get in a word war with Saddam Hussein, but we're going to do whatever it takes to keep him from threatening his neighbors, threatening our pilots, and we're going to enforce the no-fly zone.

Let me make this last point: I believe that all of you, particularly those of you who are young, who have more tomorrows than yesterdays to look forward to—I believe you will grow up in a more peaceful world than any we've known in a long, long time. But we know it's not a world free of threats. We know we have to deal with terrorism. We know we have to deal with all the ethnic and racial and religious wars that still engulf the world. We know we have to deal with organized crime and drug smuggling. We know we have to deal with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

That's why I have worked so hard to rally the nations of the world to say we're going to have zero tolerance for terrorism, and why we're working so hard to make airline travel and airports safer in America. And I want you to support what we're trying to do.

But today in the United States Senate, there's a big decision being made that most people have never talked about. They're debating something called the Chemical Weapons Convention. It is a treaty that will increase the safety of our soldiers and our citizens by reducing the dangers posed by poison gas. That seems a long way away but, remember, it wasn't so very long ago that a lot of innocent citizens were killed in Japan by a fanatic terrorist who exposed them to poison gas in a subway. We've got to do everything we possibly can to minimize the exposure of our people to this gas.

Now, this treaty was negotiated by President Bush. Then I submitted it to the Senate 3 years ago for ratification. This has been a bipartisan

effort all along the way; General Colin Powell supports it; President Bush is working for it; his National Security Adviser is working for it; the Joint Chiefs of Staff are working for it, but bitter partisan debate has broken out in the last few days and has threatened to derail this treaty. I want you to be protected from the dangers of poison gas insofar as we can humanly do it, and I ask you to join with me in asking the Senate to resolve the remaining questions, put partisanship aside, and put America on the side of a safer world without poison gas being exposed to our citizens or our soldiers. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Now, before I go, let me just ask you to remember what I said about the community colleges. Don't you want a country in which we're coming together, instead of being divided?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Don't you want a country in which we all roll up our sleeves and say, "We're going to work together to give each other the chance to make the most of our lives?"

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Don't you think my wife was right when she said it takes a village to raise a child?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Don't you think that we're far better off building a bridge to the future than a bridge to the past?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want you to think about this. Just look around this crowd today. Look around this crowd. When I represented the United States at the opening of the Olympics and I watched all the teams come in, it was thrilling to me that there were people from 197 different nations there. And then I remembered I was looking at our own team, when Hillary and Chelsea and I went to visit with them, and I thought, you know, if the people from America, if they didn't have the American outfits on, you wouldn't have a clue where they were from. If you herded the American team up, you could say, "Well, that one's from Africa; that one's from Scandinavia; that one's from the Middle East; this one's from Asia; this one's from India." They were from everywhere.

There were 197 nations represented at the Olympics. In Los Angeles County there are people from 150 of those 197 places. And I want you to think about that, not only today, not only for the next 8 weeks, but for the rest of your life. This is a country founded 220 years ago by people who said, "We believe all people are created equal."

We didn't behave that way then. We don't behave that way perfectly today, but that's what we believe. And we have to stand up and say to everybody, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to show up tomorrow and be a good citizen and work hard, you're our kind of American. We don't need to know anything else about you. You're part of our American community." Will you help me build a bridge that all Americans can walk across to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Keep your spirits up, keep your determination up, and keep your eye on the future. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. at Chaffey Community College. In his remarks, he referred to Jerry Young, president, and Kerri Matthews, student body president, Chaffey Community College; Mayor William J. Alexander of Rancho Cucamonga; Art Torres, chairman, California Democratic Party; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Statement on Counterterrorism Initiatives

September 12, 1996

I have sent to the Congress $1.097 billion in proposals to strengthen our antiterrorism, counterterrorism, and security efforts in this country and abroad.

These proposals include fiscal 1996 supplemental appropriations for the Department of Defense as well as fiscal 1997 budget amendments to my appropriations requests now pending before the Congress.

On July 29, I met with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress to discuss an appropriate Federal response to the threat of terrorism, adding to the strong antiterrorism initiatives my administration had already taken. This package of budget proposals is the product of an interagency review that I ordered, subsequent to that meeting, in the wake of recent acts of domestic and international terrorism. It is a comprehensive, balanced program to address this urgent requirement, and I urge the Congress to act expeditiously on it.

Over the past year, the danger to U.S. forces and installations from international terrorism has grown. At my direction, the Department of Defense and the intelligence community identified measures to enhance programs to deter and thwart terrorism. My requests for 1996 supplemental appropriations will fund the most urgent of them. These requests total $353 million for various antiterrorism activities to increase physical security at overseas installations and to improve intelligence capabilities to detect and combat terrorist activity.

We have already begun to address the problems resulting from heightened terrorist activity. Last month, I approved the relocation of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf region to lower threat areas. Though the Saudi Arabian government agreed to cover some costs to support this relocation, our forces have had to redirect funds from ongoing operations. Thus, to limit the adverse effects to the Department of Defense operations and provide sufficient funds for these critical antiterrorism measures, I urge the Congress to act upon these supplemental requests as soon as possible.

The rest of the $1.097 billion in proposals is comprised of $728 million in 1997 budget amendments for my antiterrorism, counterterrorism, and security proposals as well as requests for contingent emergency funding.

It includes $207 million for the Department of Justice, $154 million of which would go to the FBI for additional positions and antiterrorism support; $201 million for the Department of Transportation, $198 million of which would go to the Federal Aviation Administration to purchase explosives detection devices and perform passenger profiling and screening; and $147 million for the Department of the Treasury, $66 million of which would go to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to enhance its ability to respond to terrorist threats and investigate crimes involving explosives, and $60 million of which would go to the U.S. Customs Service to increase its capacity to screen passengers and detect dangerous materials.

This package of proposals reflects my comprehensive strategy to fight terrorism on three fronts: (1) beyond our borders, to work more closely with our friends and allies; (2) at home, giving law enforcement the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and, (3) in our airports, by increasing aviation security.

Congressional spending levels for defense contain substantial increases over my budget request—in particular, for certain procurement and research and development projects that are not contained in the Department of Defense's long-term planning requirements. I believe that we can provide for our military readiness, antiterrorism activities, and for other important national needs in the context of an agreement with the Congress on FY 1997 spending levels.

I strongly urge the Congress to enact this package as quickly as possible.

Remarks at a Democratic Dinner in Beverly Hills, California

September 12, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you, Hillary. I'm glad you had a good day. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank all of you for being here, but let me say a special word of thanks to Ron and to Jan Burkle for opening their home to us. We've made a lot of jokes about it tonight, but this place is a national treasure, and it's a great honor for us to be here. And I'm grateful for their friendship. Thank you, Ron, so much for everything.

Thank you, David Geffen, for telling us the story of your mother, for living the dreams of your parents, and for being not only a great citizen but an honest and true friend—always

tells me exactly what you think—[*laughter*]—always in the spirit of friendship and loyalty to your country. And I thank you so much.

I thank the Hollywood Women's Political Committee for your role in this evening. I want to thank everyone who worked on this event, all the stagehands and everybody else who made Tom Hanks miserable up here. [*Laughter*] Did you love seeing Tom Hanks? I visualized him, fistfuls of Oscars, miserable up here with nothing happening. [*Laughter*]

Tom, you have suffered so much tonight it's okay with me if you go and do "Primary Colors" now. [*Laughter*] As a matter of fact, I'd like to see somebody make some money out of that thing using their own name. [*Laughter*]

Thank you, Chicago. Thank you, Tom Scott. Thank you, Paula Poundstone, you were especially good tonight. I thank Aaron Neville and his brothers and his band. I thank the Eagles for helping us to live in the present and the past at the same time.

Thank you, Maya, you were magnificent as always. I don't know why anybody would want to take "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings" out of the library. I think every child's heart would sing more who read it and the brave story of this remarkable woman.

And thank you, Barbra, for being my friend and for sharing your extraordinary gift. I remember once when I was a young man, I always wondered what it would be like to really be friends with someone who had been given a gift from God that was truly breathtaking, you know, to have moves like Magic Johnson, or do things that the Olympic champions do. I think it's remarkable that Barbra Streisand loves her country and is a good friend to so many of us but especially to me, for doing this 4 years ago and coming back tonight. I think it's a good luck charm, and I thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, you came here tonight; you have generously contributed. There are many people here from our campaign and from the Democratic Party; I won't mention them all. I will say that this is our chairman, Don Fowler's birthday, and this is the best birthday party he's had in a long time. [*Laughter*] And the rest of us will be miserable thinking of an encore next year. You've earned the right to be liberated from a speech, and I'm about to do it for you.

But I do want you to think about this: We are living through a time of unbelievable change in the way we work and we live and we relate to each other and the rest of the world. Just, every one of you, think how much what you do for a living has changed with technology, with the explosion of discoveries in the last few years.

And the thing that bothered me most in 1992, more than the stagnant economy, more than the rising crime rate, more than the threat of even the social divisions, was that people's hearts were hardening about America. This is a place that depends upon faith and hope and imagination. It is an idea. And we've been around for 220 years struggling to inch closer and closer and closer to what's in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, because there's always been enough faith and hope and vision to go on. And it seemed that people were really beginning to lose that.

What I want you to do tonight is to leave here feeling good, because I've just been on a train trip; I've just been on another one of our bus trips with Hillary and Al and Tipper, where he was doing his macarena thing. And thank you, Tom Hanks, for all the wonderful things you said about unquestionably the finest Vice President who ever served this country. Thank you.

But on this train trip in these little towns there would be thousands of people coming up, cheering and singing and waiving their flags. And whenever we stopped, in all the stops we made, there were only two crowds of under 10,000 and there were several of 20,000 and more. On Labor Day I went to De Pere, Wisconsin, a relatively small community of under 30,000, but there were more than 30,000 people at our Labor Day rally there in the suburb of Green Bay.

And today, just today I finished a swing out West at the Morris Dailey Elementary School in Fresno, and the Chaffey Community College in Rancho Cucamonga—I thought I'd never say it. [*Laughter*] And there were not only large numbers of people there, but they were all different kinds of people, proud to be together, believing in the future of their children, believing in their own future—young people. At this community college, there must have been about 20,000 people there, and they were on fire because they know that this is a country in better shape than it was 4 years ago. They know that we have a path to the future that we can go.

And they know we can go there together. And that's just the way they want it. And I'm convinced the majority of our people believe that.

So what you have done tonight is to make it possible for us to carry on that fight not just in the race for the Presidency but in all the others that embody the choice between building a bridge to the future and trying to build one to the past. We are just 4 years away from a new millennium, 4 more years away from proving that America has an unlimited capacity to be forever young and to keep its best days in front of it. And you have made it possible for us to pursue that with vigor and confidence and good heart.

And I just want you to think about those children who were up on the stage tonight, because whenever I finish speaking and I go down to those crowds and I look at young people who believe in their own potential and who do not like the idea that we have to be divided and we have to leave some behind and who do believe it takes a village to make the most of all of our lives, I know why we're all doing this.

That's why you're here tonight. And from the bottom of my heart, I thank you. And I ask you to remember that there are still 54 more days before anybody can celebrate anything—54 more days of fighting for the future of the children who closed this wonderful performance tonight.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. at the Burkle residence. In his remarks, he referred to recording and film executive David Geffen; actor Tom Hanks; musical groups Chicago, the Aaron Neville Band, and the Eagles; saxophonist Tom Scott; comedienne Paula Poundstone; author Maya Angelou; singer Barbra Streisand; NBA basketball player Earvin (Magic) Johnson; and Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Iran

September 13, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order 12957 of March 15, 1995, and matters relating to the measures in that order and in Executive Order 12959 of May 6, 1995. This report is submitted pursuant to section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c) (IEEPA), and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa–9(c). This report discusses only matters concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order 12957 and does not deal with those relating to the emergency declared on November 14, 1979, in connection with the hostage crisis.

1. On March 15, 1995, I issued Executive Order 12957 (60 *Fed. Reg.* 14615, March 17, 1995) to declare a national emergency with respect to Iran pursuant to IEEPA, and to prohibit the financing, management, or supervision by United States persons of the development of Iranian petroleum resources. This action was in response to actions and policies of the Government of Iran, including support for international terrorism, efforts to undermine the Middle East peace process, and the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. A copy of the order was provided to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate by letter dated March 15, 1995. Following the imposition of these restrictions with regard to the development of Iranian petroleum resources, Iran continued to engage in activities that represent a threat to the peace and security of all nations, including Iran's continuing support for international terrorism, its support for acts that undermine the Middle East peace process, and its intensified efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction. On May 6, 1995, I issued Executive Order 12959 to further respond to the Iranian

threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.

Executive Order 12959 (60 *Fed. Reg.* 24757, May 9, 1995) (1) prohibits exportation from the United States to Iran or to the Government of Iran of goods, technology, or services; (2) prohibits the reexportation of certain U.S. goods and technology to Iran from third countries; (3) prohibits transactions such as brokering and other dealing by United States persons in goods and services of Iranian origin or owned or controlled by the Government of Iran; (4) prohibits new investments by United States persons in Iran or in property owned or controlled by the Government of Iran; (5) prohibits U.S. companies and other United States persons from approving, facilitating, or financing performance by a foreign subsidiary or other entity owned or controlled by a United States person of certain reexport, investment, and certain trade transactions that a United States person is prohibited from performing; (6) continue the 1987 prohibition on the importation into the United States of goods and services of Iranian origin; (7) prohibits any transaction by any United States person or within the United States that evades or avoids or attempts to violate any prohibition of the order; and (8) allowed U.S. companies a 30-day period in which to perform trade transactions pursuant to contracts predating the Executive order.

At the time of signing Executive Order 12959, I directed the Secretary of the Treasury to authorize through specific licensing certain transactions, including transactions by United States persons related to the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal in The Hague, established pursuant to the Algiers Accords, and related to other international obligations and United States Government functions, and transactions related to the export of agricultural commodities pursuant to preexisting contracts consistent with section 5712(c) of title 7, United States Code. I also directed the Secretary of the Treasury in consultation with the Secretary of State, to consider authorizing United States persons through specific licensing to participate in market-based swaps of crude oil from the Caspian Sea area for Iranian crude oil in support of energy projects in Azerbaijan, Kazakstan, and Turkmenistan.

Executive Order 12959 revoked sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order 12613 of October 29, 1987, and sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order 12957 of March 15, 1995, to the extent they are inconsistent with it. A copy of Executive Order 12959 was transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate by letters dated May 6, 1995.

2. On March 8, 1996, I renewed for another year the national emergency with respect to Iran pursuant to IEEPA. This renewal extended the current comprehensive trade embargo against Iran in effect since May 1995. Under these sanctions, virtually all trade with Iran is prohibited except for information and informational materials and certain other limited exceptions.

3. There were no amendments to the Iranian Transactions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 560 (the "ITR") during the reporting period.

4. During the current 6-month period, the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) made numerous decisions with respect to applications for licenses to engage in transactions under the ITR, and issued 24 licenses. The majority of denials were in response to requests to authorize commercial exports to Iran and the importation of Iranian-origin goods. The majority of the licenses issued authorized the completion of commodity "string transactions" entered into by U.S. parties with respect to foreign commodities and having no knowledge or control over the Iranian interest in the contracts; the export and reexport of goods, services, and technology essential to ensure the safety of civil aviation and safe operation of certain commercial passenger aircraft in Iran; licenses relating to Iranian participation in the 1996 Atlanta Olympic and Paralympic Games; the importation of Iranian-origin artwork for public exhibition; and certain humanitarian imports and exports. In light of statutory restrictions applicable to goods and technology involved in the air safety cases, the Department of the Treasury continues to consult and coordinate with the Departments of State and Commerce on these matters, consistent with section 4 of Executive Order 12959.

In consultation with the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and bank regulators in New York and California, OFAC revoked the licenses of all Iranian banking agencies in the United States. State regulators then required them to convert to Representative Office status. There are now no Iranian banks authorized to conduct banking business in the United States. Activities have been restricted to "limited representation," allowing only research

and coordination with U.S. holders of affiliate correspondent accounts.

Bank Saderat, Iran's New York Representative Office, was nominated by the Central Bank of Iran to act as its agent for procedures outlined in the "Airbus" settlement at The Hague. Accordingly, Bank Saderat was separately licensed by OFAC for the limited purpose of collecting information for the Central Bank of Iran about U.S. commercial claims against Iranian banks. The information will be forwarded to and cleared by Iranian and State Department officials and used in making independent determinations as to which claims can be paid from a special escrow account established at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

The U.S. financial community continues to interdict transactions associated with Iran and to consult with OFAC about their appropriate handling. During this reporting period, OFAC took decisive action to prevent the U.S. clearing of third country dollar travelers checks sold by Iranian banks.

5. The U.S. Customs Service has continued to effect numerous seizures of Iranian-origin merchandise, primarily carpets, for violation of the import prohibitions of the ITR. Various enforcement actions carried over from previous reporting periods are continuing and new reports of violations are being aggressively pursued. Since March 11, 1996, OFAC has collected two civil penalties totaling $6,000. The violations underlying these collections involve unlicensed exports to Iran. Civil penalty action is pending against 12 U.S. companies and financial institutions for violations of the Regulations.

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from March 15 through September 14, 1996, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to Iran are approximately $850,000, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the Under Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State (particularly the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, and the Office of the Legal Adviser), and the Department of Commerce (the Bureau of Export Administration and the General Counsels Office).

7. The situation reviewed above continues to involve important diplomatic, financial, and legal interests of the United States and its nationals and presents an extraordinary and unusual threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. The declaration of the national emergency with respect to Iran contained in Executive Order 12957 and the comprehensive economic sanctions imposed by Executive Order 12959 underscore the United States Government opposition to the actions and policies of the Government of Iran, particularly its support of international terrorism and its effort to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. The Iranian Transactions Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Orders 12957 and 12959 continue to advance important objectives in promoting the nonproliferation and antiterrorism policies of the United States. I shall exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will report periodically to the Congress on significant developments.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 13, 1996.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Constitution and Convention of the International Telecommunication Union

September 13, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Constitution and Convention of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), with Annexes, signed at Geneva on December

22, 1992, and amendments to the Constitution and Convention, signed at Kyoto on October 14, 1994, together with declarations and reservations by the United States as contained in the Final Acts. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Constitution and Convention and the amendments thereto.

The 1992 Constitution and Convention replace the ITU Convention signed in Nairobi in 1982. Prior to the 1992 Constitution and Convention, the ITU Convention had been routinely replaced at successive Plenipotentiary Conferences every 5 to 10 years. The 1992 Constitution and Convention represent the first basic instruments of the ITU intended to be permanent. Basic provisions on the organization and structure of the ITU and fundamental substantive rules governing international telecommunications matters are embodied in the Constitution. The ITU Convention is comprised of provisions on the functioning of the ITU and its constituent parts.

The 1992 Constitution and Convention reflect the effort by ITU Member countries to restructure the ITU to make it more effective in responding to the changes taking place in telecommunications. The United States is pleased with the restructuring of the ITU. The changes adopted are expected to enable the ITU to meet challenges brought on by the dynamic telecommunications environment.

The 1994 ITU Plenipotentiary Conference was convened less than 4 months after the entry into force of the Constitution and Convention to amend the 1992 Constitution and Convention. Recognizing that more time should be allowed to evaluate the extensive changes to the structure of the ITU, the Conference adopted only a few minor amendments, which were acceptable to the United States.

In signing the 1992 Constitution and Convention and the 1994 amendments, the United States made certain declarations and reservations. The specific declarations and reservations are discussed in the report of the Department of State.

The 1992 Constitution and Convention entered into force July 1, 1994, for states which, by that date, had notified the Secretary General of the ITU of their approval thereof and, in the same manner, the amendments to the Constitution and Convention entered into force on January 1, 1996.

Subject to the U.S. declarations and reservations mentioned above, I believe the United States should be a party to the ITU Constitution and Convention, as amended. They will improve the efficiency of management of the ITU and will allow it to be more responsive to the needs of the United States Government and private sector. It is my hope that the Senate will take early action on this matter and give its advice and consent to ratification.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 13, 1996.

The President's Radio Address
September 14, 1996

Good morning. Today I know the thoughts and prayers of every American are with our men and women in uniform serving in the Persian Gulf, standing up for America's interests. I want to speak with you about why 10 days ago I ordered our Armed Forces to strike Iraq, what we have accomplished, and where we go from here.

America's vital interests in the Persian Gulf are constant and clear: to help protect our friends in the region against aggression, to work with others in the fight against terrorism, to preserve the free flow of oil, and to build support for a comprehensive Middle East peace. Any group or nation that threatens the stability of the region threatens those interests.

For the past 5 years, Saddam Hussein has repeatedly threatened the stability of the Persian Gulf and our allies Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Time and again, he has lashed out recklessly against his neighbors and against his own people. America's policy has been to contain Saddam, to reduce the threat he poses to the region, and to do it in a way that makes him

pay a price when he acts recklessly. That is why when Saddam sent his troops into the Kurdish city of Irbil in northern Iraq 2 weeks ago, we responded strongly, immediately, and strategically.

If we had failed to answer Saddam's provocation, he would have been emboldened to act even more recklessly and in a manner more dangerous to our interests. That is why we did respond and why we did so in a way that made our interests more secure. We acted in southern Iraq, where our interests are the most vital and where we had the capacity to increase the international community's ability to deter aggression by Saddam against his neighbors.

I ordered the attacks in order to extend the no-fly zone in Iraq, the air space through which Iraq's military is not allowed to fly. Now we control the skies over Iraq from the border of Kuwait to the southern suburbs of Baghdad. This action tightened the strategic straitjacket on Saddam, making it harder for him to threaten Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and easier for us to stop him if he does. In so doing, we advanced America's fundamental interests in the region.

Of course, our interests also must include protecting the safety of our own pilots who are patrolling the expanded no-fly zone. That is why our cruise missiles struck the bulk of Saddam's air defense system in southern Iraq. The United States will take whatever steps are necessary to protect our pilots as they enforce the expanded no-fly zone and to defend our strategic interests. I have ordered sufficient forces to the region to give us that capability.

On another note, let me say that I deeply regret the very week our Armed Forces advanced America's interests halfway around the world, here at home, the Senate missed an historic opportunity to make our soldiers and citizens safer by failing to vote on the Chemical Weapons Convention. The fact that our troops are facing off against Saddam Hussein, who once amassed stockpiles of chemical weapons and still seeks to develop them, should have underscored the importance of this treaty. But the treaty seems to have gotten caught up in election-year politicking.

It's been nearly 4 years since the Bush administration signed the Chemical Weapons Convention and 3 years since I submitted it to the Congress. We've been at this a long time, and I have no intention of letting this treaty die. Our military supports it; leaders of our Nation's foreign policy, both Democrats and Republicans, including President Bush, General Colin Powell, and Senator Dick Lugar, support it.

We all agree that we should be sending a strong message as a united country that America will do its part to banish poison gas from the Earth. And meanwhile, we must do everything we can to protect our soldiers and to keep such weapons out of the hands of terrorists. The Chemical Weapons Convention will clearly help us to do that.

So I want the American people to know that I will work with the Senate to pass the Chemical Weapons Convention when a calmer political climate prevails. We cannot afford to play partisan politics with America's security. Our troops who are doing such an outstanding job in the Gulf and all around the world and all the American people deserve better than that.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 9:25 p.m. on September 13 in the Map Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 14.

Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Hurricane Fran in Raleigh, North Carolina

September 14, 1996

The President. Thank you, Governor. I don't want to say too much right now. We mostly just came down to listen and to see what we could do to help. But I would like to say, first of all, that like most Americans, I've followed the course of the hurricane and the storms and the rains. I have followed very closely. I did see the video on the way down of the—specifically focusing on your damage along the beach, but I also have watched over the last several

days as the damage took its toll and then this remarkable job of cleaning that has been done.

I want to thank all of you who have worked on this. I frankly was amazed when we flew over the damaged area and how much had been done to at least prepare the way to rebuild the homes and to get the trees up and do the other things that have been done, and I take my hat off to you. And we will do whatever we can to help.

A lot of our administration people have been down here. Secretary Riley—I asked Secretary Riley this morning, I said, "Dick, why are you coming with us today?" And he said, "Well, I'm a Carolinian," he said. [*Laughter*] He said, "Besides, there were schools damaged; I belong down there." And I thank you for what you said about James Lee Witt. I thought I should send someone down here who did not speak with an accent—[*laughter*]—so that you would—there would be no time lost in translation. But I believe that if we can perform as well over the next several weeks as the people of North Carolina have performed in the last week, we will be able to recover from this.

I also know, Governor, you told me on the way down there has been an enormous amount of loss to the agricultural crops, to the tobacco, the corn, perhaps some others, and I'd like to hear about that. We just want to know what the full dimensions of the problems are and what we can do to help, and we'll do our best.

[*At this point, the roundtable discussion began.*]

The President. First of all, I would like to—let me begin by thanking all of you who have spoken and those who worked in public capacities and the citizens who told their stories. Thank you in Wilmington, Mr. Mayor, and the others for joining us by satellite. The wonders of modern technology have given us a picture of that house, which proves that no matter how modern technology gets, we are not in total control, and I thank you all for what you have done.

What I'd like to do in the time we have available here is just to—first of all, let me tell you that we talked—the Governor and Congresswoman Clayton and I talked on the way down here with Leon Panetta and Mr. Witt and others about what we could do before the Congress goes home, maybe, to get a little help here for North Carolina and for the other States that were damaged not as badly but there was still quite a bit of significant damage from Hurricane Fran in some other States and whether we could get something done. So we're looking at that. What I'd like to do is to have the clearest picture I can when I leave here today of what your priorities are.

Phil Lader, our Small Business Administration director, is here. Jim, you told me, I think, 50,000 small businesses have been hurt by this hurricane. And I think we've acknowledged everyone else here. North Carolinian Martin Lancaster is here from the Defense Department, and General Genega, the head of the Corps of Engineers.

We'd like to know exactly what you need done the most quickly, and what priority—what we need to be sensitive to. And we want to do the best we can to try to fashion this relief package that's as adequate as possible within the limits of the law. We also want to organize our own efforts in a way that is most helpful to you.

We've been dealing with the emergencies in the last week, but Mr. Culbreth just said—I mean, I frankly was astonished that you had over 98 percent of the people hooked up to their power again. I think it's a stunning achievement. But now we need to focus on where to go from here and how to do the rebuilding. I'm glad to see Commissioner Graham out there, and Mr. Campbell, I'm glad to see you.

I asked on the way in about the farm losses and how we could help to deal with that. So I'd just like for anybody here around the table or out in the audience—again, there are a couple of public officials I see on the television there in Wilmington or at least citizens who haven't said anything. Anybody wants to say anything else to me about what you feel should be done in what order, I would like to hear it.

[*The discussion continued.*]

The President. I guess one of the things I would like to point out, just parenthetically, on the Federal assistance, most of the Federal assistance I think is funds we need to get to you for these big categories of things where, as the mayor said, the people will know what to do with it. There are some things where we have direct Federal appropriations, where we're going to be looking to see that we have done everything that we should do—I'll give

you an example—to fix the Federal-aid roads and the bridges, you know, where we ought to be moving that money as quickly as possible. I think that—and they've unleashed another $5 million or something today that can fix a lot of the bridges. And then there's money we have directly from the Department of Labor to help people who have lost their jobs, either to hire them as temporary workers or to retrain them, do whatever is necessary, and I believe that about $8 million has been allocated for that. And so I think that's important, too.

We want to make sure that we have—that on the laws already on the books, the money already appropriated, the things that the Federal Government can just go ahead and pay for directly, even though the work may be done on contract or by people down here, we're getting that out here, too, because I think—the magnitude of the losses here is so great that there may be things that we haven't even thought of yet that we could be moving on. And we want to just—I think the main thing is just to get as much happening as quickly as possible. It's obvious that you are all very well organized and will make the most of whatever is given to you.

I'd like to thank the Red Cross and all of the volunteers. I know you've had people here from 18 or 20 States coming in. I see some of our AmeriCorps volunteers out there; I know they've been working; I thank them for doing that.

If you can think of anything else—let me tell you what we're going to do on the budget issue. We talked to Congresswoman Clayton, and we'll get in touch with Senator Helms and the others next week—well, the first of the week, the day after tomorrow—to see if before the Congress recesses for the election recess, we can find an amendment process by which we could actually get some relief now so that it's not just a bill that everybody says they're for, that we actually produced something for you in the next 3 or 4 days. We could do it next week if we got real lucky and everybody just pulled together.

You know, this country has been so afflicted by disasters in the last 4 years, just since I've been President, I mean from the earthquakes and the floods and the fires in California to the Pacific Northwest and the 500-year flood in the Mississippi River Valley to any number of things that have happened along the East Coast. My guess is that there will be an enormous amount of sympathy for this across the country, because all of those people know that people from North Carolina and West Virginia and Virginia helped them when they were in need, and I think they will respond.

[*The discussion continued.*]

The President. Thank you very much, Governor. Let me just say in closing, I've been coming to North Carolina for many, many years now, long before I ever got into my present line of endeavor. And I've always been impressed by the combination of sort of old-fashioned, friendly hospitality and creative aggression—[*laughter*]—in this State. I mean, I think it really accounts for a lot of your success. And I will do exactly what you ask. That's why I made the point I did about the Labor Department funds and the highway bridge funds. We want to be a good partner and a good friend and a good neighbor.

The second thing I'd like to say is that you were very generous in complimenting everybody else, but you and I have been friends for nearly 20 years now, and I can say that if every one of us in public life had the level of energy, intelligence, and determination you do, we wouldn't have as many problems as we do, and I thank you for your leadership.

The last thing I want to say is, you told me today North Carolina State was getting a new basketball gym, and as somebody who once gave a speech in the old one—and it was so hot I destroyed a suit while I was doing it—I'm proud they're going to do it, and I wish them well this year, and I hope they have a good season.

Thank you very much. God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at the State fairgrounds. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. James B. Hunt, Jr., of North Carolina; Mayor Don Betz of Wilmington; Maj. Gen. Stanley Genega, USA, Director and Assistant Commander for Civil Works, Army Corps of Engineers; Carson (Doug) Culbreth, energy division director, North Carolina Department of Commerce; James Graham, State commissioner of agriculture; and Wayne Campbell, State auditor.

Remarks at the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Dinner
September 14, 1996

Thank you, Congressman Payne. He was up here talking about me and our administration and laying it on so thick, it sounded so good I wasn't quite sure who he was talking about. [*Laughter*] And Alexis Herman, sitting over there with me—and he got down to the end, she said, "He's talking about you. This is your introduction. Stand up; stand up." [*Laughter*] Thank you so very much.

Thank you, Congressman Don Payne, for your leadership of the Congressional Black Caucus and for your passion for the people of America and indeed for people around the world. Thank you, Congressman Bill Jefferson, for chairing this dinner for 2 years in a row. [*Applause*] That is worth more than applause, folks. Thank you for being my friend for so long and way back in the beginning when only you and my mother thought I could be elected President. [*Laughter*]

Thank you, LeBaron Taylor, for chairing the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. To all the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, honored guests. I'd also like to recognize and thank for their service the retiring members of the CBC: Kweisi Mfume, Cardiss Collins, Cleo Fields, Barbara Rose Collins, and my neighbor Harold Ford from Tennessee. Please give them all a big hand. They have served our country well. [*Applause*]

We have a lot of members of our administration here tonight: our Energy Secretary, Hazel O'Leary; the Commerce Secretary, Mickey Kantor; Assistant Attorney General Deval Patrick—thank you for sticking up for the civil rights of all Americans, Deval; Federal Highway Administrator Rodney Slater; Assistant to the President for appointments Bob Nash. If you get one, credit me; if you don't, blame him. [*Laughter*]

I'm glad to see my friend Mayor Dinkins here tonight. The Director of the office of drug policy control in the White House, General Barry McCaffrey; former deputy chairman of the African National Congress Walter Sisilu is here. Thank you, Walter. And the future Speaker of the House of Representatives is here, Dick Gephardt, and we're glad to see him.

This is my fourth CBC dinner. I enjoy each one better than the last. I thank all of you for coming up here to shake my hand, and I apologize for everyone I didn't get to see.

Let me begin by recognizing your outstanding awardees tonight. Thank you, first of all, for honoring Alma Brown and for what you have done also to honor the memory of Ron Brown, who was clearly the greatest Commerce Secretary in my lifetime, perhaps in the history of the United States. I congratulate Mary Frances Berry, Ingrid Saunders Jones, Toni Fay, Elaine Jones, Congressman John Conyers, Congressman Donald Payne, LeBaron Taylor, Wade Henderson, and my good friend Andy Young. All of you in your own way have moved our country toward greater justice, equality, and opportunity. Not only the members of this foundation and the people at this dinner but all Americans are in your debt, and we congratulate you.

Ladies and gentlemen, last Monday I had the privilege of awarding the highest honor our Nation can bestow on any citizen, the Medal of Freedom. One of the honorees, John Johnson, is clearly a legend in the African-American community, a man who started with nothing in my home State, moved to Illinois, and made a pretty good career for himself. I enjoyed seeing him there, and I was glad to honor him.

But unfortunately, because of Hurricane Fran, one awardee did not make it to the White House to receive her award in person. So earlier this evening, in a ceremony in the Oval Office, I presented the Congressional Medal of Freedom to a woman whose quiet dignity ignited the most significant social movement in the history of the United States, Rosa Parks. At this time I'd like to ask Congressman Bill Jefferson and Congressman Don Payne to escort Rosa Parks to the stage so that we can present her to you on this great night of her recognition.

I would like to read the citation which I presented to Rosa just a couple of hours ago, along with this magnificent medal. Please be seated. It says, "On December 1, 1955, going home from work, Rosa Parks boarded a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama, and with one modest act of defiance, changed the course of history. By refusing to give up her seat, she sparked the

Montgomery bus boycott and helped launch the civil rights movement. In the years since, she has remained committed to the cause of freedom, speaking out against injustice here and abroad. Called the 'first lady of civil rights,' Rosa Parks has demonstrated, in the words of Robert Kennedy, that each time a person strikes out against injustice, she sends forth the tiny ripple of hope, which, crossing millions of others, can sweep down the walls of oppression." Presented at the White House in Washington, September 9, 1996, to you, Rosa Parks. Thank you, and God bless you.

Even one of the photographers said, "You're lovely, Ms. Parks." [*Laughter*] You guys never say anything like that to me. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, in the last couple of weeks, as you may have noticed, I have been out in the country meeting with our fellow Americans. I took a train to the convention in Chicago. And by the way, to all of you who are here from Chicago, thank you for a magnificent convention, for all you did.

We started in West Virginia and went into Kentucky, all through Ohio, through Michigan, ending up in Indiana. Then afterward, Hillary and I and Al and Tipper Gore took a bus trip from Missouri back into southern Illinois, across into Kentucky, down through Tennessee. And I went up to Wisconsin for Labor Day. I have just been in Arizona and California.

Everywhere I go the crowds are large and enthusiastic, full of hope and conviction. It is so different from 4 years ago when we had high unemployment, the slowest job growth since the Depression, stagnant wages, rising crime, a country that was becoming even more cynical about the political system, with rising division. I said then that I wanted to create a country in which we had opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community that includes all Americans. I said that I thought that Washington had become too caught up in the politics of who is to blame and we'd forgotten that what the main purpose of our work here, which is not to say who is to blame but to ask what are we going to do about it?

Thanks to a lot of the people who are in this room, we have been trying to do something about it for 4 years now. And after 4 years, as Don Payne said, we've got 10½ million new jobs, 4½ million new homeowners, a record number of new small businesses, including in every year record numbers of new businesses owned by women and minorities. We have for the first time since before the Civil War cut the deficit in each one of the 4 years of my Presidency. And we did it without gutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, and our commitment to the proposition that everybody in this country is entitled to be treated fairly and justly.

Last year the African-American unemployment rate was in single digits for the first time in two decades. Crime has gone down for 4 years in a row. Twelve million Americans can take some time off when their babies are born or when their parents are sick without losing their jobs because of the family and medical leave law. Fifteen million American families got a tax cut to stay off welfare because they were working hard with children under the earned-income tax increase that was passed by the Members of Congress in this room today.

Forty million Americans have had their pensions protected. We shut down more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were shut down in the 12 years before. Fifty million Americans are breathing cleaner air. We have standards for safer food. We've increased the immunization of children. We've increased the number of children with Head Start. Our health care reform—the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill—now says to 25 million Americans you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because somebody in your family got sick; that's what insurance is for.

Even though I was roundly criticized for it in the most amazing quarters to me, in the so-called progressive quarters of this community when I became President, saying that I wanted to prove we could have diversity and excellence and that I thought we had an obligation to try to construct a Government that would look like America, could relate to America, and could work with America, I think it's worked out pretty well. Forty-two African-Americans have been nominated to the Federal court since I became President. We've nominated more women and minorities to the Federal bench by far than any President in history, and they have the highest ratings collectively from the American Bar Association of any nominees in history. Don't let anybody tell you you can't have excellence and diversity. It is not true.

I'm grateful for the service of people like Hazel O'Leary, Jesse Brown, Frank Raines, our new Director of the Office of Management and

Budget, the first African-American ever to hold that position. I'm grateful for those who went before them in our Cabinet, of course Ron Brown but also Lee Brown and Mike Espy. I'm grateful for the difference that people like Deval Patrick and Jim Joseph and Rodney Slater make. I'm grateful that for the first time ever there are three top assistants to the President in the White House who are African-American, Alexis Herman, Maggie Williams, and Bob Nash.

I'm proud to announce tonight that the Clinton/Gore campaign has appointed to serve as honorary campaign chairs Alma Brown and Congressman John Lewis, along with Terry McAuliffe; Senator David Pryor; Governor Roy Romer; the former Governor of Texas, Ann Richards; and Linda Chavez-Thompson. They will lead our effort to spread the message and organize our reelection efforts around the country. Thank you, John, and thank you, Alma.

Now, that is a pretty good start. I guess I should also mention what Don Payne said, that we had to say no to some things we couldn't just say yes to. We said no to the attempts to balance the budget by raising taxes on poor working people, raiding workers' pension funds, breaking our commitments to education, breaking our commitment to poor little children, seniors in nursing homes, families with disabilities by essentially ending Medicaid's guarantee; no to the effort to create a two-tier system of Medicare which would have hurt the oldest and the poorest and the sickest of our seniors; no to the attempts to undermine 25 years of bipartisan support for environmental protection.

But that is not enough. We have to do more. We have come a long way, if you look at where we are now compared to where we were 4 years ago. Then wages were dropping; now they're rising. There are lots of things that are better. But every one of you knows that we are not yet prepared for the enormous transition to the 21st century that we're all facing.

And we will not be prepared until we can honestly say with a clear head and a clear conscience that every single person in this country who is willing to work for it can achieve the American dream. Until we can say that, until we can say, "We know we're still going to be the strongest force for peace, freedom, and prosperity in the world," until we can say, "And we know that our American community is not going to go the way of all these other countries where people spend all their time fighting each other because of their racial, their ethnic, their religious, their tribal differences—in this country, all you've got to do is believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence and show up. And we're for you, you're a part of our America, and you're walking on our bridge into the 21st century," until we can say that, we have work to do.

So I ask you to support our efforts to balance the budget and keep the economy growing and keep those interest rates down but to do it in a way that continues to invest in the people and the places that still don't fully participate in the promise of America. And I ask you to support a tax cut, but it ought to be the right kind, focused on childrearing and education and health care and buying that first home. And it ought to be paid for. And people like me who don't need it shouldn't get it, blow up the deficit, and turn right around and go back to the past and what we did before, which caused our wreckage in the economy and drove the unemployment rate up and left too many of our people behind. So I want you to help me to build the right kind of bridge to that 21st century.

I want to build a bridge where every 8-year-old can read a book on his or her own, where every 12-year-old in every classroom in America can log in on the Internet. And for the first time, I want the kids in the poorest urban classroom and the most isolated rural classrooms to have the same educational opportunity at the same level of quality in the same time as the children in the richest classes in America can. And we will do it in the next 4 years if we can build the right bridge to the 21st century.

I want you to help me build a bridge where we make 2 years of college just as universal in 4 years from now as a high school education is today. Now, that's a tax cut worth giving. Give people a tax cut for the cost of community college tuition. Let them have those 2 years of education. We will see the incomes go up. We will see people getting good jobs. And it will make a difference if we build the right kind of bridge to the 21st century. And I hope you'll help me do that.

I also want you to help me in this election period to remind America that for all of our 10½ million new jobs, there are still people in places that have been left behind. I want you to remind America that you can't require

people on welfare to go to work unless they have work.

I want you to help me to spark a vast new round of investments in our isolated inner-city areas which have been left behind, help me give the mayors and the others the power to create those jobs and create those opportunities by cleaning up the environment, creating investment incentives, and putting people to work. We cannot ever forget that there are still too many Americans who could no more come to this dinner than a man in the Moon because they're still looking for a job and they need one tomorrow, and we need to do our best to make sure that they have their part of 21st century America as well.

Let me just say, for those of you who don't think we can do that, look at what's been done in the empowerment zones that have been created. Look at what's happened in Detroit where, when they became one of our empowerment zone cities, they raised $2 billion in private investment to go with our tax incentives and cash grants, and the unemployment rate in 3 years in Detroit—Detroit, a city I used to hear was gone—has dropped from 8½ percent to less than 4 percent in Detroit, Michigan.

We can do this, folks. We can turn this around if you are committed and I am committed and, I might say, if we get the kind of Congress that will support the kind of policies that will enable us to move this country forward.

And let me say one last thing. I just was with a group of people right before I came over here—this is an interesting story—I was with a small group of Americans who are from India. And it's very interesting, of all the groups in America—they're relatively small, only a half a million of them, but they have the highest average educational attainment, the highest average income, and the highest average incidence of two-parent families of any group of Americans, including WASP's like me. But they were supporting what we were trying to do, and they were glad I was coming here to be with you, because they understand that we have to build a bridge we can all walk across. And they understand, unlike some, that in order for them to be really successful, it does take a village where we all work together to lift all of our children up and give all of our kids a better opportunity.

And that's the last thing I would like to say to you. Yes, I refused to end affirmative action, even though it was a popular thing at the moment. I think the popularity has sort of faded now because the few incidents of things that didn't work didn't prove that we should throw away something that had plainly worked overwhelmingly for so many people over the last 25 years and because there is still evidence that we have a ways to go.

I feel the same way about any form of discrimination. And I think if we're going to stay on the right track we need to make sure we have less discrimination, not more of it.

Just imagine what the future is going to be like. Ten years from now those of you who are eating here tonight have children who will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Just 10 years from now some of our children will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet. Your Government is now doing a research project with IBM to build a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can do tonight if you go home and pick up a hand-held calculator in—listen to this—30,000 years. That is how fast things are changing. That is the magnitude of change we are facing.

And yet there is no nation in the world so well-positioned for the 21st century as the United States, in no small measure because of you and because of the hard, often bitter lessons we have learned in coming to grips with the problems rooted in the division of the races from the beginning of our country. Why? Because now we are the most diverse big country in the world. And if we can maintain our commitment to staying on the cutting edge of change and making sure everybody gets a chance to go there, no one will do as well as American children will in the 21st century if we can just remember that we are blessed by our diversity just as much as other countries have been cursed by theirs.

Today the world is looking at the elections in Bosnia, the first halting step to moving from the absence of war—which is what they have had since we went in there—to the beginning of peace again. But how tragic it is that that little country, where the Muslims and Croats and the Serbs are actually biologically indistinguishable and happen to be in separate groups because of the developments of history—how sad it is that in that little country, for 4 years, after decades of getting along, they just set on each other and started killing each other, even killing the children. Why? Because the darker

side of human nature was put on a pedestal. Because they were told the most important thing about them is that they weren't the other guys.

And you look around the world and see where all that's happening. Now we're worried about Burundi breaking out again and having what happened in Rwanda happen in Burundi. Why? Because the Hutus and the Tutsis think the most important thing about them is they're not the other guy.

I went to Ireland a year ago, and the streets were lined with the Catholics and Protestants, the young children cheering and yelling because they didn't want any more war over there. But the grownups didn't have as much sense as the kids did. And they started fighting again over things that happened 300, 400, 500, 600 years ago, telling the most important thing about them was they weren't Catholic or they weren't Protestant.

How long did South Africa suffer for the same reason? And we have to remember—that's why I act so strongly when I see things like the church burnings or synagogues or Islamic centers being defaced—any of this is wrong. We can never define ourselves as Americans by saying we are so good because we are not the other guy. The other guys are us, too. We are all Americans.

And I saw where one of our friends in the other party the other day was saying, "Boy, we really need to jump on this affirmative action out in California; we can take the President down on this. This is one of those wedge issues." Well, let me tell you something, folks, those wedge issues nearly did us in. We have had about all the wedge issues we need. And I'd like them to take their wedges and go someplace else and let those of us who believe in unity get on with the business of making America a great place for every American to live in. And I want you to help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:34 p.m. at the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Alexis M. Herman, Assistant to the President and Director of Public Liaison; David Dinkins, former New York City mayor; and Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado.

Remarks on the Elections in Bosnia and an Exchange With Reporters
September 15, 1996

The President. Good morning. A year ago Bosnia was racked by the bloodiest war in Europe since World War II. Yesterday Bosnians went to the polls in peace to cast their votes for their future. The road ahead will be hard, but yesterday was a remarkable step forward. The Bosnian people, the international community, and the American people should be proud.

Our observer delegation, led by Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, reports that the elections generally were orderly and calm. Close to 70 percent of Bosnia's registered voters cast a ballot freely at one of 4,400 polling places all across the country. And nearly 80 percent of the registered refugees abroad voted by absentee ballot.

I want to thank IFOR, the international police task force, and the more than 1,200 international election monitors for helping so many Bosnians take part in these elections. By voting yesterday, the Bosnian people gave life to the institutions of national government: a presidency, a parliament, a constitutional court, key government agencies. These institutions can bring the country together instead of driving it apart. Now we have to get them up and running and help the Bosnian people in the hard work of building a unified, democratic, and peaceful Bosnia.

Our commitment to Bosnia does not end with these elections. We will continue to do our part to hold Bosnia's leaders to their commitments and to turn the promise born 9 months ago at Dayton into a reality.

Thank you.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, there are reports that Iraq has fired more missiles at U.S. planes. Do you know if those reports are true, and if so, do you plan to respond?

The President. I can't confirm that now.

Q. Mr. President, what do you say to criticism by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, especially in light of the confusion with the ground troops, U.S. ground troops, potentially going to Kuwait, now waiting? He says our policy over there makes no sense, that it's a typical muddle.

The President. That's just election year talk by Mr. Gingrich.

Q. Mr. President, is Kuwait at all delaying or not approving the deployment of U.S. ground troops?

The President. No. We have no information to that effect. I think that what I would do is just let the orderly processes that are always followed in these kinds of cases go forward. I think that there is no problem here, based on what I know. I think that what happened was that the decision on the movements that we had made actually became public before we had done our regular consultation and the Kuwaitis had done their regular review. As far as I know, there is nothing irregular or troubling here.

Q. Mr. President, what do you think of Senator Nunn saying that Saddam is stronger now, and are you all set to retaliate again if something happens?

The President. Well, I believe that he's in better shape than he was the day after the Gulf war in 1991, but strategically I do not believe he is stronger because of the expansion of the no-fly zone. I think the expansion of the no-fly zone was designed to do one thing and one thing only: to increase our capacity to monitor and to limit his ability to threaten his neighbors in light of his increased aggressiveness. And I think that we will achieve that and I think we are achieving that and that was exactly what we set out to achieve.

But he was not taken out of office in the Gulf war. He has managed to survive, and he is still in power. But the important thing for the United States is that he not be able to threaten his neighbors and to do what was done in 1991 in the Gulf war. We don't want to have to do that all over again, and that's what we're trying to avoid. And I believe we have taken an appropriate step to do that.

Q. Is there a breakdown in communications between you and Capitol Hill? They act like they don't know what's going on.

The President. Well, I can't comment on that. We've done our best to keep them very carefully informed, and I expect to have some personal consultations in the next few days, and we'll see about that. But I believe we did the right thing, and I think it was the appropriate course. And I will do everything I can to answer whatever questions any Member of Congress has.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, prior to his departure for Des Moines, IA. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Remarks at a Rally for Senator Tom Harkin in Indianola, Iowa

September 15, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. It's good to be back. How many of you were here 4 years ago? [*Applause*] How many of you weren't here 4 years ago? [*Applause*] Four years from now, we're going to have to rent the next farm to have this. Let's keep going.

Let me say to all of you how very happy I am to be here. I'm sorry I wasn't here from the beginning. I'm sorry I missed Tom Arnold and my buddy Jerry Jeff Walker. Maybe they'll play a little on the way out while I'm shaking hands. But I'm glad they came here and thank them both for being here.

I want to thank those who are here to support us: Attorney General Tom Miller, Agriculture Secretary Dale Cochran. Mike Peterson gave a heck of a speech up here a few minutes ago. He'll be a good candidate someday. I want to thank Mayor Kelley of Indianola, Mayor Davis of Des Moines.

I want to thank Tom and Ruth and Jenny and Amy for serving the State of Iowa. I want you to know that Ruth Harkin has played a major role in the efforts that our administration have made to sell more American products around the world and get more American invest-

ment and have fair as well as free trade. And I thank her. You should all be very proud of her for the work she did as head of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

I thank Senator Harkin for what he said but, more importantly, for what he has done and been to the people of Iowa, to the people of the United States, and to the President. He has been nothing short of magnificent in his service to our country and to this State in the last 4 years since I've been in Washington.

I can't tell you all the times that I have turned to Tom Harkin in the last 4 years when things were on the line for America, when we had to pass an economic plan to get the deficit down, to get the interest rates down, to get the economy going again. And Iowa is a strong two-party State; we're going to try to change that a little this time. And our friends in the other party were saying, "Oh, the President's economic plan is just awful. It will increase the deficit; it will bankrupt the economy; it will hurt people." Every single one of them to the person lined up and said no. It's unfortunate for them because 4 years later we got 10½ million new jobs, lower interest rates, record numbers of small businesses, American exports at an all-time high, businesses owned by women and minorities at an all-time high. They all said no, but Tom Harkin said yes. We got a 7½-year low in our unemployment rate. Thank you, Tom Harkin, for making the difference and for fighting for us.

Then there was the family and medical leave law. They all said—their nominee is still saying, "It was a terrible mistake, that law, bad for business." Glad he led the fight against it. We just had a bipartisan survey about the family and medical leave law, and the 12 million American families that got to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a parent was sick without losing their jobs, they said it didn't hurt. And I say one of the biggest challenges you have today, every one of you, is to create a country in which families can succeed at home and at work. It's good for the economy to help people be good parents, good children, good family members. Thank goodness we had Tom Harkin to fight the good fight.

We said the crime rate was too high in America and we needed to do something to bring it down; we ought to put 100,000 police on the street. They didn't like that idea very much. And I might add, in the last 2 years, for reasons that totally escape me, they've tried to stop us from continuing to finish the job. But for the first time in who knows how long, the crime rate has gone down in America for 4 years. And if you leave Tom Harkin on the job and give us a little help, we'll take it down for 4 more years, so the American people can feel safe on their street.

I thank you for what you said, Tom, about the flood. When I was a Governor in a State that had a lot of natural disasters, I learned that the Federal response was too often disorganized and inadequate, driven by appointees who got the job because of their politics instead of their knowledge about the issue. So I put a person in charge of our emergency management who had done it for me at home and before that had been a county judge dealing with disasters and didn't care anything about the politics of it; he just wanted the American people in their time of need to be well-served, taken care of, and thought somebody in Washington ought to understand what it takes to get the job done. That's why we were able to serve Iowa and the rest of the Middle West well in that 500-year flood.

And I thank you for what you said, but when I ran for President I wanted to make good things happen. And when I look at the farm prices, when I look at farm assets, when I look at the direction of the economy here, I'd say we're a lot better off than we were 4 years ago, and we ought to keep going in the same direction.

Let me say to you, to echo what Senator Harkin said, this is a huge election. This is the last election of the 20th century, to elect the first President of the 21st century.

Audience member. And you're going to win!

The President. I am if you keep that same attitude for the next 51 days. But I want all of you to think about this.

Audience member. We love you, man!

The President. You have to understand what is at stake. That's why this Senate race is so important. That's why these five fine people behind me who are running as our candidates for the House are so important. If you look at the challenges facing our country, in spite of everything, we clearly had the ability to balance the budget in the last 2 years. And they said, "We're going to shut the Government down if you don't do it our way. We're going to give you a tax cut, Mr. President, and people in your income

group whether you want it or not. And we're going to cut Medicare. We're going to walk away from the guarantee Medicaid has given for 30 years to middle class families whose parents were in nursing homes and had children with disabilities. And if you don't like it—we're going to increase the cost of student loans. We're going to cut Head Start. We're going to cut the safe and drug-free schools program. We're going to wreck 25 years of bipartisan commitment to preserving our environment. We're going to raise taxes on the 9 million Americans with the lowest incomes with children in their house. That's our balanced budget plan. If you don't like it, we're going to shut the Government down." And I said, "The Democratic Party does not love the Government, it loves the people. The Government should serve them. Shut her down. Shut her down."

And yes, after you and the people of this country all over the country got their attention with repeated public opinion polls and strong disapproval of what was going on, they said, "Oh, well, maybe we'll allow some good things to happen." So we got the minimum wage increase, and we got the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill. And we made it easier for small-business people to take out retirement plans. And we did a lot of good things. But don't forget what is really hanging in the balance.

Don't forget what the budget battle said. I'm telling you, folks, there is a new Democratic Party. We have proved that we are the party of responsibility when handling people's money. We did lower the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War. I'm proud of that. But we did it in a way that kept faith with the children of America and the parents of America and the disabled of America and the people who deserve to go forward with us together. We need more help in that way.

We proved that we would bring the crime rate down. They tried to convince every hunter in my State that they were going to lose their guns if we banned assault weapons and passed the Brady bill. And by the votes in '94, they did a good job of their efforts. They've got a real problem now. We've had two hunting seasons; there hasn't been a hunter in America lose their rifle. It's inconvenient for their rhetoric. But you know what, 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did lose the right to get a gun to keep brutalizing the American people. We were right, and they were wrong.

They talked a lot about welfare. Finally they passed a bill I could sign. But while they were talking, we were working on it. You know, there are nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare today than there were when I was here 4 years ago, 2 million people moving into jobs, working, supporting their families.

So I say to you, we need people who believe in work and family, who believe in opportunity and responsibility, who believe in community and the Congress. And therefore, I want you to send Tom Harkin back to the Senate with the largest margin he has ever received and send these folks to the House of Representatives to help us do the job.

At times like this when countries have to make big decisions that will affect the lives of people far into the future and when things are changing greatly—and believe me, things are changing greatly—these students in the crowd, in 10 years they will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of them will be doing jobs that have not even been imagined yet. We have to make the right decisions. And there are some big decisions to be made.

And I have to say with all respect, I agreed with one thing my opponent said in his speech in San Diego—and what I said, this really is an election where you have to choose whether you want a leader who says, "You're on your own," or one that says, my wife is right, it does take a village to raise a child and build a community and build a country.

You have to choose. You have to choose. You have to choose whether you believe, as Senator Harkin said, in those politicians who are always looking for what they call wedge issues—"Oh, this is a great wedge issue; we can divide the American people, get them all torn up and upset, and we can get in power"—or whether you believe, like me, that we've had enough of that "who's to blame" business. And it works better, and we've proved it works better, if you say, "Forget about who's to blame. What are we going to do to make a greater country for all the American people and pull the American people together?"

We have to choose—most important of all—we have to choose whether you believe this election is about trying to build a bridge to the past, which nobody has ever done or ever will succeed in doing, or whether you're willing to join with me to build a bridge to the future

we can all walk into the 21st century across proudly, together.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong and growing economy. That means balance the budget, all right, to keep these interest rates coming down. But it means do it in a way that continues to invest in education and the environment, in medical research and technology, and protects our obligations to those who need our help through Medicare and Medicaid. Will you help me build that bridge to America's future? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the future that will help our economy to go through the right kind of tax cut. It is in this administration that we have increased by 250 percent the tax cuts available to small businesses who invest more in their business to grow the business, to hire more people, to become more productive. But it has to be the right kind. I want a tax cut that's targeted to people who will use it for education, for raising their children, for buying that first home, for dealing with medical emergencies, an IRA that you can withdraw from without any tax penalty for education or medical cost or buying a first home, a $500-a-child tax credit, an education credit, things that we can do that will grow this country.

But I'll tell you something, folks, mine are paid for, and we've got to pay for them. We don't want to go back to that old time when we promised you a tax cut on the one hand and wrecked the economy on the other.

Now, last year the leaders of the other party said something that I agreed with, and I want to tell you what they said last year before the election started. They said if we get off of this balanced budget plan, if we don't have a plan to keep bringing this deficit down, interest rates will be 2 percent higher. Now, I want every farmer in this crowd, every business person in this crowd, every student in this crowd, every family in this crowd to think what that means. Think what it would mean to have 2 more percent on your credit card payment, your car payment, your home payment, your farm loan, or your business loan. I don't think we want that.

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Let's have a tax cut we can afford. Let's help the folks that need it that are building this country. Let's create opportunity and strengthen families with our tax cut, but let's keep on the work of balancing the budget until we get the job done and we keep the interest rates down and we keep the economy going.

And I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where America continues to sell its products around the world. I'm proud of the fact that our exports and, yes, our agricultural exports, are at an all-time high. If you'll give us 4 more years we'll add pork to those exports. We'll be selling them all over the world, and Iowa will be better. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

But let's face it, you and I know the most important thing we could do to build the right kind of bridge to the 21st century is to give every single child in America the opportunity to have a world-class education. And I just want to mention, Iowa for years and years and years had led the way in proving that a good education builds good citizens, strong families, strong communities, successful careers, and a greater country. Iowa has led the way. Every child in America deserves the education that the people of Iowa have given their children for decades. And I'm going to do my best to give it to them if you'll give us 4 more years.

And I just want to mention two things that I think are important parts of building that bridge. We have the opportunity right now, because of technology, because of the Internet, because of the World Wide Web, because of all these things that all these young folks know a lot more about than I do, we have a chance to do something that this country has never done. If we will do what Al Gore and I have been calling for and connect every school and every library, every classroom to the information superhighway by the year 2000, for the first time in the history of America, children in the most isolated rural districts, children in the poorest urban districts will have access to the same learning at the same quality at the same time in the same way that the richest classes in America have. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. And I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that says to every person in America of any age who needs to do it, we will make a college education available to you.

Our plan is pretty simple. First of all, we say, do no harm. Continue to resist the efforts of the other party to make it harder to get student loans and to raise the cost of the student loans. We want to keep that direct loan pro-

gram. I pledged to you 4 years ago when I came here, if you voted for me I would pass a student loan program that would reduce the cost of student loans and let people pay it back as a percentage of their income, so no matter how much they had to borrow they would always be able to afford to go to college. We kept that commitment, and I want to keep it going.

Now what I want to do is two simple things. First of all, let's make a commitment that in the next 4 years we'll make at least a 2-year community college education as universal in America as a high school diploma is today. And here's how to do it. We can do that simply by giving the American people a $1,500 tax credit so they can reduce the cost of tuition at the typical community college, dollar for dollar from their tax bill, for 2 years. If we do that, we can say—and we can afford that; it requires no bureaucracy, no nothing; almost every American is within driving distance of a good 2-year education—we can say, we're going to make this as universal in 4 years as a high school education has been for the last 20. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, we ought to say, we believe that people should be able to deduct the cost of tuition up to $10,000 a year for any education after high school, 4 years, postgraduate, medical school, you name it, whatever it takes. Let's pay and let people go to college and get the education they need. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Will you do that for your children and your grandchildren? [*Applause*] That is the kind of opportunity agenda that will get us into the next century able to say with a clear conscience and absolute certainty, the American dream is alive and well for everyone who's willing to work for it.

The second thing I want to say about that is, we've got to have more responsibility. We've got to continue to work to drive the crime rate down, as I said. We passed the welfare reform bill. I want to tell you about it because I want all of you to support what we have to do. The new bill says we'll still give poor families medical care, nutrition, if they go to work, guaranteed child care because they need that. But the check is now going to go to the States and the local communities, and they have to use that check to create jobs for able-bodied people.

Now, here's what it's going to take. We can use that money—I was in Kansas City last week, and they're using that money. They say, "Will you hire somebody on welfare and create a new job? If you will, we'll give you the check as a wage supplement. We'll guarantee their health care." But you cannot tell people, folks with little kids, they have got to work unless there is work for them to do. Will you help me create jobs so that we can prove that welfare reform is a second chance, not a way of life, a way to dignity and work and integrity? [*Applause*] That is important if we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century.

Perhaps the deepest and longest and most intense fights of the last 2 years have been over the environment. I grew up in a farming State like Iowa. I governed one. I know that we can find ways to preserve the environment and grow the economy, whether it's a farm economy or an industrial economy or a small-business economy. But that's exactly what we've got to do.

I signed a bill the other day, the pesticide protection act, which will improve the quality of our food, supported by every farm group in America because it also gives more reasonable regulations to farmers across a broader range of activities. We can do this right. We have worked hard.

We've worked hard with the auto industry to produce a clean car that will get triple the mileage of the present car. We're making progress. But we also worked with them to bring back the auto industry so that today the United States auto industry is number one in sales around the world for the first time in nearly 20 years. We can do both things. Only they believe you have to hurt the environment to grow the economy. That is not true. And let me just give you one example.

We closed more toxic waste sites in the last 3 years than they did in 12. But it's not enough. There are still 10 million—think of this; look at these kids here—there are still 10 million American children living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. So if you give us 4 more years, we'll close 500 more, the two-thirds worst, and our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Well, that's it. We're in better shape than we were 4 years ago: 10½ million more jobs, 12 million people using family leave, 15 million families with a tax cut that need it the most,

every small business in the country eligible for one if they invest more in their business, 40 million more Americans with their pensions protected, 50 million more Americans breathing cleaner air, 10 million Americans on October 1st will get an increase in the minimum wage, and that's a good, good thing. This country is moving in the right direction.

But there is so much more to do before we can say we have preserved the American dream for everybody who is willing to work for it, we have maintained the leadership of our country for peace and freedom and prosperity, and we are doing it by building the American community.

You know, one of the biggest problems in this old world today—you look at Bosnia; we had these elections in Bosnia yesterday. Thank goodness we've had 9 months of peace. And we had these elections, and they did pretty well, considering what they've been through the last 4 years. And I thank all of you who supported what I tried to do there. But you think about the world that we're living in. Look at Bosnia; look at Northern Ireland; look at the Middle East; look at what South Africa went through. Look at what happened in Burundi, for goodness sakes, over tribal differences. Why?

All over the world there are people who make a living getting political power, getting military power, staying in power by inflaming the passions of people, by trying to get them to look down on their neighbors. "You really matter because you're not them; you're not them." That's what they say in the Middle East, "You're not them." That's what they said in Bosnia. They were slaughtering each other's children because they weren't Croatian or Serbian or Muslim. And they were biologically completely indistinguishable. It was an accident of history that got them into different so-called ethnic or religious groups.

And you look around this crowd today. I see Asian-Americans. I see African-Americans. I see Nordic-Americans. I see Irish-Americans. I see German-Americans. I see Americans of Central European descent. I see Indian-Americans and Pakistani-Americans and Native Americans and you name it. You know why? Because we are trying to beat that curse that is bedeviling the rest of the world and threatens the 21st century.

And so when you see—[*applause*]—that's the last thing I want to leave you with. I don't want to build a bridge that you only get to walk across because you're better than somebody else because of an accident of birth. I want to build a bridge that anybody can walk across if they say, "I believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights. I believe in the fundamental dignity of all people. And if you're willing to show up for work tomorrow, play by the rules, and love this country the way I do, I'll hold your hand, and we'll build a bridge we can walk across together." And if you'll do that, we'll have a great victory in November.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:20 p.m. at National Balloon Classic Field at Senator Harkin's 19th annual steak and pork-chop fry. In his remarks, he referred to entertainers Tom Arnold and Jerry Jeff Walker; Mike Peterson, chair, Iowa Democratic Party; Mayor Jerry Kelley of Indianola; Mayor Arthur Davis of Des Moines; and the Senator's daughters Jenny and Amy Harkin.

Remarks on Accepting a Report on Anticrime Initiatives and an Exchange With Reporters

September 16, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Let me just make a couple of comments about this. First of all, I want to thank the Attorney General for the extraordinary effort that she has made to deal with the problems of youth violence and particularly gang-related violence and crime in our country. This report is further evidence that our efforts are actually working and that we can bring down the level of youth violence and gang-related violence in our country if we'll work at it in a systematic, disciplined, tough way.

We have a straightforward approach: more police on the street, guns and drugs off the street. We are putting 100,000 police in our neighborhoods, and that's a job we need to finish. The assault weapons ban, the Brady bill are making a difference. We've just established a registry for sex offenders; that will make a difference. "Three strikes and you're out"—that law is being implemented, and it is making a difference.

We've also advocated community-based solutions: curfews, strict truancy enforcement, school uniform options. Last week I announced an initiative for comprehensive drug testing for prisoners and parolees in State prisons that access the Federal funds for prison building. This will make a difference.

Now, there's no question that the battle against violent crime and drugs begins with neighbors looking out for neighbors, parents looking out for their children, citizens linking arms with law enforcement. We have to have a community-based approach to this. But the Federal Government must do its part as well.

The level of violent crime in our country has gone down for 4 years in a row. The level of killing by juveniles has gone down now for 2 years in a row, and the juvenile crime rate overall finally showed a drop. But we are a long way from where we need to be in this country. We have to keep working on this until we have dramatically reduced the level of crime and violence.

That is why I want to build on a particular area of promise, using the antiracketeering RICO statute to fight criminal gangs. Using RICO, the United States brought criminal mobs to their knees. Using RICO, the United States helped to smash the Medellin drug cartel. And today we are using RICO to break up criminal gangs. As the Attorney General has reported, since the end of 1992 we have more than doubled the number of gang-related RICO prosecutions. So far this year nearly 40 percent of the RICO prosecutions involved violent gangs.

RICO prosecutions against gangs are lengthy. They're complex. We need to give our prosecutors the time they need to make the best case. That's why I am calling on the Congress to expand the statute of limitations for violent crime and gangs from 5 years to 10 years. The statute of limitations for bank fraud is 10 years; it should be no less for violent crime.

The days when Washington was more interested in asking who's to blame than what to do about a crime are long since passed now. We've made a good start in fighting violent crime and gangs, but we must keep going until the job is done.

And again, Madam Attorney General, I want to thank you for this and for the work it represents.

Thank you.

Iraq

Q. Mr. President, Saddam Hussein appears to have pulled in his horns. Does that mean the U.S. can forgo any immediate further air strikes?

The President. Let me answer you as clearly as I can. We have sought no confrontation with Saddam Hussein; we never did, and we don't now. We do seek to enforce the no-fly zone and to do it under conditions in which our pilots will be safe. And I will do the very best I can to make the right judgment on that question, listening to my military advisers about the facts.

And that is the only answer I can give you to that question. My concern is that we limit Saddam Hussein's ability to threaten his neighbors, that we do it with the no-fly zone, and that in doing so we keep our pilots safe.

Safety of U.S. Troops Overseas

Q. Mr. President, Kuwait has indicated now that it is willing to accept more American troops. At the same time, the Pentagon has released a study about the safety of troops. Could I ask your reaction to that study, and what do you tell the people who are going into that region again that—where some don't like American troops on Arab soil?

The President. Well, first, I want to thank General Downing. I think he did a very good job, and he did exactly what I asked him to do. I said, "I want an unvarnished, blunt, straightforward report. I want you to take a hard line here because we have got to do everything we can to ensure the safety of the troops." And that is exactly what we did, and the Pentagon and the American people are in his debt.

Now, I had a meeting with Secretary Perry on Friday evening, and he had been briefed, obviously, on the outline of the recommendations of the Downing report. He said that the Defense Department was already in the process

of implementing virtually all of the recommendations of the Downing report, that he fully agreed with them, and that we would be aggressive in the implementation of the recommendations.

So I think it's fair to say that we know we're living in a world in which terrorism is a bigger problem and in which Americans may be the target of terrorists, particularly Americans in uniform. And as we know more about what we can do to protect them, we intend to do everything we can. I give you the same answer I gave to Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News] on the previous question. And we are going to aggressively implement the Downing report.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gen. Wayne A. Downing, USA (Ret.), Director, Downing Assessment Task Force.

Remarks in Cincinnati, Ohio
September 16, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Mayor Qualls, I am delighted to be back in Cincinnati, and I thank you for making me feel welcome again. And I thank you for doing such a good job as mayor. And Representative Mallory, that's the most unusual welcome I ever had, but I liked it. We may have to have a training session to get that down and use it in some other places.

I wonder if you're all in such a good humor today because the Bengals won yesterday. I think that may be it.

Audience member. We love you, Bill!

The President. Thank you.

I want to say a special word of thanks to Senator John Glenn for flying down here with me and for being an absolutely wonderful United States Senator for Ohio and for all the United States. Thank you, John Glenn.

I thank the leaders of the FOP. Thank you, President Gil Gallegos, for that wonderful statement. Thank you, Pete Ridder. Thank you, Jim Pasco, the executive director of the FOP; Steve Young, the president of the Ohio FOP; and Mike Tenore, the trustee of the Ohio FOP. I am very proud to have the endorsement of an organization representing 270,000 rank and file members of law enforcement who put their lives on the line every single day for the rest of us. I thank you for it. As Gil said and as Pete said, for 4 years I've worked hard to stand with the police officers of America, and I am profoundly honored that they decided to stand with me for 4 more years. And I thank them very much.

Folks, I want to talk to you just a moment about what I hope we'll do in those next 4 years to make our streets safer and to make our children's future brighter. Everybody knows now—I hope they do anyway—we've been out talking about where we are now compared to where we were 4 years ago. We pursued a strategy of opportunity for everyone, responsibility from everyone, and an American community that includes every person without regard to race or gender or income or background. Everybody that's willing to work hard and play by the rules should be part of our American community.

This strategy is working. The economy is much stronger. The economy in Ohio—the unemployment rate has dropped from 7 percent to 4.8 percent. It's the lowest in nearly 8 years in the country as a whole. Our auto industry is number one in the world again for the first time since the 1970's. A lot of people in Ohio are part of that ranking, that number one ranking. We have 10½ million more jobs. Wages are rising again for the first time in a decade. On October 1st 10 million American workers will get an increase when the minimum wage goes up. And I'm happy about that.

Yesterday I was in Iowa on a farm in Indianola, and I met, as I often do when I'm out and around, another of the 12 million American working parents who've gotten to take a little time off when a baby was born or a parent was sick without losing their job because of the family and medical leave law. And that's made us a stronger nation.

Twenty-five million Americans—25 million Americans can be helped because the Congress finally passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't lose your health insurance just because someone in your family's been sick or because you changed your job. Forty million Americans—because of the pension protection act of 1994, 40 million retired and still working Americans had their pensions protected, and I am very proud of that. I remember well when they weren't protected 10 years ago and how many people lost their retirement.

So it is clear that we are moving this country on the right track. The things—as the Vice President used to say—the things that ought to be up are now up, the things that ought to be down are now down; 1.8 million fewer people on welfare than 4 years ago, child support collections up 40 percent. What should be up is up; what should be down is down. This is good.

These things did not happen by accident. These things happened because we had a different philosophy of how the White House and Washington should work. I had never worked in Washington, except as a college student, until I became President. And I didn't like what I saw. There were too many people spending their time asking, "Who can I blame for this problem?" and too few people spending their time asking, "What are we going to do about this problem?" So we asked that question: What are we going to do? And then we proceeded to do it.

And I can tell you that I hope that's what this election will be about. I hope we will have 50 days of people putting forth their best ideas about what are we going to do—ideas, not insults. How are we going to build the country? How are we going to build that bridge to the 21st century that we can all walk across?

Mostly I want to talk to you about law enforcement today, but I want you to think just briefly about how we're going to keep this economy growing until everybody who is willing to work can participate in it. And I'll just mention three things.

Number one, we have to continue the work of balancing the budget, but we have to do it in a way that protects Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, medical research, and other scientific research and technology. That is important. John Glenn has devoted an entire public career to it, but it's a huge thing.

We have some people here in their wheelchairs today. For the first time because of medical research in the last few weeks, laboratory animals that had their spines severed have had nerve transplants that gave them movement in their lower limbs for the first time ever. This is important. We have to keep investing in this.

Our space program is helping us to unlock mysteries of the environment, mysteries of health care. We're sending two unmanned space missions to Mars at the end of this year. We will learn some things about Mars but more importantly we'll learn a lot more about Earth, because we have continued the space program that John Glenn pioneered. We dare not turn our back on research and technology in the future.

And for all you young people in the audience who really understand computers, I'll just give you one more. I'll just give you one more. We just joined in a research project with IBM to build, within the next couple of years, a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

So we have to balance the budget, but we have to keep investing in things that take care of people who need it and that invest in our future, that grow our economy, and spread opportunity. We ought to have a tax cut, but it ought to be a tax cut that's focused on the needs of childrearing and education and health care and buying or selling a home. And we ought to pay for it so we can still balance the budget.

We ought to continue to work until we have the finest educational system in the world for everybody. Every 8-year-old should be able to read; every 12-year-old should be able to log in on the Internet; and every 18-year-old in America ought to be able to go to college. We ought to guarantee that 2 years of college are as universal as a high school diploma.

I want to say that again. I want you to understand exactly what I propose. I propose to make 2 years of college, a community college degree, in 4 years only just as universal as a high school diploma is today by giving a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on taxes of up to $1,500, which will cover the average tuition costs at any community college in the country. And then beyond that, saying that if you go to college, no matter what your age or what kind of program you're in, a 4-year program, a graduate

program, you name it, you ought to be able to deduct the cost of the tuition from your taxes up to $10,000—everybody. That will make a big difference to America.

The third thing we have to do to build this economy is to make sure we have enough jobs in the places where there haven't been any jobs yet. We now have a welfare reform bill that says to poor people we will take care of your children's medical care, nutritional needs, and when you go to work we'll give you child care; but now the income check you used to get if you're able-bodied, after 2 years you've got to be working for that check. That's a good thing if there's a job there. Now we have to put the jobs there. That's a big part of building our bridge to the 21st century.

So we have to build a bridge to the 21st century that leaves us a stronger community, and I will just, again, mention three things briefly. Number one, the family and medical leave law has helped a lot of people, but it can only be used in emergencies or for childbirth. I favor a narrow expansion of it which says people ought to also not lose their jobs if they need a little time off from work to go to a regular parent-teacher conference or take their children or their parents to the doctor. I think that's important as well.

John Glenn—we talked a lot about the environment. The air is cleaner; our food is safer; we cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than were cleaned up in the previous 12. Let me just give you one chilling statistic. In spite of all that, 10 million American kids still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump—10 million. In 4 more years, we're going to double the pace at which we're doing the cleanup, clean up the 500 worst ones so we can say these children, wherever they live, they're growing up next to parks, not poison. That ought to be a part of the bridge we build to the 21st century.

We want to be part of a world that's growing ever more peaceful and prosperous, and that means that we have to work hard to face the new problems of the 21st century. We have to finish the old problems that we've dealt with.

We have now got all the countries in the world but three agreed to a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, no more testing of nuclear weapons. But we now have to fight terrorism. We have to fight drug running. We have to fight organized crime. We have to fight the proliferation of biological and chemical weapons. Senator Glenn and I tried to pass the Chemical Weapons Convention to protect our soldiers and our people from the kind of attack the Japanese people had in the Tokyo subway from a terrorist group. We didn't get it for political reasons. But we're going to get it first thing next year to make this a safer country in a newer world.

Now, all that will not make any difference unless we can make our streets safer. The children of this country ought to be safe at home, in school, on their streets, in their play yards. I get asked all the time, "Well, how do you define success in the war against crime? There will always be some crime." Yes, there will. These folks in uniform, they'll always be in some risk. Yes, they will. The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row for the first time in a long time. I'm proud of that. But it's still too high, and we all know it.

You know how you'll know that we've whipped this problem? When you go home from work in the evening and you flip on the evening news, if the first story is a violent crime story, instead of saying "what else is new," you are absolutely shocked and appalled. When that happens, you will know that we're on the right side of the crime problem.

But we're moving in the right direction. The 100,000 new police officers supporting people in a community working together, they're making a difference. Since 1994, we've already funded about half of those. We have to finish the job. It's a major point of contention in this election. And it's very important.

We have put tougher penalties on the books for repeat offenders, especially, and violent offenders so the police don't do their work and see it undone by the laws that are on the books. We don't believe that police should be easily outgunned by gangs on the street. That's why we took the assault weapons off the street and passed the Brady bill and why we're against the cop-killer bullets.

We passed the "three strikes and you're out" law. For people who commit three serious crimes, no more parole. It's working. It's working. We're indicting people, convicting people under it. And it's working. We expanded the death penalty to include drug kingpins and police killers because I thought it was important and justified in those circumstances. The 19 assault weapons we took off the streets had only one purpose, to kill other people.

When we passed the assault weapons ban and we passed the Brady bill a lot of good people who voted for those bills were defeated in 1994 in their race for Congress because the interest group that was against them went out and told good, God-fearing people from Ohio and Arkansas and other places that the President had gone off the deep end, and he and the Congress had voted to take their guns away, put their guns in danger. Well, they got a lot of votes with that line in 1994. But they got a big problem in 1996.

Audience member. Yes, they do.

The President. They got a big problem because, you see, what they didn't tell their people was that we also protected 650 different hunting and sporting weapons from being regulated or confiscated by Government authorities. So now two hunting seasons have come and gone, and not a single hunter in Ohio or Arkansas has lost their weapon. They did not tell the truth. But a lot of criminals don't have assault weapons, and 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get a handgun because of the Brady bill. We did the right thing. They were right. They're safer. And we need to stay after it.

And that's why we should ban these cop-killer bullets. The same crowd is against banning cop-killer bullets. I don't know why. You know, like most people from my home State, I spent a little time when I was a boy living on a farm. I lived in a town where you could be in the woods within 5 minutes. I've been in the woods in every season you can imagine. And I have yet to see a deer, a duck, a quail, a wild turkey wearing a bulletproof vest. I do not see it. [*Laughter*] We ought to ban the cop-killer bullets and protect these people.

We passed the Violence Against Women Act to try to help deal especially with problems of domestic violence. All over the country police departments like the one here in Cincinnati are training people to be sensitive to that. I met a young officer in the Nashville police department who grew up in a family with five children where they had a lot of problems. And he's devoting his entire life to helping police departments all over America deal with this problem as well as his own. And after one year of focusing on this problem, they cut the death rate in Nashville in half—in one year.

We now have a hotline, 1–800–799–SAFE—I've got it on my—and we now have had over 45,000 calls to that hotline this year from people who are asking for information to try to minimize that kind of violence. We can turn that around, too, with citizens helping us on the hotline and helping their local police departments. We can change the circumstances under which too many Americans have lived for too long. You do not have to put up with unacceptable rates of crime and violence. That is the message of this day.

But I want to go back to one other thing Gil Gallegos said. This administration is not responsible for any of these ideas. We got all these ideas from law enforcement people themselves. All we did was listen and act. All we did was take what was working and try to go national with it. All we did was to try to empower the people who live in communities all over America who are sick about crime and violence to do something about it. That is all we have done. That was our job. We did it. Now you have to help, too.

But we cannot expect the police officers to do all of this, and we cannot expect to jail our way out of this problem. You heard Gil say that. We've also supported zero tolerance for guns and drugs in schools. We've supported things like school uniforms and tough truancy laws and curfews. We've supported an effort to mobilize another one million Americans to work in citizens groups, to work with local police departments. We got the cellular telephone industry to donate thousands and thousands of cellular phones to help these community neighborhood watch groups support the police; they cannot do it alone.

And most of all, we have to realize that we have to give our children some things to say yes to as well as some things to say no to. They're entitled to schools that are open after hours. They're entitled to recreation opportunities. They need those summer jobs. They need opportunities like AmeriCorps. They need those good, positive things. That's why we fought for the drug education, the gang prevention programs, all of these other things.

You know, I don't know how many little kids have told me what an impression their D.A.R.E. officer made on them at the school. We know now that one of the reasons we've got a real problem with youth drug abuse is that, going way back to 1990, young people began to get the idea again that this was not dangerous. Well, that's wrong. It's not just illegal, it is dangerous. They can kill children. They can destroy their

ability to concentrate. For young women, they can undermine their ability to bear healthy children. And we need everyone in the community supporting law enforcement officers, getting that message out to our children, to every child, no matter where he or she lives. It is important.

General Barry McCaffrey, a four-star general, was appointed to lead our war on drugs after he led our troops south of the border and did so much to keep drugs from coming into America. His strategy is targeted at doing those things which will keep drugs away from our children. We've proposed the largest antidrug effort in history, and I hope Congress will give us the extra $700 million we asked for, so that we can do everything possible to really, effectively turn these trends around and make sure that we have drug use going down, not just among adults, which it is—cocaine use has dropped by a third among adults in the last 4 years—we have got to get drug use going down among our children. We can't have these kids out there believing they are not in danger when they are, and you have to help.

Let me say that in the next 4 years one thing we have to focus more on is the violence caused by gangs, which is also often related to drug dealing. Over and over and over again, we hear stories of totally innocent children who just happened to be standing on the wrong street corner, happened to be walking in the wrong neighborhood, happened to be going home from school at a bad time, totally innocent children killed because of gang wars. We see kids going into gangs just to protect themselves because they're afraid if they don't they won't be safe on the street and in their neighborhood. And we have got to break this.

We have on the books an antiracketeering statute that had a lot to do with breaking the Mafia. It's called the RICO law. This morning I met with Attorney General Reno at the White House, and she reported that we have more than doubled the number of gang-related prosecutions to nearly 40 percent of all the prosecutions brought under this RICO law this year. These are making a big difference, but they're complicated cases. They take a long time. We're going to have to extend the statute of limitation, to make maximum use of it, from 5 to 10 years. But you know, we give the Government 10 years to make a bank fraud case, it seems to me they ought to have at least that long if an innocent child is gunned down on the street by a gang.

Let me just say one other thing. Last week in Colorado I announced a program I'd like to reiterate. I believe it is very important that we get more States to test prisoners and parolees for drug use and to provide more drug treatment in prisons and to revoke parole if people violate it by using drugs. We have a law on the books which says we will help States build prisons if they promise not to let violent criminals out too soon. I propose to amend it to say, you also have to give drug testing to parolees. That will keep them straight and keep them from returning. Sixty percent of all the heroin and cocaine used in this country—60 percent of all of it—is used by people who are involved with a criminal justice process right now. We need to help them. But more important, we need to protect the rest of our kids and our communities by saying, "Parole is a privilege, and you can't have it if you go back to drugs." And I hope you will support us in doing that.

So that's my program for the future: Do more to break the gangs; ban those cop-killer bullets; drug testing for parolees; improve the opportunities for community-based strategies that lower crime and give our kids something to say yes to. There are a lot of things to do.

The final point I want to leave with you is this: These people up here are doing everything they can. And unlike a lot of folks, we have shown—or rather, they have shown, we know how to bring the crime rate down. But they can't do it all by themselves. They need us to support them. I am honored by their support today. And all I can say is, go back to what Senator Glenn said: If you will give us 50 more days, we'll give you 4 more years of making our streets, our homes, our schools safer.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. at the Cincinnati Music Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Roxanne Qualls of Cincinnati; State Representative Mark L. Mallory; and Pete Ridder, president, Fraternal Order of Police Queens City Lodge #69.

Statement on the Death of McGeorge Bundy
September 16, 1996

Hillary and I were saddened to learn of the death of former National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy. During a career that joined public service and scholarship, McGeorge Bundy was a central figure in the postwar history of our Nation. He served Presidents Kennedy and Johnson with great distinction through difficult times, including the Cuban missile crisis and the early days of the war in Vietnam. After leaving Government, he continued to dedicate himself to strengthening our Nation through his long stewardship of the Ford Foundation. In books and articles published over five decades, McGeorge Bundy brought a compelling intelligence to some of the most important issues of our times—foremost among them, reducing the danger of nuclear weapons. At this time of sorrow, our thoughts and prayers go out to his family and friends.

Message to the Congress on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to UNITA
September 16, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the emergency declared with respect to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola ("UNITA") is to continue in effect beyond September 26, 1996, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The circumstances that led to the declaration on September 26, 1993, of a national emergency have not been resolved. The actions and policies of UNITA pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the foreign policy of the United States. United Nations Security Council Resolution 864 (1993) continues to oblige all Member States to maintain sanctions. Discontinuation of the sanctions would have a prejudicial effect on the Angolan peace process. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to UNITA to reduce its ability to pursue its aggressive policies of territorial acquisition.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 16, 1996.

NOTE: The notice is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Statement on Signing the Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1997
September 16, 1996

I have today signed into law today H.R. 3517, the "Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1997," which provides funding for military construction and family housing programs of the Department of Defense.

The Act provides my full request for the vast majority of military construction projects, the military family housing program, other quality of life facilities for our military personnel and

their families, and the Department of Defense base closure and realignment program.

But I am disappointed that the Act provides more funding than I requested. Specifically, I am concerned that the Congress has chosen to spend $154 million on projects that the Department of Defense has not identified as priorities and that will not improve the quality of life for our service members. These projects are clear examples of spending that is neither warranted nor justified, and is funded at the expense of higher-priority domestic programs.

Indeed, this Act is part of an overall approach by the Congress to provide more funds than necessary for nonpriority items through the Defense budget at the expense of important domestic priorities in education and training, the environment, science and technology, law enforcement, and other key priorities. At a time of scarce resources, we should not squander funds on items that we don't need while underfunding the very priorities that will help improve living standards and the quality of life of average Americans—both now and in the future.

I urge the Congress to complete action on the remaining 1997 appropriations bills as quickly as possible, and to send them to me in an acceptable form.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 16, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3517, approved September 16, was assigned Public Law No. 104–196. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 17.

Statement on Signing the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1997

September 16, 1996

I have today signed into law H.R. 3754, the "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1997."

The Act provides fiscal year 1997 appropriations for the Congress, the Congressional Budget Office, the Architect of the Capitol, the General Accounting Office, the Government Printing Office, and the Library of Congress.

I am especially pleased to sign into law a provision that will allow blind and visually impaired persons to get earlier access to books and other reading matter. As a result of an agreement between the publishing industry and advocates for people with disabilities, books can now be converted into alternative formats such as Braille as soon as they appear in print. Prior to this change, the Library of Congress and other organizations that sought to provide these materials had to obtain permission from copyright holders on a case by case basis, leading to lengthy delays in access to all types of reading material. This law will help us reach our goal of full inclusion of people with disabilities.

I am also pleased with the provision that encourages the Senate to transfer excess or surplus computers and other educationally useful equipment to public schools at the lowest possible cost. This complements our initiative to encourage Federal agencies to do the same to help integrate technology into school curriculums, and ensure that all students have the skills they will need to succeed in the information-intensive 21st century.

I am disappointed, however, that the Congress has passed up yet another opportunity to establish a drug testing policy for those who work in the legislative branch. The Congress should follow the example of the White House and the other executive branch agencies and establish a comprehensive testing program for illegal drug use.

I urge the Congress to complete action on the remaining regular FY 1997 appropriations bills and to send them to me in an acceptable form.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 16, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3754, approved September 16, was assigned Public Law No. 104–197. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 17.

Remarks Announcing Pension Portability Regulations and an Exchange With Reporters

September 17, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you, Secretary Rubin, and thank you, Trisha, for that comment. I want to speak about this at some length but let me first of all say I think all of you know that this morning I had an opportunity to meet with congressional leadership to review with them what we have accomplished in Iraq and where we are going.

I believe we all agreed that Saddam Hussein's seizure of Irbil and movement in the northern part of Iraq after being warned not to do it by the United States and the world community required response. The response that we gave was one designed to improve the strategic position of the United States and our allies, to keep Saddam Hussein in a box, and to limit his ability to threaten his neighbors. That is a smaller box now because we have extended the no-fly zone. And we have also put Saddam Hussein on notice that we do not want him to take any actions that would increase the dangers to our pilots.

So I feel very good today that we did the appropriate thing in the appropriate way and that we've gotten the results that we sought. As I said, I had a good briefing with the congressional leaders. I was also very pleased by the report that Secretary Perry gave on his recent trip to the region and the support that our allies are giving the course that we are taking now. So I felt good about that.

Now, let me talk a little bit about what Trisha just discussed. When I became President it was obvious to everyone who had looked at the trends in the American economy that most new jobs were being created by people in small businesses and that many people were moving from job to job over the course of their lifetime.

Now, if we want to create an environment in which all working people and their children can prosper in a growing economy, obviously one of the things we have to do is to make it possible for people to move from job to job and still succeed in supporting their families. That means, among other things, we needed to make health insurance portable and we needed to make retirement portable and we needed to make retirement more accessible for small businesses, for the owners and the employees of small businesses. We've been working on trying to do that for the last 4 years.

As all of you know, the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill made health care policies more portable, that you could take them from job to job and you couldn't be denied health insurance because someone in your family has been sick. We have worked very hard to make it easier for people to take out retirement plans. And today what we're doing is to make those retirement plans much, much more portable in ways that benefit both the employees and the employers in the small business sector of our economy. The message of the new Treasury Department actions today is simple: At a time when we are trying to seize the opportunities of a growing economy, when 5 million workers with pensions change jobs every year, we have to make it easier for them to save.

Now, as Trisha said, we do have a record number of small businesses now. In each of the last 4 years there has been a record of new businesses being started. A record number of them are owned by women and minorities. We do have lower interest rates and a healthier economy, and we've dramatically improved the ability of the Small Business Administration to make SBA loans—and I understand you had one when you started out—to start people out in small business and to help them.

Now, let me try to explain exactly what this regulation does. We have, as I think all of you know here—when I signed the minimum wage legislation there were provisions in that bill that were included in the "Retirement Savings and Security Act" that I presented to Congress. More than half of what I asked the Congress to adopt was in fact adopted in the minimum wage law. It does make it easier for small businesses to offer pensions; it does let more Americans save for their retirement from their first day on the job in whatever kind of employment situation they find themselves.

I hope Congress will pass the rest of the agenda. I hope Congress will give us tougher audits to crack down on the misuse of pensions. Because of a loophole more than 32,000 large pension plans covering 23 million Americans are

still not effectively audited. So we have to act to protect these pensions. We have seen that this administration, when we know what the audits are, will require deficiencies to be paid and will stabilize these funds.

I also want to expand the tax deductible IRA's because they're the most portable retirement savings of all. And under our plan, of course, people would be able to withdraw from them tax-free for a first-time home, for a medical emergency, or to pay for a college education.

But there are some things we can accomplish without legislation, and that's what we're doing here today. First, some people who change jobs want to leave their savings with their old employer, perhaps because their old job offered better investment choices for their savings plan. But some employers restrict the investment options of former employees to discourage them from keeping their old retirement plans there. The actions we're announcing today ensure that former employees don't have all their good investment options taken away so their families can make the most of the savings they are making.

Second, these actions eliminate restrictions that had prevented many businesses from accepting an employee's past savings into their retirement plans; that's what Trisha is talking about. And that will affect far more people. It's far more likely that employees who change from one business to another want to bring their retirement plan and are not permitted to.

Because today, if a company takes a new employee's past savings and it turns out that the pension plan that the savings were in had legal or administrative problems, then the new employer is fully liable to the employee and could have its entire pension plan disqualified even though the employer had done nothing at all wrong. Under today's Treasury actions if a company takes an employee's past savings and takes reasonable steps to ensure that the plan they came from was acceptable, then the company will no longer be held liable for problems they did not know about. As Trisha pointed out, these actions will make it easier for businesses to do the right thing by helping their employees save for retirement.

Portable pensions, more savings and investment options, health care families can take from job to job, tax cuts for college and job training, expanded IRA's, these are ways that we can give all people the opportunity to take advantage of a growing economy, especially people in the small-business sector.

As I said, I am very proud of the fact that in the last 4 years of this administration in each successive year there have been a record number of new small businesses started, but this is an area in which there is a whole lot of folks moving around all the time. So today we are saying to the 5 million people who change jobs every year from small business to small business, "You've got a lot better chance to keep your retirement. You've got a lot better chance to get a retirement. You've got a lot better chance to take your retirement plan with you." And that means more security for American families, 5 million of them every year.

Thank you, Secretary Rubin, thank you, Trisha, and I thank the rest of our administration for their role in this.

Thank you.

Troop Deployment to Kuwait

Q. Mr. President, have you decided to proceed with the planned deployment of 5,000 troops to Kuwait?

The President. Yes. I frankly don't know what the genesis of the story in the morning paper was about that. I authorized it last weekend and the orders, the deployment orders, were signed last night. There was never any back and forth, to the best of my knowledge. I was surprised when I read the story today. I asked for an explanation of it and none of our people had one because I authorized the deployment last weekend and the—as I said, the orders were signed last night.

Q. When do you expect it to take place?

The President. Well, you can ask the Defense Department. They're doing it in a very timely fashion. They can give you the details.

Iraq

Q. As you might expect, the meeting this morning has not quelled some Republican criticism of how the situation has been handled. If I may just quote—paraphrase for a moment, Senator Lott was wondering what had happened to the disproportionate response which Secretary Perry had said was coming, and I believe Senator McCain said Saddam Hussein is better off than he was 2 weeks ago now that he sort of controls northern Iraq. I would like to get your response to that.

The President. Well, let's take them each in turn here. First of all, I think the response that we selected was entirely appropriate under the circumstances. This will partly answer the second one. Keep in—here is what happened; this was a complicated matter. The United States and the entire world community told Saddam Hussein, you know, don't invade, in effect, the Kurdish communities in northern Iraq; yes, they're in your country, but part of the United Nation resolution was that you should not repress your people. Now, the situation was considerably complicated by the fact that the leader of one of the Kurdish factions actually asked him to do it, wanted to make, if you will, a temporary marriage. So he did it.

From our point of view, it still constituted a violation of the U.N. resolution; plus which, the United States cannot be in the position after years and years and years of dealing with Saddam Hussein in which it's obvious that he's always pushing the envelope of saying don't do this and then have him do it and we did nothing. I mean, a lot of people would say well, "We ought to just take a pass on this. After all, it's just the Kurds. They're divided. He's not invading a country beyond his borders." But to us it was more serious than that because we didn't want to create a precedent in which—which could lead him to believe that he could take further action. There is still a lot of debate about whether 5 or 6 years ago he was somehow misled by actions of others into thinking he could take over Kuwait with no consequences. So we didn't want there to be any ambiguity at all.

Therefore, I believe that—I will say again—I told Senator Lott this this morning, my view is that the action we took was appropriate because it would not have been appropriate for the United States to send ground forces into northern Iraq to try to throw Saddam out of northern Iraq. We could have done that, of course, but it would have been at a very high price. It was inappropriate.

It would not have been appropriate for us to take action that would have cost the lives of a lot of civilians in that country. What we did was appropriate. What we did by extending the no-fly zone is to say, "We want you to understand, we have no intention of permitting you to threaten your neighbors. We're going to limit your ability to maneuver. The box you are in is now a tighter box." I still believe it was the right thing to do.

In terms of northern Iraq, is he in a stronger position today? He's in a weaker position in southern Iraq and a weaker position to threaten his neighbors. Yes, he has his army deployed in areas of northern Iraq that they weren't there a few weeks ago. But I would remind you, there are a lot of shifting sands in the Kurdish political scene. And as the Secretary of State cautioned the Members of Congress today, if you look at where these Kurdish leaders are coming out, I think it is unlikely that there will be any profound, lasting benefits to him from what he has done in the north.

I think it is perfectly clear that there are some significant disadvantages in the south, in the areas where we have the greatest interests, including his ability to threaten either Kuwait or Saudi Arabia.

Q. Sir, Senator McCain said that we would pay a price for not matching the rhetoric with action. He was taking issue with——

The President. Well, my rhetoric has been very careful. I think if you go back and look at exactly what I said, I think my actions and my rhetoric have been very closely calibrated. I've been very careful not to try to run this up the rhetorical flagpole.

Q. What about Secretary Perry?

The President. Well, I think Secretary Perry just completed 3 days of hard work in the region. He got reaffirmations of support for the United States and our policy in every nation he visited from a broad range of officials, and I'm very pleased with the work he has done these last 3 days.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:17 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Patricia Parson, president and chief executive officer, AmerInd, Inc. The Internal Revenue Service proposed rule on retirement plan rollovers was published in the *Federal Register* on September 19.

Remarks in Westland, Michigan
September 17, 1996

The President. Thank you. Well, this is a pretty active crowd, even in the back there. Can you hear me? [*Applause*] Good. Thank you, Brian Duka. Now, I think he did a pretty good job. How many of you could stand up here in front of 10,000 or 12,000 people and do that? Give him a hand. Give him a hand. [*Applause*] That's great. I want to say thank you to the John Glenn choral group and the marching band. Thank you for playing and for singing for us.

Thank you, Congresswoman Lynn Rivers, for the power of your example, for fighting for education, including vocational education, for having a terrific, positive impact in Congress in such a short time, and for helping me to fight against the effort to cut education, the environment, Medicare and Medicaid, fighting against the Government shutdown, fighting against things that would have divided and weakened this country. You stood strong for the people of Michigan and the people of the United States. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Bill Ford, for being here, for all of the work you did in the 2 years we shared together to expand Head Start, improve college loans, open the doors of opportunity to millions of more young people in so many different ways. Thank you, Dr. Moore, Principal Thomas, William Ford Career Center Principal Bill Richardson. Thank you, my good friend Ed McNamara, the Wayne County executive.

Thank you, Mayor Thomas. We're glad to be in Westland. I understand I am the first President to come to Westland. I'll tell you something, folks, they get a good look at you on the evening news tonight, I won't be the last President to come to Westland, I can promise you that.

I'm glad to be joined today by Barbara Levin, the wife of Senator Carl Levin, a man I hope you will send back to the Senate to work with us. And Representative Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick and Eileen DeHart, thank you for being here. I want to thank the people who showed me around at the William Ford Career Center, Dr. Glen Baracy, Bill Richardson—the principal over there. And Todd Hoag and Craig Lindberg, an instructor and a student, who were terrific; I thank them.

I understand that the John Glenn Rockets are 2 and 0. Congratulations! I think it is a great thing—let me say, as a man who is a friend of Senator John Glenn, I think it's a great thing for me to be at this school named after one of the great American heroes of the last 50 years. And I want you to know that, by pure coincidence, I was in Cincinnati, Ohio, with John Glenn yesterday and believe it or not, aboard Air Force One he actually wrote me this letter, which I'm going to give to the high school principal for the school's records when I finish. But I want you to know what it said. I want to read this letter to you, because it starts out in the way I would like to start this talk, anyway.

Here's what John Glenn said. "I am particularly sorry I could not come to Westland today, but I'm sure you will agree the program is in good hands with the President. I have been fortunate to receive some honors in my life, but none have ever made me more proud than have a school bear my name. We've all been lucky to be born in a time in our Nation's history when many notable things have happened and will continue to happen. I've always been more than grateful that I've been able to participate in some of those events on behalf of this great country of ours. To your generation, the opportunities are boundless and education is your key. What you are learning today will enable you to out-distance anything we have ever dreamed of. To every student, good luck; I know you will make us proud. Sincerely, John Glenn."

A generation ago, Senator Glenn reached for the stars and became the first American astronaut to orbit the Earth. Since then, he has shown us that the sky is not the limit.

Audience members. Dole-Kemp! Dole-Kemp!

The President. I don't blame them for doing this. They don't want you to hear the truth. It would bother them.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Wait, don't boo them. Don't boo them. We're glad to have them here, but we recognize free speech. You had your turn; now it's mine. And what I want you to think

about today is what was in that letter John Glenn wrote to you. I want every American, without regard to age, to have the opportunity to live up to his or her potential. To reach that potential, we have to build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across. And the foundation for that bridge has got to be the world's finest education system available to all Americans of all ages.

That is more true today than ever before. As I said when I was working on a book I wrote recently, I was trying to think of a title for it, and I remembered a poem that was read to me when I was in Ireland about magic points when hope and history come together. This is such a time.

The 21st century will give more people more chances to live out their dreams than any period in human history. Let me just give you one little example. The United States has just contracted with IBM to build a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

The young people in this audience today will not only be doing jobs that have not been invented yet, many of you will do work that has not been imagined yet. If we want that kind of world to work for all of us, we have got to build the right kind of bridge, and the foundation, I say again, is education and education for everyone—everyone.

To me, this is part of a simple but profound strategy: opportunity for all Americans; responsibility from all Americans; and a community in which every American, without regard to race or gender or income or where you start out in life, who works hard and shows up every day has a fair chance to live out their dreams. That is the strategy we have followed.

Folks, it's working pretty well. Compared to 4 years ago, we have the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years and 10½ million new jobs, 4½ million new homeowners. The deficit has gone down for 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War. The unemployment rate in Michigan has been less than 5 percent every month this year for the first time in a generation. And for the first time since the 1970's, it is the United States that is producing more cars and selling more cars than any other country in the world. Wages are going up for the first time in a decade. There are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare. Child support collections have gone up 40 percent, and on October 1st, 10 million hard-working Americans will get an increase in the minimum wage.

We are on the right track for the 21st century. But if we want to get there, we've got to stop asking who is to blame and start asking, what are we going to do together to make this the country it ought to be for our children and our grandchildren?

This bridge I want to build has a lot of components. We have to have stronger families. That's why I fought for the family and medical leave law, so you could take a little time off from work for a baby's birth or a parent's illness without losing your job, why I fought to give parents the V-chip to control inappropriate television for their younger children, why I fought against advertising of tobacco to young people. It's illegal in every State in the country, but it happens everywhere.

It means stronger communities. That's why I fought for the poorest communities in this country to have empowerment zones. Detroit got one and cut the unemployment by more than half in only 3 years. We can turn the cities around with work, work, work, and education.

I now know some things that I didn't know 4 years ago about the American people, and I can tell you I am more optimistic today than I was the day I took the oath of office. I am more idealistic today than I was the day I took the oath of office because I know today from seeing what's happened in the last 4 years there is nothing that you cannot do if you're given the tools to do the job, and that's exactly what I intend to see done.

I believed 4 years ago that if we put 100,000 police on the street and gave our police the ability to work with people in community settings, if we got tougher with serious criminals and gave our young people something to say yes to, we could bring the crime rate down. Well, for 4 years in a row, the crime rate has dropped in America. And now, just today, the Justice Department pointed out that last year the crime rate dropped 9 percent, the largest drop in a decade. There are one million fewer victims of crime than there were a year ago. That is a good sign for America.

Now, I don't want to hesitate for a minute on this. I'm not declaring victory against crime, I'm just saying we're moving in the right direction. And what we need to do is not to abandon the present course but to bear down and do

more of it, more police on the street, more criminals and guns and drugs off the street. We can do that if you will stay the course.

We've got to keep this economy growing and strong. That means we have to balance the budget all right, because that keeps interest rates down. That means lower car payments. That means lower home mortgage payments. That means lower credit card payments. That means businesses can borrow money at lower rates to hire more people and raise wages and improve productivity. That's important. But we have to do it in the right way. We don't have to wreck Medicare or Medicaid or turn our backs on education or the environment.

We need to invest more money in research and technology to create those high-wage jobs for the future, not less. And we need an aggressive trade policy that opens new markets. One of the proudest moments I've had as President of the United States was going to an automobile showroom in Tokyo and sitting in a car made in the United States of America for sale.

But let me say again, my friends, we cannot build that bridge with any of those components unless the foundation is world-class education. We've already done a lot to lower the costs of college loans, create the AmeriCorps program, which has allowed 50,000 young people to go to college and serve in their communities, raising standards, supporting improved Head Start programs and other things, but there is more we have to do.

Forty percent of the children in this country can still not read on their own when they are in the third grade. I want to mobilize an army of mentors and reading teachers to work with our schools and our teachers and our parents to make sure that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old can look at a book and say, "I can read it all by myself."

I want to make sure that every classroom in this country in every school not only has computers and teachers trained to help the students use them but is actually hooked up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. For those of you like me who don't know a lot about computers, that may not mean much, so let me put it in plain language. Let me tell you what that means. If we hook up every classroom in America to the information superhighway, what it means is this: that in the poorest inner-city classrooms, in the most remote rural classrooms and all the classrooms in between, for the first time in the history of our country, all of our schoolchildren will have access to the same learning at the same level of quality in the same way in the same time as the students in the richest schools in America. That is achievable, and we must do it.

I want to make sure that we make at least 2 years of education after high school, in a vocational center, a community college, in a college—at least 2 years after high school—just as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And we can do that by giving the American people a $1,500 tax credit for the typical cost of community college education, a dollar-for-dollar reduction for the cost of the tuition, and we ought to do it.

I believe that we should give families a deduction for the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 for the cost of any education after high school for people of any age—yes, the children but their parents, too, if they need it. We ought to do that.

How has the auto industry come back—with greater productivity, smarter technology, and people who are trained to do it. Technology, education, training, hard work, and smart work; it all begins with education.

And let me say one of the most important parts of education is making sure that we tear down the artificial wall in every school system in America between what is academic and what is vocational. I just was in that Bill Ford Center and I saw those young students, those young men and women working on those machines. That's vocational work. I wasn't smart enough to do it. I didn't know how to program those machines. It was academic work as well as vocational work. It was mindwork. It was smart work. And that is the work of the 21st century. And we have to support that work in manufacturing, in services, in agriculture, in all forms of endeavor.

When I became President, one of the things that really bothered me was that our country was the only advanced economy in the world that didn't have an organized system to make sure that every student—like Lynn Rivers 21 years ago or Brian today—that every student who didn't go on to a college at least had a chance to continue their education by blending school and work. We call it now school-to-work opportunities. And when I was a Governor, I worked hard to improve those opportunities, and

as President, we have worked hard to give 26 States, including Michigan, the opportunity to put employers and educators together to build a seamless web of people moving from school to work in the high-wage, high-skilled jobs that can earn them good incomes.

This is school-to-work week in America. And today, there are 500,000 students and 105,000 employers and 1,800 schools, including both John Glenn and William Ford schools, that have embraced the school-to-work opportunities our Nation now offers. We have to keep going until every school system in America and every student in America has the opportunities I saw your people having today. They deserve it, and it will build our economy.

Brian Duka has a bright future today because of the education he received here and because of the work he's doing now. And we have to blend education and work for a lifetime. One of the most important proposals I had that I regret this Congress didn't pass that I hope the next one will is to take all these little training programs the Government has and take all the money and put it in a big block, and when someone is unemployed or underemployed, if they're qualified for Federal training help, send them a check for $2,500 and say, "You know where the nearest good training program is. Take your money there, get the training, find yourself a job so that if you lose your job, you can get a better one instead of a worse one."

If we do that for everybody—give everybody a "GI bill," a skills grant that will give them a chance to move from job to job by going up, not going down—we will strengthen America's families and strengthen America's economy. Education is for everyone of every age who needs it, and we have to give them that.

My friends, in 7 weeks from today, you'll get to make a decision about whether to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past, about whether you believe we're all in this together or to use my wife's term, it takes a village, or whether you think we're on our own. This country always, always, always wins when we put down the things that divide us, when we stop fighting, when we stop being small and we think big and we work together.

We have got to build a bridge to the 21st century that every single American can walk across. There is no nation as well-positioned for that century as we are. And all of our diversity—I look out in this crowd today, there are people here today from—I can see at least seven different ethnic groups just looking out here and I'll bet many more. That is a strength for the United States. There is no country as well-positioned as we are for this global economy if we will lay the foundation, and it starts with building that bridge on the finest educational system in the world.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:36 p.m. on the athletic field at John Glenn High School. In his remarks, he referred to Brian Duka, former student, and Bill Richardson, principal, William D. Ford Career Technical Center; former Representative William D. Ford; Dwayne H. Moore, superintendent, and Gregory J. Baracy, assistant superintendent for general administration, Wayne-Westland Community Schools; Neil Thomas, principal, John Glenn High School; Edward H. McNamara, Wayne County executive; Mayor Robert J. Thomas of Westland; and State Representatives Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick and Eileen DeHart.

Remarks in Flossmoor, Illinois
September 17, 1996

The President. I don't know how we could arrange it with the school's schedule, but I'd like to take the band and the cheerleaders with me for the rest of the campaign. Sort of rev up the crowd.

Superintendent Murray, Dr. Moriarty, Board of Education President Blackstone, to the other distinguished school officials and teachers who are here. Let me say when I got off the airplane today at the Air National Guard terminal in Chicago, I was met by the colonel there, who said, "It's a really wonderful school that you're going to visit." And he said, "I want you to have this flag pin and these bubble gum cards

that those kids made for children in Bosnia. I want you to know what kind of a special place H–F is." So you've got a lot of fans out there that you don't even know about, and I wanted to thank you for doing that. I'm honored to be here.

I want to thank Congressman Dick Durbin for being here with me today. I want to thank Sandy Jackson, the wife of your Congressman, Jesse Jackson, Jr., for being here with me today. He's back in Washington.

I want to thank the students from this school who came to the White House in 1993 and '94 to help with our Presidential correspondence and volunteered to help me answer letters in a better way to children all across America. I thank you for doing that. And I want to say again, congratulations on winning that Blue Ribbon school award for the second time. That's a very special honor.

Thank you for bringing out all these signs, and thank you for showing up in such large numbers. There are even people back there over the hill behind the tent. And I hope you can hear me back there, but I'm glad you're here anyway.

You can't imagine how beautiful it was to sit down in the helicopter and to fly down, and we were all guessing how many of you were down here and wondering whether you just really wanted to go take a swim.

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Maybe it's a little cool for a swim. I cannot tell you—what? It's a biopond? [*Laughter*] Now, that's a clever thing for me to say.

Let me say to all of you, just a few days ago Hillary and our families, our friends, and our fellow Democrats were here in Chicago for our Democratic Convention. It was—I want to thank the city, the people of the surrounding communities, and the people of the State of Illinois for making us feel so very welcome there. It was a wonderful experience we will never forget. Hillary was home, and by the time it was over, I felt like I was home, too. And I thank you for that.

I want to say to all of you again what I said that night. If I do get 4 more years, I'm going to try to build a bridge to the 21st century that every young person in this audience can walk across together, to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given potential and make this country what it ought to be for another 100 years.

And I might say two things about that. If you give me 4 more years, I hope you'll send Dick Durbin up there to help me in the United States Senate. And if you follow Brendan Cumisky's advice about the pictures, it wouldn't surprise me to see him with his picture up there running for President someday, based on that introduction.

Folks, I have followed a very simple strategy that I believe is profoundly important for this country. I want us in the next 4 years to set foot in a new century and a new millennium in which we can say that the American dream is alive and well for every person willing to work for it, in which we can say that the United States is still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world, and in which we can say, looking around this audience, that we have built an American community that is stronger for our diversity, not being torn apart by it. We're going forward together. We respect each other. And anybody who is willing to work hard and play by the rules has a role in our America, a part in our community, and a place on that bridge we're walking into the future over.

For 4 years we have followed that strategy. And the results are now clear for all to see. Compared to 4 years ago, we have 10½ million new jobs and the lowest unemployment rate in 7 years. We have 4½ million new homeowners. Our massive Government deficit of 4 years ago has been cut by 60 percent, and it's gone down in each of the last 4 years, the first time that has happened in a Presidential administration since the 1840's, before the Civil War. I'm proud of that, and our country is stronger because of it.

On October 1st 10 million hard-working Americans will get an increase in their pay when the minimum wage goes up. I'm proud of that. Twenty-five million Americans have been made more secure in their health care because we passed a law that says you cannot lose your health insurance just because somebody in your family has been sick or just because you have to change jobs. You still have a right to keep it, and people have to offer you insurance coverage. And that's very important in this country.

We made every small business in this country eligible for a tax cut for their health insurance or if they invest more in their business to hire

more people, to become more productive, to grow the economy more. And that is very important because most new jobs and most of the jobs the young people have here today will come in small businesses.

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row, and today we learned that violent crime is down 9 percent this year over last. That means there are one million fewer crime victims this year than there were a year ago. And that's good news for America.

Compared to 4 years ago, there are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare, and child support collections are up 40 percent. Compared to 4 years ago, we have safer drinking water, cleaner air, food protected by better standards, more toxic waste dumps have been cleaned up. Our environment is also moving on the right track to the 21st century.

Now, I have to tell you that in this election season one thing I hope all of you will do as Americans, whether you're Democrats, Republicans, or independents, is to recognize that the progress that has been made is not the progress of the President alone. Just as it takes a community to build a school, it takes a community and a country to move all of us forward. But we did change one important thing in Washington. We changed it from hot air to heavy-duty action, from asking who's to blame to asking what are we going to do about it, to moving away from insults to new ideas about America's future. And that's what I want to do for the next 7 weeks. I want you to help me build a bridge to the future by debating the real course before us in positive, affirmative, energetic terms.

That bridge I want to build to the 21st century has a lot of parts to it. We need to build a bridge that keeps this economy growing. That means we need to go on and balance the budget. It means we need to have the right kind of tax cuts, targeted tax cuts we can afford to help families pay for childrearing and education and buying their first home and dealing with medical costs and selling their homes. People shouldn't have to pay taxes when they sell their homes. We can afford that sort of tax cut and still balance the budget.

We dare not have tax cuts that we can't pay for. I will not promise you in the heat of an election to cut a tax unless I know we can still balance the budget without hurting our investments in education, the environment, technology, research, Medicare, and Medicaid. We've got to protect all the American people and go forward together.

We have to build a bridge to the future in which we make it easier for people to deal with the demands that come from raising children and working. I don't know how many people I have talked to in the last 5 years, all across our country, who told me one story or another about the conflict their families have faced between keeping the family together, taking care of the kids, and doing what's required at work. That's why I fought for the family and medical leave law. Twelve million American families have been able to take a little time off from work when a baby is born or a parent is sick without losing their jobs, and our country is stronger because of that law.

And here at H–F high school, let me say that I'd like to see that law amended just a little bit to say you can also take a little time off to go to a regular doctor's appointment with your child or a regular parent-teacher conference without losing your job, because that's important to building strong families and building a brighter future for America.

I'm going to work in the next 4 years to make some more progress on health care, to help people keep their health care when they're between jobs. I want to help to make more progress on retirement. We have worked hard for people in small businesses to be able to take out retirement plans and keep them when they move from job to job. And I made another announcement about that today. I think that's terribly important. It's part of helping people succeed at home and at work.

I want to do whatever I can to help us build a bridge to the 21st century where everybody has a chance to be a responsible citizen. We've moved 1.8 million people off welfare, but there are still a lot of able-bodied people on welfare who would like to go to work. I signed a welfare reform bill that says we'll keep giving poor families medical care and food and child care if they go to work, but now, if we can find a job, they have to take it. I'm going to challenge every city, every community in this country to give those people the jobs. You don't want to put the children in the street; you want to put the parents to work. This should be a positive, good thing to create a million jobs in America.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we bring the crime rate down not for

4 years in a row but for 8 years in a row. That means we have to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street. It means that we were right to pass the Brady bill, which has kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns. And I believe we ought to expand the Brady bill to say that someone who beats up their spouse or their child should not get a handgun either. I don't think that's right.

I believe we ought to ban cop-killer bullets. I don't understand why we have not done that. I can tell you, I grew up in the woods. I've seen people hunting, and I've hunted nearly all my life. I have never seen a deer in a bullet-proof vest. We ought to ban those cop-killer bullets. The police put their lives on the line for us; we ought to protect them.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we take care of our environment. And there are so many things I could mention, but since I made my little faux pas here, let me just give you one. Ten million—I want you to listen to this—10 million American children—10 million still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste site. Now, in the last 3 years, we have cleaned up more of those sites than were cleaned up by our country in the previous 12 years before I took office. But there are still hundreds of them out there. One of the things I want to do to build that bridge is to take the 500 worst, the two-thirds of those that are left, and clean up 500 in the next 4 years so that we can say our children are growing up next to parks, not poison. That's a part of our bridge to the 21st century as well.

But most important of all, we have to build a bridge to the 21st century with the best education system in the world for every single American person, every child. And I believe there are three or four very important things we have to do. Do you know that 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country can still not read independently? I want to mobilize an army of reading tutors and specialists to work with our teachers and work at home with parents so that over the next 4 years any 8-year-old in America will be able to pick up a book and smile and say, "I can read this all by myself." That is a worthy goal, and we can achieve it if we work for it.

I want to make sure that every classroom in America not only has computers and teachers trained to work with the students in how to use them but is also hooked up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. Now, if you don't know a lot about computers—and I don't—if you're like me, that may not mean much to you. So let me tell you what it means in plain language. If we hook up every classroom in America to the information superhighway, what it means is that for the first time in the history of the United States, for the first time in our entire history, every student in every school, rich or poor, urban, rural, or suburban, of whatever background, will have access to the same knowledge in the same time at the same level of quality in the same way as every other student. It has never happened in the history of the country. We can do that for America if we do it.

And the last thing I want to say, as you heard Congressman Durbin say that he and I worked our way through schools, and we had student loans. And we were proud to get them and proud to pay them back. And I'm grateful that my country gave me a chance to borrow the money to go to school, to become a more productive student, and to pay it back. One of the first things that I worked to do when I became President was to improve the student loan program so that we could lower the cost and tell our young people, "You will always have the option of paying that loan as a percentage of your income. We're going to change the repayment so that you will not go bankrupt even if you have a huge debt, because you can't be charged more in any year than a certain percentage of your income." Over a million students in Illinois alone are eligible for that loan program today, and I'm proud of that.

Fifty thousand young Americans can now work their way through college by serving in their communities because of the AmeriCorps program, and I'm proud of that. But I want to do more. I want to do some things that literally will revolutionize opportunity in America. And let me just mention three of them.

Number one, I want us to make at least 2 years of college just as universal as the high school diploma is now by the year 2000. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*] That is not hard to do.

Here's how we can do that. If we give American families a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction of their taxes, for the cost of tuition at the typical community college in America, then we can literally say, "If you'll go, make good grades, work hard, you can take the money

for the tuition off your taxes, and everybody can get at least 2 years of education after high school." Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

The second thing I want to do is to say that we ought to have a deduction for the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year for any college cost—4 years of undergraduate, graduate, you name it—for kids or adults no matter what age. That will help us build a stronger country. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, we propose to make more Americans—American families with family incomes of up to $100,000 eligible to save through IRA's, and then let families withdraw from those IRA's to pay the cost of college or a health emergency or for a first-time home downpayment without any tax penalty, so that people can do more to save for their own college. If you save the money without tax payments and you can get a deduction for investing it, we will literally never tax the money people save for their own college education or their children's college education. It would be the best investment this country ever made. And we can do it and still balance the budget in the right way. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Folks, I look at this community, I look at this school, I remember everything I've read about it. I saw that Air Force colonel bragging on you. I know you sent student volunteers to work in the White House. I think of all the things you have done and built here, and it looks to me like a pretty good picture of what America ought to be like as we start the 21st century.

And I say to you that 7 weeks from today the American people will elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But far more important, the American people will decide whether we're going to be a country that says, "It takes a village to raise a child and a community to build a school," or "You're on your own," whether we're going to be a country that says, "We should try to build a bridge to a distant past," or "No, thank you, we're going to build a bridge to a bright new future."

If you want to build a bridge to that bright new future, if you want us all to go over it together, if you believe we have an obligation to help one another make the most of our own lives and you like where we've come from compared to where we were, I hope that you will stand fast for education, for opportunity for every single American, and for working to build that bridge that we can all walk across together because our best days are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:56 p.m. at Homewood-Flossmoor High School. In his remarks, he referred to Laura Murray, superintendent, Homewood-Flossmoor Community School District; Anthony Moriarty, principal, and Brendan Cumisky, student body president, Homewood-Flossmoor High School; Ronald Blackstone, president, Homewood-Flossmoor Community Board of Education; and Col. Robert E. Bailey, USAF, Vice Commander, 928th Airlift Wing.

Letter to Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich on Legislation To Prohibit Possession of Firearms by Domestic Violence Offenders

September 17, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I am pleased that you have now joined me in supporting legislation to prohibit domestic violence offenders from obtaining firearms. No one who has committed an act of domestic violence against a spouse or child should be able to possess a firearm.

As you know, Senator Lautenberg and Representative Torricelli have introduced legislation that would achieve this objective. The Senate passed the Lautenberg bill for the second time last week by an overwhelming and bipartisan vote of 97–2. It is now time for the House

to act on the Torricelli bill and join the Senate in supporting this bipartisan effort.

There were 88,500 incidents of domestic violence where a firearm was present in 1994. I signed the Brady Law in 1993 and to date it has prevented over 60,000 felons, fugitives and others from buying handguns. My 1994 Crime Bill included the historic Violence Against Women Act, which made it a crime for stalkers and harassers under restraining orders to carry a gun. That provision is beginning to take hold—in Kentucky alone, over 300 stalkers and harassers were prohibited from buying firearms in one year. The legislation that you now support will build upon these important provisions.

I welcome your support and determination to complete this job. Protecting innocent women and children from deadly domestic violence is too important to let anything stand in the way. Bringing this bill to a vote in the House is an important step. But we must see it through to the end. Send it to me for my signature without further delay before Congress adjourns so that keeping guns out of the hands of all domestic violence offenders becomes the law of the land.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

NOTE: This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 18.

Remarks Announcing the Establishment of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument at Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona

September 18, 1996

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for being here and for being in such good spirits. Thank you, God, for letting the Sun come out. This is a sunny day—we ought to have a sunny day for a sunny day.

Thank you, Rob Arnberger, for the work you do here at Grand Canyon National Park and for your participation; to all of our distinguished guests. I want to say a special word of thanks to my good friend Governor Roy Romer from Colorado. And thank you, Secretary Bruce Babbitt, for your long, consistent, devoted efforts on behalf of America's natural heritage.

I also want to thank the Harvey High School choir and the students and the faculty from the Grand Canyon Unified School who are here. Where are you all? Thank you. I think this ought to qualify as an excused absence—[*laughter*]—or maybe even a field trip.

I want to thank all of our tribal leaders who are here and, indeed, all of the Native Americans who are here. We are following in your footsteps and honoring your ethic today.

I want to say a special word of thanks to my longtime friend Norma Matheson. Norma and her late husband, Scott, became great friends of Hillary's and mine when we served together as Governors. After Scott passed away, Norma honored me by asking me to come to Utah to speak at a dinner in his honor for a foundation set up in his memory. I never was with Scott Matheson, I never even talked to him on the phone that I did not feel I was in the presence of a great man. Both of them are truly wonderful human beings. And I am very grateful for her presence here today and for her commitment.

And finally, I want to thank, more strongly than I can ever convey to you, the Vice President for his passion, his commitment, his vision, and his sheer knowledge of environmental and natural heritage issues. It has become a treasure for the United States, and I have mined it frequently for 4 years.

I remember when I was trying to decide what sort of person I wanted to ask to run with me for Vice President, and I made up my mind I wanted somebody who was smarter than I was—that left a large field to pick from—[*laughter*]—someone who was philosophically in tune with me, someone who would work like crazy, and someone who knew things I didn't know. And I read "Earth in the Balance," and I realized it was a profoundly important book by someone who knew things I wanted to learn. And we have learned a lot and done a lot together over the last 4 years. Very few things we have done will have a more positive, lasting

effect than this, and it will always have Al Gore's signature on it as well. And I thank him for what he has done.

Ladies and gentlemen, the first time I ever came to the Grand Canyon was also in 1971 in the summer. And one of the happiest memories of my entire life was when, for some fluky reason, even in the summertime, I found a place on a rock overlooking the Grand Canyon where I was all alone. And for 2 hours I sat, and I lay down on that rock, and I watched the sunset. And I watched the colors change layer after layer after layer for 2 hours. I could have sat there for 2 days if the Sun had just taken a little longer to set. [*Laughter*] And even today, 25 years later, in hectic, crazy times, in lonely, painful times, my mind drifts back to those 2 hours that I was alone on that rock watching the sunset over this Canyon. And it will be with me till the day I die. I want more of those sights to be with all Americans for all time to come.

As all of you know, today we are keeping faith with the future. I'm about to sign a proclamation that will establish the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. Why are we doing this? Well, if you look at the Grand Canyon behind me, it seems impossible to think that anyone would want to touch it. But in the past there have been those who wanted to build on the Canyon, to blast it, to dam it. Fortunately, these plans were stopped by far-sighted Americans who saw that the Grand Canyon was a national treasure, a gift from God that could not be improved upon.

The fact that we stand here is due, in large part, to the Antiquities Act of 1906. The law gives the President the authority to protect Federal lands of extraordinary cultural, historic, and scientific value, and in 1908 that's just what Theodore Roosevelt did when he protected the Grand Canyon. Since then, several Presidents of both parties, Republicans and Democrats, have worked to preserve places that we now take for granted as part of our own unchanging heritage: Bryce Canyon, Zion, Glacier Bay, Olympic, Grand Teton. These places many of you have been to, and I've been to many of them myself. I thank goodness that the Antiquities Act was on the books and that Presidents, without regard to party, used it to protect them for all of us and for generations to come.

Today we add a new name to that list: the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. Seventy miles to the north of here in Utah lies some of the most remarkable land in the world. We will set aside 1.7 million acres of it.

On this site, on this remarkable site, God's handiwork is everywhere in the natural beauty of the Escalante Canyons and in the Kaiparowits Plateau, in the rock formations that show layer by layer billions of years of geology, in the fossil record of dinosaurs and other prehistoric life, in the remains of ancient American civilizations like the Anasazi Indians.

Though the United States has changed and Utah has grown, prospered, and diversified, the land in the Utah monument remains much as it did when Mormon pioneers made their way through the Red Canyons in the high desert in the late 1800's. Its uniquely American landscape is now one of the most isolated places in the lower 48 States. In protecting it, we live up to our obligation to preserve our natural heritage. We are saying very simply, our parents and grandparents saved the Grand Canyon for us; today we will save the grand Escalante Canyons and the Kaiparowits Plateaus of Utah for our children. Sometimes progress is measured in mastering frontiers, but sometimes we must measure progress in protecting frontiers for our children and all children to come.

Let me make a few things about this proclamation clear: First, it applies only to Federal lands, lands that belong already to the American people. Second, under the proclamation, families will be able to use this canyon as they always have: The land will remain open for multiple uses including hunting, fishing, hiking, camping, and grazing. Third, the proclamation makes no Federal water rights claims. Fourth, while the Grand Staircase-Escalante will be open for many activities, I am concerned about a large coal mine proposed for the area. Mining jobs are good jobs, and mining is important to our national economy and to our national security. But we can't have mines everywhere, and we shouldn't have mines that threaten our national treasures.

That is why I am so pleased that PacifiCorp has followed the example set by Crown Butte New World Mine in Yellowstone. PacifiCorp has agreed to trade its lease to mine coal on these lands for better, more appropriate sites outside the monument area. I hope that Andalex, a foreign company, will follow PacifiCorp's example and work with us to find a way to pursue its mining operations elsewhere.

Now, let me also say a word to the people of Utah. Mining revenues from Federal and State lands help to support your schools. I know the children of Utah have a big stake in school lands located within the boundaries of the monument that I am designating today. In the past these scattered school lands have never generated significant revenues for the Utah school trust. That's why Governor Scott Matheson, one of the greatest public figures in the history of Utah, asked the Congress to authorize the exchange of nonrevenue-producing lands for other Federal lands that can actually provide revenue for the school trust.

Finally, I was able to sign legislation to accomplish that goal in 1993. And I will now use my office to accelerate the exchange process. I have directed Secretary Babbitt to consult with Governor Leavitt, Congressman Orton, Senators Bennett and Hatch to form an exchange working group to respond promptly to all exchange requests and other issues submitted by the State and to resolve reasonable differences in valuation in favor of the school trust. By taking these steps, we can both protect the natural heritage of Utah's children and ensure them a quality educational heritage. I will say again, creating this national monument should not and will not come at the expense of Utah's children.

Today is also the beginning of a unique 3-year process during which the Bureau of Land Management will work with State and local governments, Congressman Orton, and the Senators and other interests to set up a land management process that will be good for the people of Utah and good for Americans. And I know a lot of you will want to be involved in that and to be heard as well.

Let us always remember, the Grand Staircase-Escalante is for our children. For our children we have worked hard to make sure that we have a clean and safe environment, as the Vice President said. I appreciate what he said about the Yellowstone, the Mojave Desert, the Everglades, the work we have done all across this country to try to preserve our natural heritage and clean up our environment. I hope that we can once again pursue that as an American priority without regard to party or politics or election seasons. We all have the same stake in our common future.

If you'll permit me a personal note, another one, it was 63 years ago that a great Democrat first proposed that we create a national monument in Utah's Canyonlands. His name was Harold Ickes. He was Franklin Roosevelt's Interior Secretary. And I'm sorry he never got a chance to see that his dream would become a reality, but I'm very glad that his son and namesake is my Deputy Chief of Staff and is here today.

And it was 30 years before that, 93 years ago, that a great Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, said we should make the Grand Canyon a national monument. In 1903 Teddy Roosevelt came to this place and said a few words from the rim of the Canyon I'd like to share with you as we close today: "Leave the Grand Canyon as it is. You cannot improve upon it. What you can do is keep it for your children, your children's children, all who come after you. We have gotten past the stage when we are pardoned if we treat any part of our country as something to be skinned for. The use of the present generation, whether it is the forest, the water, the scenery, whatever it is, handle it so that your children's children will get the benefit of it."

It was President Roosevelt's wisdom and vision that launched the progressive era and prepared our Nation for the 20th century. Today we must do the same for the 21st century. I have talked a lot about building a bridge of possibility to that 21st century, by meeting our challenges and protecting our values. Today the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument becomes a great pillar in our bridge to tomorrow.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. outside El Tovar Lodge. In his remarks, he referred to Rob Arnberger, Superintendent, Grand Canyon National Park; Norma Matheson, widow of Scott Matheson, former Utah Governor; and Gov. Michael O. Leavitt of Utah. The proclamation is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Message on the Observance of Yom Kippur, 1996
September 18, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone observing Yom Kippur, this holiest of Jewish holidays.

On this day, Jews across our nation and around the world gather to pray for forgiveness and to atone for any transgressions they may have committed against God and their fellow human beings. It is during this solemn observance that people who have been torn by differences seek reconciliation with friends, family, and neighbors in an earnest effort to improve their lives and to strengthen their relationships with others.

With its emphasis on collective responsibility, Yom Kippur is a powerful reminder that what we do as individuals has a profound effect on our entire community. The choices we make, whether shortsighted or wise, self-centered or generous, make a difference not only in our own lives but in the lives of our families, our community, and our nation.

Let us remember, therefore, that renewal is still within our reach, that humility before God will help us to recognize and conquer whatever is unworthy in our society and bring us closer to our Creator and to one another. Let us realize that whatever success we may attain will be meaningful only if it is used in service to others. And let this Yom Kippur be a time for us to reaffirm our commitment to family, to community, and to a world of peace and opportunity for all.

Best wishes for a blessed Yom Kippur.

BILL CLINTON

Remarks to the Community in Seattle, Washington
September 18, 1996

The President. Thank you, thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You know, ladies and gentlemen, I have to tell you that for 5 years I have been coming here. I read all about Washington, all about Seattle. This is the very first time it has ever rained on me. Now I know I have finally been accepted as one of you, and thank you. I am glad to be here. I also have a Seattle Fire Department cap that's keeping me a little dry here.

I want to thank Congressman Norm Dicks, who's up here. We're going to send him some help in the United States House of Representatives in November, aren't we? [*Applause*] He and Jim McDermott have had a pretty lonely time, and I want to help them. And I know you do, too.

Let me thank my good friend Mayor Norm Rice for his longtime friendship, for the great campaign he ran, for the incredible dignity he has shown, and for the sense of unity he and Gary Locke have expressed today. It made me proud to be a Democrat and proud to be an American.

I want to thank Gary Locke for what he said, for the campaign he has run, the campaign he is about to run, and the work he will do as the Governor of the great State of Washington. He will be a great partner, and I will work with him to make this State even greater. Thank you for everything you have done to support him, and stay with him until November.

My fellow Americans, I'm glad to see you here. I knew you wouldn't be deterred by the rain, but when the Secret Service told me that 30,000 people had gone through the mags, I knew that you wanted to keep America on the right track to the 21st century.

We are moving in the right direction. And I am proud of the fact that since I came here 4 years ago and asked you to support me in meeting our challenges, protecting our values, providing opportunity and responsibility for all Americans, and bringing this country together, not seeing it driven apart, having us relish our diversity instead of being destroyed by it, we are moving ahead.

We have 10½ million more jobs than we had 4 years ago. We've cut the deficit by 60 percent, the first time since before the Civil War it's gone down all 4 years in a row. On October 1st 10 million Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage, thanks to the leadership of the Democratic Party. Twenty-five million Americans are now going to have a chance to keep their health insurance or get it because of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says no more can you be denied health insurance because you changed jobs or just because someone in your family has been sick. And it's high time we did that for the American people.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. We just got a report a couple of days ago that there are one million fewer victims of crime than there were. Our crime approach is working. The Democrats were right to push it. More police, take the assault weapons off the street, enforce the Brady bill, give our kids something to say yes to, "three strikes and you're out:" it's working, and we need to continue to support it.

There are 1.8 million fewer people on the welfare rolls; child support collections are up 40 percent. We have improved the safety of our drinking water, our air, our food. We are protecting the natural heritage of this country. And I'm very proud that just today I was in the Grand Canyon, announcing the creation in Utah of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument of 1.7 million acres.

I am very proud that this week we had an agreement to protect and restore salmon to the Columbia River. And I am especially, especially proud that just last night we reached an agreement, and high time, to protect the old-growth timber in Washington and Oregon. We are moving in the right direction.

Washington is the most trade-dependent State in the country, and I am very proud of the fact that we have concluded over 200 trade agreements. We are now exporting everything from high-tech equipment to airplanes to, yes, even Washington apples around the world in the last 4 years. And we did it by replacing the old Washington politics of personal destruction and who is to blame with a new question, not who's to blame, not who we can bad-mouth, but what are we going to do to make this country a greater place for every single American who is willing to work for it.

In the two conventions of the great parties held this summer the issue before the American people was posed squarely and clearly: Are we going to build a bridge to the past or a bridge to the future? Do we believe that Government is our enemy, and we should be on our own, or do we believe that the First Lady is right: It takes a village, and we're going into the future together.

Rain or shine, I came here to ask you, will you help me build the bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where every American has a chance to reap the bounty of America, starting with the finest education system in the world for everyone. Forty percent of our 8-year-olds can't read on their own. In the next 4 years I want an army of reading volunteers and trained tutors to go into our families and into our schools and help our parents and our teachers, so that by the year 2000 every single third grader in this country can hold up a book and say, "I read it all by myself." I want you to help me do that.

In this great high-tech home, I want us to make sure that every classroom in America not only has the computers they need, not only has the teachers trained to help the students with the computers, but is hooked up to the information superhighway so that we can say for the first time in the entire history of the United States, every child in every classroom from the poorest inner cities to the most remote mountain villages has access to the same learning at the same quality in the same time as every single child in the United States.

And finally, on education, we have to open the doors of college education to all Americans. I want to make in the next 4 years at least 2 years of college just as universal in the United States as a high school diploma is today. That is the way to move this country forward. I want to give a tax cut for the cost of a typical community college education, dollar for dollar, to every American who will go to community college and do a good job of any age, so that everybody can say, "No matter what happens to me, I can always go back and get the education I need to move up, not down in this competitive global economy."

And I want to give every family a deduction for the cost of college tuition of up to $10,000 a year for any kind of college cost. It would

build America. It would help us grow together. It will move us forward. It will build that bridge.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to keep this economy going: more trade, more trade opportunities, more investment in research. Yes, a balanced budget, but let's balance the budget without wrecking Medicare, turning our backs on Medicaid's commitment to families with disabilities or children that are poor or women that are pregnant or the elderly who need our help. And I want to continue to invest in the environment and education, not turn our backs on it. And I want you to think about that when you vote in Norm Dicks' election and all these other races for Congress.

In 1994 the other party came to Washington, and they said, "Help us make a revolution. We're going to revolutionize America." Well, we saw what their revolution was. "You take our cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. You let us raise taxes on the 9 million poorest working people in America. Let us raid pension funds. Let us let polluters write their own environment laws, or we'll shut the Government down." I told them to shut the Government down. Norm Dicks stood with me, and we stopped what they were trying to do.

And ladies and gentlemen, never forget—never forget—what stake you have. The University of Washington is the number one—the number one—public institution of higher education in America in the receipt of national research funds. This is important to our future. I just signed—we just signed an agreement—I didn't actually have to sign the agreement myself—but we just made an agreement, my administration and IBM, to build a supercomputer over the next couple of years that will do—listen to this—will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and pick up your hand-held calculator and do in 30,000 years.

We are going to keep this country on the cutting edge of technology if you will give the American people and the people of Washington, yourselves and your children, a United States Congress that understands we have to invest in research and education and the environment if we're going to grow this country. And we can balance the budget and do that. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where everybody has a chance to be responsible—1.8 million fewer people on welfare, moving from welfare to work. Here's what that new law says—and this is another reason you need Gary Locke as Governor—the new welfare reform law says this: We will continue the national guarantee of health care and nutrition to people who are poor and on welfare. If they go to work, we'll spend more than ever on child care so they don't have to hurt their kids. But we're going to take the welfare check and give that money to the States so they can decide how both to support people and move them, those who are able-bodied, into the workplace within 2 years.

Now, who do you trust to do right by the poor people of Washington and bring them into the mainstream? Gary Locke. I'm committed to helping him and the city of Seattle and other cities in this country create a million new jobs for those people in the next 4 years. I want you to help us both build that kind of bridge to the 21st century.

And finally, you know, our friends on the other side, they talk a lot about crime. They talked tough about crime for 6 years but nothing ever happened. We passed the 1994 crime bill. And they came into the State of Washington like a tornado into the rural areas telling all these people how terrible we were, how we were going to take their guns away from them and abolish their right to keep and bear arms. And there was a great revolution here in '94 in the congressional races.

Well, guess what? Unfortunately for them, we've had two hunting seasons since then, and not a single hunter in Washington has lost a rifle. But we did take 19 kinds of assault weapons off the street and 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. We were right. They were wrong. You are safer. The crime rate's going down. Let them know about it in November and help us build a bridge to the 21st century where we're all safe.

We ought to extend the Brady bill and say, "If you beat up your spouse or your child, you shouldn't be able to get a handgun either." If police put their lives on the lines for us, we ought to say we haven't seen any game wearing bulletproof vests. We want to ban those cop-killer bullets. And those who are opposed to us are wrong. Let's ban them, get rid of them, make our police officers safer and our streets safer.

We ought to build a bridge to the 21st century that brings us together as a community, beginning with strong families. You know what I hear all over America as the number one family problem? "How can I reconcile the demands of work and rearing my children? How can I do this? I need some help." That's why I'm very proud that the first bill I signed, over the opposition of the leaders of the other party, was the family and medical leave law.

And since then, 12 million times families have taken advantage of that law when a baby was born or a parent was sick so they could take care of their families without losing their jobs. And what have we got to show for it: 10½ million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 7 years, record numbers of new small businesses. We are moving this country in the right direction.

We can help small business the way we have, make it easier for people to take out pensions and take them from job to job, give all small businesses a tax cut as we have when they invest more in their businesses. But don't ask people to hurt their families.

I want to expand family and medical leave to give people some time off to go to doctor's appointments and parent-teacher conferences at the schools so people can raise their kids and succeed at work. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And let me say, finally, we have got to build a bridge to the 21st century as everybody in Washington State knows that enables us to grow the economy while preserving our environment. We are working to save our natural treasures, from the Grand Staircase-Escalante, which I mentioned, to getting the gold mine out of the reaches of Yellowstone National Park, to saving the Everglades all the way across the country in Florida, to improving the quality of our air, the safety of our drinking water, the safety of our food. And we have more to do.

We've cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. But we still have a long way to go: 10 million of our children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. If you'll give us 4 more years, we'll clean up 500 more so children will grow up next to parks, not poison. That's the way to build a bridge to the 21st century, and I want you to help me do it.

And finally, let me say this: We have to build a good community in America and be a part of a strong community in the world. I spend so much of the time you have given me to be President trying to deal with the new security challenges of this era, trying to combat the terrorists, trying to combat the ethnic hatred, trying to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction, not just nuclear weapons but biological and chemical weapons and other sophisticated weapons, trying to beat the drug runners and the organized criminals so that we can have a world that is open and free, where people can move around and share information but our children will be safe.

If you think about it, a lot of the time I spend is dealing with problems that are caused because people refuse to get along with each other and behave like sensible adults because people all over this world insist on looking down on others because they're of a different race, a different religion, a different ethnic group, a different tribe, or in same other way different from them. People insist on saying, "I'm important because I'm not you."

Well, Seattle is a rebuke to that. Seattle is a place where everybody has a home. You look around this crowd today, look around this crowd today. There are 197 nations represented in the Olympics and a whole lot of them are represented in this crowd of 30,000 in Seattle, Washington, United States of America today.

That's the world I want to live in. That's the country I want to live in. We cannot afford—we cannot afford—politicians who are waging war on legal immigrants for their own benefits. We cannot afford this church burning. We cannot afford the kinds of hatreds and wedge issues that have been too much a staple of our politics in modern time.

Think about the rest of the world. There is no country—no country—as well-positioned as the United States for the 21st century. But we have to make a decision. Are we all part of one village? Do we want to say, "You're on your own?" Do we really believe that we're all created equal in the eyes of God, or do we need to have somebody to look down on so we can feel important? I think you know the answer to that.

I think we ought to build a bridge to the 21st century that is wide and strong so that we can say to anybody we run across, any man or woman, boy or girl without regard to anything else, "All you have to do is believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of

Independence, show up for work tomorrow or for school, do your best, obey the law, love your neighbor as yourself, and you're part of our community and we're willing to walk with you into the future." Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*] We need you, Washington.

Thank you, and God bless you, and God bless America. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:36 p.m. at the Pike Place Market.

Remarks to the Saxophone Club in Seattle
September 18, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. Believe it or not, we can almost see most of you way in the back and up there. Thank you.

I want to begin by just thanking all of you for being here tonight.

Audience member. Where's Hillary? [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, Hillary is on her way here. She's been in Denver. We're going to leave for the bus trip here tomorrow, so sometime in the next hour and a half she'll be here.

I want to thank Tom Skerritt for introducing me and for being a good friend and supporter. I know you're all proud of him. I want to thank all the musicians who played tonight, and this is a Saxophone Club event; we've got five saxophones back here. Let's give them all a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to tell you how proud I am to be here with these fine folks who are up on the stage with me. Gary Locke is going to be a great Governor of Washington State. And you can be proud of him. I want to thank my good friend Congressman Norm Dicks for being here and ask for your support for him. And I want to briefly introduce all these other gentlemen behind me because they're going to give you a chance to undo that revolution that Mr. Gingrich brought us 2 years ago. So I'd like to ask them to give you a wave as I call their names: Kevin Quigley; Rick Locke; Brian Baird; Jeff Coopersmith; and this gentleman got more votes than the incumbent Congressman last night and will again in November, Adam Smith. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Now, were any of you in the Pike Street Market today? I hope you didn't get pneumonia. I couldn't believe that you waited in the rain. You should know I just got the latest figures. I understand that 35,000 people were put through the mags at the rally tonight. So I thank you for that. I am very grateful for your presence here tonight and for your support.

Audience member. Play the sax!

The President. No, I can't do that. After the election I'll play, after the election. No, I'm not going to do it. You might as well stop now; I'm not going to do it. [*Laughter*]

You know, that's the way they were when they passed that budget and shut the Government down. I told them I wasn't going to put up with that either. I didn't do it. [*Laughter*] After the election I'll play, after the election. I've got to get my skill level back up. After the election I'll do that.

Let me tell you something, this election in 7 weeks—or to be precise, 6 weeks and 6 days—is going to have a huge impact on what your country looks like in 50 years. You know that, and you're determined to make it come out right or you wouldn't be here tonight and you certainly wouldn't be in such a good humor, in such high spirits, with such high energy.

But I want to ask you tonight to take the energy, the enthusiasm, the spirit that you're manifesting here and take it out all across this community, all across this State, to your friends in other States for 6 weeks and 6 days. If you'll give us 6 weeks and 6 days, we'll give you 4 great years. And we need your help.

You know, if you look around, if you just look around Seattle today and the State of Washington, you see a lot of living examples of what I am trying so hard to do for America's future. You know, I want to build a bridge to the future that has a growing economy in which everybody can participate, not just a few but everybody. That's why it's important to stop those who tried to cut back on education and

instead make a college education available to everybody, bring the Internet to every classroom, make sure we have world-class opportunities.

I want us to go forward as one community building for the future. That's why it's important to balance the budget without walking away from our commitments to education or to the environment or to research. As I said today at the Pike Street Market, the University of Washington is the number one recipient of Federal research investment of any public university in the United States of America. You've got a big stake in our continuing to invest in the future and building a better future.

Just in the last 4 years, I've seen the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS more than double in 4 years because of medical research and accelerating movement of drugs to the marketplace. Just a few days before Christopher Reeve spoke so movingly at the Democratic National Convention about research—just a few days—for the first time in history we had an example of lower-limb movement being restored to laboratory animals that had their spines severed by nerve transplants. This is historic in its implications. To turn away from research at the time when things like this are happening is folly.

So, yes, balance the budget, but keep investing in our people and our future so we can go forward together and grow together. You understand that here. You know that here. You know it's a part of our future, and you have to stand for it.

This has also been a great week for America's natural heritage and environment. Last night we reached an agreement to preserve the old-growth forests in Washington and Oregon. This week we reached an agreement to preserve and restore salmon on the Columbia River, very important. Today I went to the Grand Canyon, which was first preserved by Theodore Roosevelt in 1908 by a declaration of Presidential monument, to declare a monument in southern Utah, 1.7 million acres, the Grand Cascade-Escalante monument. It's a beautiful, priceless treasure for our people and a great thing for our country.

But we have more to do. There is a huge difference here. One party wants to build a bridge to the future; one says we should reach back and build a bridge to the past. One approach says the Government is always the problem; we'd be better off if we were on our own. My approach says—I agree with my wife's book; it takes a village to raise a child, to grow the country, to build a future.

And there is no community in America more outward-looking, more reaching out to the world, more relishing of its diversity than Seattle. And the way you live every day trying to reconcile your differences and appreciate your differences and relish them and build strength out of this community, that's what America has to do.

When Hillary and our daughter and I went to the Olympics to open them and I got to talk to the American team, it occurred to me that if the American team were to take off its uniforms and just walk around in the Olympic Village, you wouldn't have a clue where they were from. I mean we had Hispanic-Americans and we had Nordic-Americans and we had Indian- and Pakistani-Americans and we had Native Americans and we had all kinds of Asian-Americans from all over.

Audience member. Gay Americans!

The President. Yes. We had everybody and all on the Olympic team. So it occurred to me that—and I sat in the Olympic dining hall there, and I ate with these various team members and people came up to me from Ireland and from the Middle East and from various places where I've been working to try to make peace and thanked me for the efforts of the United States. And I thought to myself—I thought to myself, here we got 197 different national groups represented at the Olympics. Our largest county, Los Angeles County, has people from over 150 of those places in one county. In Seattle, you have nearly that many. And yet we're still somehow making it work.

But that's still our biggest challenge. You think about the time I spend as your President trying to get other people around the world to get along instead of look down on each other.

That's the last thing I will say. This is a better country in terms of our achievements, our direction, and our opportunity, our sense of civic responsibility; we're stronger, we're in better shape than we were 4 years ago. By any measure, we're in better shape than we were 4 years ago.

But if you really want to build a bridge to the 21st century, if you want to feel on a daily basis about your country the energy, the elation, the joy you are manifesting here tonight, you

know as well as I do that we have to make opportunity available to everyone. We have to give everyone a chance and expect everyone to play the role of responsible citizen. And we have got to find a way to convince everybody who hasn't got it yet that we are stronger, not weaker, because of our diversity. It is our meal ticket to the future. It is our meal ticket to the future. There is not a country in the world as well-positioned for the 21st century as the United States.

Audience member. You know it!

The President. Nobody. Because of the way we're connected to the rest of the world, because of what we're doing with technology, because of our commitment to educate all of our children, because of the entrepreneurial spirit we have. But the great test is, are we going to be one community? Are we going to make a strength out of what is bedeviling so much of the rest of the world?

It breaks my heart to think that there are people in the Middle East that want to keep the war going. It breaks my heart to see that the peace in Ireland was broken by people who would rather fight about something that happened 300 or 600 years ago instead of letting all the Catholic and Protestant kids go forward into the future together. It's amazing to me that in Bosnia, where they lived together in peace for decades, within a matter of months they started a 4-year war where they were killing each other's kids.

That's why I overreact, by some standards, when we do things like have church burnings here or synagogues are defaced or Islamic centers are destroyed. This is a country which rests on a simple premise. We have never lived up to it perfectly, but we're getting better at it all along, which is why we're still around here after 220 years. And that simple premise is, everybody is equal in the eyes of God. If you want to be an American, what you have to do is believe in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution and show up and behave yourself and do right, and you're part of our country, and you'll be on that bridge to the 21st century. That is what you have to do. That is what you have to do. Will you help me build that bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you give me 6 weeks and 6 days?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help these people to be elected so that we can construct the country we want?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We need you. Don't get careless. Don't be taking this election for granted. Keep this spirit tonight for 6 weeks and 6 days, and you will really have something to celebrate on November 5th.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:32 p.m. at the Paramount Theater. In his remarks, he referred to actors Tom Skerritt and Christopher Reeve; and Kevin Quigley, Rick Locke, Jeff Coopersmith, and Adam Smith, candidates for Washington's Second, Fourth, First, and Ninth Congressional Districts, respectively.

Remarks on Beginning a Bus Tour in Tacoma, Washington

September 19, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you in the back.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you up there. Thank you very much. Well, I know that it's a little wet out here, and as I said last night, I've been coming to Washington for several years now, and it has never rained on me before. I feel that finally you have accepted me as one of your own.

I want to thank you for coming out in such large numbers, and I can tell that a little rain has not dampened your spirits. Are you ready to fight for the next 6 weeks and 5 days? [*Applause*]

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Thank you for your welcome and for your leadership. Congratulations on so many things you are doing here

in Tacoma, but especially, from my point of view, congratulations on winning the President's Excellence Award for Exporting in 1994, and for keeping Tacoma and Washington open and reaching out to the rest of the world, not turning away from it. I hope you will continue to do that.

Thank you, Bridget Woods, for getting up here and making that brave speech. There aren't many 16-year-old girls speaking to 28,000 people, and you did a fine job today. Thank you. God bless you.

Thank you, Norm Dicks, for being a great Congressman and a great friend and a visionary leader, not only for the people of your district, for the people of this country. And thank you—thank you so much, Adam Smith, for running for Congress. And thank you, Jeff Coopersmith, if you're here, for running for Congress. And I want you folks to send them there.

Just remember—just remember—2 years ago, just 2 years ago, our friends in the other party were crowing that Washington State had led the way in the Republican revolution, that the people of Washington were dying to see our economic policies reversed and our crime policies reversed. They told you that we raised the income taxes of ordinary Americans; it wasn't true. And then they turned around and tried to raise the income taxes of 9 million of the hardest working Americans in the country with kids and low incomes.

They told you that our economic plan was going to fail. Well, it's inconvenient for them, but 10½ million jobs later, record new exports, record new businesses, record businesses owned by women and minorities, 60 percent reduction in the deficit, the first time since before the Civil War the deficit's gone down in all 4 years of an administration, you now know that they were wrong in 1994. We were right. Send Adam Smith and Jeff Coopersmith to the Congress, and give Norm Dicks some help to move you forward and our country forward into the next century.

And thank you, Gary Locke, for your distinguished career in public service, for the fine and positive campaign you have run for Governor of the State of Washington. I want all of you to do what you can in the next few weeks to make sure that this fine man is the next Governor. It is very important to your future, more and more responsibilities are devolving upon the State. The next Governor of Washington will, among other things, have the responsibility of working with local communities to create an unprecedented number of new jobs for people we are trying to move from welfare to work in a way that supports families and supports children and does not walk away from our responsibilities to them. I think you know who will do a better job of that, and I hope you will help him win this election.

I want to thank the other officials who are here, but most of all, I want to tell you that you can't imagine what it's like to pull up in a bus and see 28,000 people in the morning, in Tacoma, standing in the rain. That's because you know that America is on the right track to the 21st century, and we intend to keep it on that track, and I want you to help us.

I have said before, let me say again: We are living at a moment of enormous possibility. The young people in this audience will have more chances to live out their dreams than any generation of Americans in history if—if—we build a bridge to the 21st century that opens opportunity for all, expects responsibility from all, and is big enough, broad enough, and strong enough for every American who is willing to work for it to go across, arm in arm, without regard to race or gender or income, or where you start out in life or condition of disability. Everybody should be able to go across the American bridge to the 21st century, and that's what I'm asking you to help us build.

My fellow Americans, there is a reason that the economy is better than it was 4 years ago. There is a reason the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. There is a reason that the welfare rolls have gone down and the child support collections have gone up. There is a reason that the air is cleaner, our drinking water is protected, our food is going to be safer. There is a reason that the toxic waste dumps that we cleaned up in the last 3 years were greater than those cleaned up in the 12 years before we took office. There is a reason that we were able to declare the Grand Cascade-Escalante national monument in southern Utah yesterday, 1.7 million acres, to save Yellowstone from a gold mine, to reach a historic agreement here in Washington State just 2 days ago to protect the old-growth forests of Washington and Oregon, to reach an agreement to restore the salmon in the Columbia River. This does not happen by accident. This happened because we replaced the old Washington politics of who can we

blame and hot air with "What are we going to do about it?" Let's don't talk, let's roll up our sleeves, join hands, and actually do something to help the American people make the most of their own lives and to move forward, and that is what we proposed to do.

So I come here to Tacoma to ask you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century. A bridge that focuses first and foremost on making sure that every American has the chance to make the most of his or her own life, and that means world-class education. A bridge to the 21st century where, as the Vice President said, we hook up every classroom and every library and every school in the United States to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, that we give all of our children, for the first time in history, whether they're in the poorest urban districts, the most remote mountain districts—every single child at the first time in history will have access to the same information in the same time at the same quality as the children in the richest schools of America. We have never done it before, we can do it now. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where college is available to every American of any age who needs to go. We propose, first, to say people can save more in their individual retirement accounts, their IRA's, and then withdraw from it, tax-free, to pay for a college education. Second, that we want at least 2 years of education after high school by the year 2000 to be just as universal as a high school diploma is today, and we propose to guarantee it by giving people a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction in the taxes for the typical costs of community college tuition in this country. And third, that we propose to give a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the costs of any college tuition—undergraduate, graduate, for people who are young or middle-aged or old. Let's do that and build a bridge we can all walk across to the 21st century. Will you help us build that bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. The second thing we have to do is to keep this economy growing. That means we do have to continue to bring the deficit down and balance the budget, because that means low interest rates, lower car payments, mortgage payments, lower payments for businesses who have to borrow money to create jobs, lower home payments. But we have to do it in a way that honors our obligations to each other and to our future. We don't have to wreck Medicare, turn our backs on Medicaid's responsibility to poor children, pregnant women, the elderly, families with members with disabilities. We do not have to gut the environment or reduce our investments in education and medical research and other research in technology areas.

Let me tell you, folks, Washington State has led the way in reaching out to the rest of the world with exports and in developing a diversified, high-tech economy. I'm very proud of the fact that, in this administration, we've concluded 200 trade agreements that's helped the people in Washington export everything from computer software, to airplanes, to Washington apples. I am proud of that. But we have to continue.

The University of Washington is the number one receiver of Federal research money of any public university in the United States. We have to continue to invest there. And we also have to continue to invest in other forms of research and technology.

And today let me just say a special word about our space program. I expect most of you, like me, were thrilled to see the stunning pictures from space that came out early this morning as our Space Shuttle *Atlantis* linked up with the Russian Space Station *Mir*. Our American hero, Shannon Lucid, greeted her American colleagues. What a wonderful person she seems to be. It's so impressive, the life that she's lived. We need to support that space exploration. And I want to tell you that today our administration will announce the results of a complete review of our space policy, the first new space policy since the end of the cold war.

Let me tell you what we're going to do. First, we're going to continue to expand our knowledge of the universe. In December we're going to launch a long-planned robotic mission to the surface of Mars. And believe it or not, if you've seen the movie, it lands on Independence Day, 1997. We thought we would go visit them first and try to get around that blowing up the Capitol and the White House business. [*Laughter*] This will help us to determine whether and how and when we should send human missions there.

The second thing we're going to do, which is very important to the high-tech industries of the Pacific Northwest, is to tear down the bar-

riers that block the development of our space industry. Boeing recently announced an innovative proposal to work with Russia, Ukraine, and Norway to launch satellites at sea. We're going to continue to move forward. We want to have free and fair trade among economies in space, and we can do that.

The third thing we're going to do is to make sure we use space to protect our national security, to maintain our freedom of movement, to monitor threats in compliance with our arms control treaties. All of this is very important, and I want to say a special word of thanks to the Vice President for his leadership in space and for the environment, in technology, and for reinventing Government; but especially today, to continue our leading role in space.

Now, folks, there is this huge debate going on in the country today, and I have to say that we need to be sensitive to the real issues here. If you look at the budget, if you look at the education issue, if you look at the space issue, there's a huge debate: Are we going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Do we believe we have to work together to give each other the tools to make the most of our own lives, to build strong careers, strong families, strong communities, and a strong country? Or should we say, "You're on your own"?

I think I know what you believe. I think you believe the First Lady was right: It does take a village to raise a child, to build a community, to move a country forward.

Let me say again, I want you to help Governor-to-be Locke, and support us in building a bridge to the 21st century where we say to people who are going to be moved from welfare to work, we want to help you and support you to raise your children and to succeed at work, because that is what we want for all American families. And I have a plan to create a million new jobs to help move people from welfare to work. I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

I want you to support—the mayor mentioned it earlier—the other big factor in the '94 elections that helped our friends in the opposition win so many seats here in Washington and throughout the country was their relentless assault on our anticrime legislation. They said it was just designed to take your guns away. They said that we had threatened the rights of hunters in Washington, and sports men and women in Washington State and in my home State of Arkansas, to hunt and to engage in other activities, and we weren't going to do anything to fight crime. And they scared a lot of people into voting for them in Washington and other places.

But they have a big problem in 1996. We've had two hunting seasons come and go since the last election, and there's not a single hunter in Washington State who is not still hunting with the same weapon he had in 1994. They didn't tell them the truth.

But we did take 19 deadly assault weapons off the street, and there were some people who couldn't get guns. Sixty thousand felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. We were right; they were wrong. Send them a message in these races. Send them a message. And by the way, I believe we ought to extend the Brady bill. I don't believe people who beat up their spouses or their children should be able to get handguns either.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that we can all walk across together. We ought to be supporting our families. Hillary and Tipper and the Vice President and I, in our different ways, we've tried hard to help families raise their kids and succeed at work. We've worked hard to protect our children from the dangers of advertising, distribution, and sales of tobacco. We've worked hard to increase safe and drug-free schools programs, to support people at the community level who are doing everything they can to keep our young people out of trouble.

We've worked hard with the entertainment industry to put the V-chip in televisions and to get TV programs rated, and to bring more educational programming back to primetime television. We are working hard for the family and medical leave law, which has now given 12 million American families the chance to take a little time off from work for the birth of a baby or a parent's illness without losing their jobs. These are important. And if you give us 4 more years we want to expand family and medical leave to say you can have a little time off to go to a regular parent-teacher appointment or a regular doctor's appointment with your children and still keep your job. It's been good for the economy. We have record numbers of new businesses, over 10 million jobs. It's good for America when people can succeed in taking care of their family members and succeed at work.

And finally, let me say, we have to continue our work to preserve our environment. There are still 10 million American children who live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. If you give us 4 more years we'll close 500 more so our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? Will you ignore the rain for 6 more weeks and 5 more days and ask your friends and neighbors to support us and to build a bridge to the future?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, Tacoma. Don't lose your energy. Don't lose your enthusiasm. Bear down. We need you. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:52 a.m. at the Tacoma Dome. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Brian Ebersole of Tacoma and Bridget Woods, student body vice president, Lincoln High School.

Remarks in Yelm City, Washington
September 19, 1996

The President Hello, Yelm, hello! Wow! Thank you for coming. Thank you. I love your signs. Thanks for the Arkansas sign out there; that was nice. I want to thank the band for being here, and the choral group. [*Applause*] There you are. And I want to say when I finish speaking—this group has written a song, they want to play it for us. And so they've got a little microphone over there, and I want us to listen to their song. These kids have done so much work, I think we should listen to them and give them a little support.

Let me also tell you that I am delighted to be here. I thank you for your warm welcome. I cannot believe the size of this crowd. What's the population of this community? Two thousand?

Audience member. Two people.

The President. No, not two people—I know that. Now, come on.

Let me also say to all of you that I'm honored to be here with the Vice President and Hillary and Tipper, with our good friend Gary Locke, who will be a great Governor of Washington if you will help him for the next 6 weeks and 5 days.

And I want to say that I'm just getting acquainted with Washington State's primary system, but as I understand it, you throw everybody in and let them run. And I was really impressed that our candidate for Congress here, Adam Smith, got more votes than the incumbent Congressman. And I'd like to ask him to come up here and just say a word of hello to you.

Adam, come here.

[*At this point, Mr. Smith, candidate for Washington's Ninth Congressional District, made brief remarks.*]

The President. Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am so glad to be here today. I'm glad to be back in Washington State. I told the big crowd—we had a huge crowd in Tacoma this morning, and I told them that yesterday and today, of all the times I've been to Washington, yesterday and today are the only times it has ever rained on me in Washington State. Now I feel like you've finally taken me in as one of your own now that it's raining on me like it rains on you all the time. And I thank you.

Four years ago we came to Washington State and asked you to support our efforts to change this country. We asked you to take us on faith. We said that we could bring hope back to America, that history was giving us a remarkable opportunity to change this country for the better, that we did not have to put up with the conditions as they were, high unemployment, stagnant growth, stagnant wages, rising crime, a dividing country, a more cynical country.

And I can tell you that after 4 years this country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago. We are on the right track to the 21st century. Ten and a half million more Americans have jobs; 4½ million more Americans have their own homes; 12 million Americans have been able to take some time off from work without losing their jobs when a baby was born or a parent was sick because of the family leave law; 10 million Americans will get an increase

in their pay on October 1st, when the minimum wage law goes into effect; 25 million Americans will have a chance to keep their health insurance because of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't have your health insurance jerked or denied because someone in your family has been sick or because you changed jobs. This country is moving in the right direction.

The Government's deficit has been cut by 60 percent. It's gone down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. The welfare rolls have been reduced by 1.8 million. Child support collections have been increased by 40 percent—$3 billion. And there are one million fewer crime victims than there were last year. We are moving in the right direction toward the 21st century.

And I want to ask you to help America make the right decision between building a bridge to the future and reaching back to build a bridge to the past, between saying that "you're on your own and we hope you do fine, the Government's always your enemy," and saying "it takes a village—yes, the First Lady is right—it does take a village to raise our children, to build strong communities, to build strong businesses, to build a strong country. And we're going to go forward together into the 21st century."

I want to ask you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century that all of us can walk across by saying, first of all, we're going to have the finest educational opportunities in the world for all of our children, no matter where they live, in little towns or big cities. I want you to help me mobilize an army of reading tutors to go out and help parents and schools, to make sure that we change the conditions that exist today where 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country cannot read independently. In the year 2000 I want us to be able to say any 8-year-old in America can take out a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." And we can do that.

I want us to make a commitment that we will hook up every classroom and every library in every school in the United States to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, so that children can say, "No matter whether we live in small towns or big cities, whether our districts are rich, middle class, or poor, for the first time in history we all have access to the same information at the same time in the same way. America's education system finally is truly equal for all America's children." I want you to help me do that.

I want us to be able to say that we have opened the doors of college education to every single person who is willing to work hard and do well—every American without regard to age or income should be able to go. How are we going to do that? Let people save through an IRA and then withdraw without penalty to spend it on a college education. Make the first 2 years of college in a community college as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today by saying you can take off the cost of the typical community college tuition right off your tax bill, dollar for dollar—a tax credit to educate people for 2 years. Finally, give people a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of all college tuition. That will build this country; it will strengthen us; it will open opportunity for everybody. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

The second thing we have to do, folks, is keep this economy growing strong. I want to have the right kind of tax cut, one that is targeted to education, to childrearing, to health care costs, to buying the first-time home; we're not imposing taxes on people if they sell their home for a gain. But I want these things paid for because we still have to balance the budget without bankrupting Medicare, Medicaid, or turning our backs on education and the environment. We have to invest in our future and honor our obligations to the people that share this country with us. And I want you to help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century. I hope you will do that.

I want you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century where we move people from welfare to work and every able-bodied person now on welfare is working. But we have to create the jobs to do it. I have a plan to work with your new Governor to put a million jobs in America to move people from welfare to work. And I want you to help me build that kind of bridge. We want to lift these kids up in poor families and lift their families up and let them succeed at home and at work, just the way you're struggling to do. And I want you to help me build that kind of bridge.

I want you to help me build a bridge to continue our fight to reduce the crime rate. Yes, there are one million fewer victims. Yes, crime has gone down for 4 years. But it's still too big, it's still too much trouble, there are

still too many of our children in gangs, too many of our children turning to drugs, too much random violence. And I want you to help me finish the job to complete putting 100,000 police on the street, to defeat those in Congress who tried to cut our safe and drug-free schools program, to do what we can to make this a stronger country.

You know, 2 years ago, the State of Washington, in this congressional district and others, led the country in embracing Mr. Gingrich's Republican revolution. He told you two things that weren't so. He said that we'd raised all these income taxes on working people, and we were going to break the economy. Well, 10½ million jobs later, we know he was wrong. We've got the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years.

He said their contract on America would make a better place. And then they shut the Government down when we refused to let them wreck the Medicare program, break Medicaid's commitments to the old, the poor, the disabled, and cut education and environmental protection at a time when it's most important, along with raising taxes on 9 million hard-pressed working families. When we said no to that, you knew that there was no revolution, that it was a reaction. And we didn't like it, and we weren't going to put up with it.

And they didn't tell you about the fine print of their contract on America when they ran in 1994. Then they said in the area of crime, "We're going to be tougher on crime." But what did they try to do? What did they try to do? They tried to turn back on our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street. They tried to destroy our safe and drug-free schools program. They tried to eliminate the things that poor kids can say yes to like summer jobs. They opposed the assault weapons ban.

And they told you that the Brady bill was going to take guns away from Washington hunters. Well, guess what, folks. It's been 2 years, and we've got some friends in the loyal opposition here in the crowd, and I welcome them here. I'm glad they're here. But we ought to ask them, when you told people to elect all these Congressmen in Washington, that these guys were going to lose their guns, how come we've been through two hunting seasons and all the Washington hunters still have their guns but the crime rate has gone down?

I'll tell you who doesn't have guns, the 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers who couldn't get handguns because of the Brady bill. This is a safer country in the last 4 years because of our crime program, and they fought it.

I want you to help us build a bridge to the 21st century with strong families and strong, clean communities. I am proud of the fact that we passed the family leave law, but I think people should be able to get a little time off from work to go to those regular appointments with their children's teachers or to take their parents to the doctor on a regular basis. That won't bankrupt the economy. It will make us stronger. I ask you to help me build a country with stronger families.

I want you to help me see through our efforts to stop the tobacco companies from selling tobacco and marketing it to our children. It's illegal. I want you to help me see through our efforts to protect the safe and drug-free school programs. I want you to help me see through our efforts to get more hours of children's educational programming on television and give parents the V-chip and a rating system so they can control the programs their younger children see. I want you to help me build strong families. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, I want you to help me prove that we can build a strong economy and preserve our environment. Just 2 days ago we reached an agreement to preserve the old-growth forests in Washington and Oregon, and timber jobs are up in the last 4 years since I've been President, not down. We reached an agreement to restore the salmon on the Columbia River in ways that will help the economy and preserve our natural heritage. Yesterday we preserved 1.7 million acres in southern Utah, the Cascade-Escalante national monument. It's important.

We are going to have cleaner air, safer drinking water, purer food, because this administration believes that we don't have to roll back 25 years of bipartisan commitment to environmental protection; we should build on it.

Folks, we can grow the economy of Washington State by preserving the environment in a smart way. And so I ask you—let me just give you one example. We've cleaned up more toxic dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in 12 years before us. But 10 million American children—look at these children here—10 million children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. If you will give us 4 more years, we'll

clean up 500 more, and we can say, "Our kids in America, they're growing up next to parks, not poison." That's the bridge we want to build to the 21st century.

So that's the choice. For 6 weeks and 5 days, the Vice President and Hillary and Tipper and I, we're committed to making this a campaign of ideas, not insults. We don't want to ask who's to blame; we want to ask, what are we going to do about it?

And we want to ask you, each and every one of you, to give us 6 weeks and 5 days of hard effort, talking to your friends and neighbors about what this election is about. It's about what these children will have in America when they are our age. It's about what we will be like when we charge into the 21st century. It's about whether we're going forward with opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a sense of community in this country that says, if you believe in the principles of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights, if you're willing to work hard and be responsible, we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century that you can walk across with us, hand in hand, arm in arm. A good future, the best days are still to come.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:28 p.m. at Yelm City Park.

Remarks in Centralia, Washington
September 19, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you for waiting for us. Thank you for making us feel so very welcome. What a beautiful, beautiful community this is. I love this street. I love these stores. I love all your signs. We do feel welcome to your village, and we're glad you're here with us to build that bridge to the 21st century. Thank you.

I want to say a special word of thanks to the mayor and the other local officials. Thank you to the two bands that played so well for us. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, John Simpson, for your welcome and for the power of your life's example. Now, when I leave town I will not have taken any money off you in a poker game, but I hope that won't weaken your support for the Clinton/Gore ticket. We're proud of you. Thank you, sir.

And thank you, Gary Locke, not only for running for Governor but for the good, positive, constructive, progressive, future-oriented campaign that you ran and that you will run. Ladies and gentlemen, the partnership between the National Government and the States is critical and will be more critical in the next few years. We're reforming the welfare laws, for example, and giving the States the power to design programs for able-bodied people on welfare to have to work in return for support for their children. You want people who care about those kids, who want to bring those folks into the mainstream, who have both compassion as well as a strong work ethic. I think you know who should be the next Governor of the State of Washington, Gary Locke.

Let me also say a special word of thanks to the Vice President for what he said about the fight we had last year with the leaders of Congress—with Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole and those who were committed to their Contract With America. I remember well in 1994 when they went across the country and they won the Congress back. They won as many seats in the State of Washington, including this one, as in any State in the country. And they said a few clear things. They said, "We have this Contract With America, and it will move America forward." They neglected to say they wanted to cut education, they wanted to weaken the environment, they wanted to raise taxes on the poorest working people, they wanted to permit people to raid their workers' pension funds, they wanted to abolish AmeriCorps, abolish our student loan program, abolish the safe and drug-free schools program. They wanted to turn Medicare into a two-tier system. They wanted to stop Medicaid's guarantee of health care to poor

children, to pregnant women, to families with people with disabilities, to the elderly in our nursing homes. They left out all that fine print in 1994.

But when they took office we saw what they wanted. They also attacked us for two things. They said the economic program which passed in 1993 raised the taxes of ordinary Americans, their income taxes. It wasn't true. They said that the crime bill of 1994 was going to take guns away from the hunters and sportsmen of Washington. And guess what, that wasn't true.

Well, now you've had 2 years to see them and to see the results of our efforts. And what I want to say to you is the country is going to be looking at Washington State because the voters of Washington State, by the narrowest of margins in five congressional districts, bought on to Mr. Gingrich's and Mr. Dole's Contract With America. And now you have seen the results. First of all, what they told you about our program was wrong. We have 10½ million more jobs; they were wrong. The deficit has gone down, not up; they were wrong.

You've seen our crime bill. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. We're putting 100,000 police on the street. Not a single Washington hunter has lost a weapon in 2 years. They did not tell the rural people of Washington the truth. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get guns because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong.

And in pursuit of their contract, they shut the Government down when we pleaded with them to balance the budget in a humane way. We said, we're for balancing the budget. After all, we brought the deficit down, and all of you voted against us. But we don't want to destroy Medicare or Medicaid or cut education or turn our backs on our commitment to the environment. We can't raise taxes on the poorest working people in America. We can't allow a raid on our pension funds. We went through that in the 1980's, and I saw too many people have their retirement taken away. Let's just balance the budget. We've got the agreed-upon savings. And they said no; they shut the Government down.

Now, folks, right here in Centralia you're going to be looked to all over America. People are going to ask, did the people of Centralia, Washington, really vote for that contract on America? Did they really vote to stop the commitment to put 100,000 police on the street? Did they really vote to end the safe and drug-free school program? Did they really vote to deprive these fine young people here of the opportunity to earn their way through college by serving their communities in the AmeriCorps program?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Did they really vote to end our new college loan program, which is lower cost and gives children better repayment options so that no one need fear going to school because of the debt? They're going to be looking to you for answers, and I hope your answer will be, "We'd like for Brian Baird to be our Congressman." And I'd like for him to come up here and be seen.

[*At this point, Mr. Baird, candidate for Washington's Third Congressional District, made brief remarks.*]

The President. Thank you. Folks, I want you just to take a couple of minutes. You waited a long time here today, and I want to talk to you about the next 4 years. This election will see the American people elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. At a time of enormous change in how we work and live and relate to the rest of the world, just think of it: Here we are in a beautiful, traditional American town, a great Main Street here, in a State where one in five jobs is dependent upon our ability to trade with people all around the world. This is a new age.

Let me tell you, to the young people here—there are young people in this audience who will soon be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many of them will do jobs that have not been imagined yet. You will see miraculous medical discoveries. I'm so glad we have this section here for our friends who have come in wheelchairs. Do you know that just a few weeks ago, for the first time ever, laboratory animals that had their spines severed had movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants. There are going to be things happening in the next 10 or 20 or 30 years that we never could have imagined. And we have to be in the forefront. We recently agreed to undertake with IBM—the United States and IBM—to build a supercomputer—listen to this—a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a single second than you can go home

and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

The point I'm trying to make is that we are going to see Americans with more chances to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given abilities than at any point in the history of our great country if we make the right decisions, if we build the right sort of bridge to the 21st century, if we say we want opportunity for all, responsible citizenship from all, and everybody has a place in our community. We want everybody, everybody, without regard to where they start in life, without regard to their race or their background, if you will work hard and be a good citizen, you're a part of our country and we want to walk over that bridge into the next century with you. That's what we have to do.

I want us to build a bridge to the 21st century with the best education system in the world. I want every classroom and library in America, from the smallest rural schools to the most remote mountain villages to the poorest inner-city schools, to be hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web so that we can say—think of this, here in Centralia, think of this—we will be able to say by the year 2000 for the first time in our history, every child in America, no matter where he or she goes to school, will have access to the same information in the same time at the same level of quality as any other child in the richest school districts in the country, everybody has access to it immediately. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want us to build a bridge to the 21st century where every young person, every middle-aged person and every older person who needs it can go to college and know that it can be paid for in a country with opportunity for all, and here's how I want to do it. Number one, I want every family to be able to take out an IRA and save in it and then withdraw from it to pay for college costs without having any taxes to pay on it.

Number two, number two, I want to make 2 years of community college just as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And it's easy to do. Here's how we're going to do it. We're going to say you can deduct, dollar for dollar from your tax bill, the cost of the tuition at a typical community college in America for up to 2 years. We will pay the bill by lowering your taxes for how much your tuition costs if you will just go and be a good citizen, learn a lot, improve your skills, and make America stronger. We can revolutionize America if we do it.

Number three, I propose to give a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the costs of all college tuition anywhere, undergraduate, graduate, you name it, for old, middle-aged, or the very youngest people. We need to educate America, and we can pay for this and still balance the budget. That's what we ought to do. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we keep growing jobs, 10½ million jobs in the last 4 years, record numbers of new small businesses, record exports. We have to keep doing that. We can do it if we balance the budget and continue to invest in education, technology, research, the environment, protecting Medicare and Medicaid. We can grow the economy. We can have a tax cut targeted to education and childrearing and medical expenses and buying that first home and not taxing people when they sell their homes on the gain they get from the sale and still balance the budget. We can do that. Will you help me do that and build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to finish the job of making our streets safer. Four years of declining crime, one million fewer crime victims in America—I want to keep going down. That means we've got to keep putting police on the streets of communities like this one. We've got to keep the safe and drug-free schools program and tell those in Congress who want to get rid of it and our support for the D.A.R.E. program and other things like it, we can't turn around. We've got to intensify our efforts here.

We've got to toughen our efforts to try to make our streets safer, but we also have to do things that give our young people things to say yes to, that give them hope: leaving our schools open later, giving them opportunities to work in the summer, improving the educational opportunities of kids that are in trouble, supporting AmeriCorps and giving more young people the chance to work their way through college and serve their communities and be good role models. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have to build a bridge to the 21st century that makes more communities stronger, like I see here today, starting with strong families. I am very proud of the fact that the first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law. And I might add, it really is a classic example of the differences between my opponent and his party and me. I signed it; he led the fight against it. I brag on it; he says we still made a mistake to sign it. Now, you be the judge.

Here's what the family and medical leave law does. It says quite simply, if you work in a business with 50 or more employees and you need a little time off from work because you or your wife is about to have a child—your spouse is about to have a child or because your child is sick or because you have a sick parent, you can take that time off and not lose your job, because we know you need to succeed at home and at work. That's what the law says.

Now, in 3½ years, 12 million times, American families have taken advantage of that law. Has it hurt us? No. We've got 10½ million more jobs. We've got record new businesses. We've got the healthiest small-business climate in history. We made every small business eligible for a tax cut if they invest more in their own business or if they invest in health insurance. We made it easier for them to take out retirement plans, but we said, look, people have to be able to succeed at raising their children and at work. That's our objective as Americans. I want more of that kind of policy for America. That's the difference between us and them. We know it takes a village. We know workers should also be good parents. We know raising children is the most important job of any society, and we want you to support our approach to that. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, let me say, to echo what the Vice President said, we've got a cleaner environment than we had 4 years ago. The air is cleaner, drinking water standards have been raised, safety standards for food have been raised with the support, I might add, of farmers in Washington and others throughout the country. We have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12.

We have saved our national parks from an ill-advised scheme to sell some of them off. Just yesterday I announced 1.7 million acres of land being established as a national monument in southern Utah, the Grand Staircase-Escalante Monument.

We just completed a plan to restore the salmon in the Columbia River. We just completed an agreement to protect the old-growth forest here, and timber jobs have increased, not decreased, in the last 4 years. Those who said that you couldn't protect the environment and maintain the strength of rural communities were wrong.

But finally, let me say, we still have some problems. This is an amazing thing. There are 10 million children living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. If you will give us 4 more years, we're going to clean up the two-thirds of those dumps that are the worst so we can say of all of our children, our kids are growing up next to parks, not poison. We want to preserve our environment and grow our economy. That's the way to build a bridge to the 21st century. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*]

Will you work for us for 6 weeks and 5 days and talk to your friends and neighbors and make this a campaign of ideas, not name-calling and insults? Will you ask people to think about what they want America to look like when their children are their age and to vote for that kind of America? Let's take advantage of this season. Let's create a sense of community all over this country that our elections make a difference, our votes make a difference, and this time more than any election in a very long time, we are voting for the shape of the future and voting for our children.

I ask you, as we look at these children—there are some children back here that have "Centralia class of 2000." I want them to come up on this stage when I finish. I want you to look at them, and I want you to think about them every day between now and the election and remember that's what this is all about. We need your help.

Thank you for being here. God bless you. Stay with us. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. at the corner of Tower Street and Pine Street. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Peter Corwin of Centralia, and resident John Simpson, who introduced the President.

Remarks in Longview, Washington
September 19, 1996

The President. Thank you. Wow! Thank you way back there in the back. Can you hear? [*Applause*] Oh, thank you for waiting for us. Thank you for making us feel so welcome in this stunningly beautiful community. What a wonderful place you have to live.

I want to thank right here at the outset the people who have provided our music, the R.A. Long and Mark Morris High School bands. Thank you, bands, thank you. And the Checkers, thank you. And I understand that the R.A. Long football team is undefeated and down here somewhere. Congratulations! [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'd also like to say a special word of thanks to Axel Swanson, the student body president at R.A. Long. Now, you just think about it, he got up here in front of this big crowd, and unlike me, he doesn't do this all the time. And I thought he did a terrific job, and I was really proud of him. You know, when I was his age I had a chance to shake hands with President Kennedy. It made an impression on me I never forgot. But I was looking at him today, and I can tell you that today he looks a lot more like a future President than I did then. I liked it, and I hope he does very well. Congratulations, Axel.

I want to thank Brian Baird for presenting himself for Congress. Ladies and gentlemen, it's hard to run for Congress these days. It's a hard and arduous task. And much to my dismay, many of these races have become so intensely negative and so difficult—often difficult to get idealistic young people to present themselves. He has, and I am confident he would do a find job representing you. I wish him well, and I hope you will wish him well and help him do well.

And to Gary Locke, let me say I was so impressed with the race that you and your other fellow Democrats ran in that primary. You won a hard-fought, clean, honest, progressive, forward-looking race. You can be proud of the race you just ran and the race you are now running. And I hope you folks will help to make Gary Locke the next Governor of the State of Washington, to keep moving forward into the 21st century.

You know, we've had a wonderful day today, and I know we're a little late, but you wouldn't believe the crowds we've seen all along the road and every place we've stopped. We began in Tacoma, where I believe we had over 25,000 people. We went to Roy and Yelm and Tenino and Centralia. And then of course we were just in Kelso, and we crossed the bridge—anybody here from Kelso? [*Applause*] You could have fooled me; I thought the whole town was along the highway back there. And I want to say to all of you, you cannot imagine what a source of encouragement it is to Hillary and Tipper and to Al and me to see you out here, loving your country, believing in its future, determined to play a role in its future.

Four years ago when I came to Washington State and the people of this State were so good in voting for me and giving me your electoral votes, I asked you to take us on faith. I had never worked in Washington, DC—the other Washington—before. I'd been a Governor for 12 years who ran for President because I didn't like what was happening to my country. I didn't like the high unemployment, the low job growth, the stagnant wages, the unaddressed social challenges. I didn't like the fact that we were growing more divided and that people were becoming ever more cynical about their political system. I didn't think we became the greatest country in the world and lasted for over 220 years by having those kind of problems and those kind of attitudes. And I wanted to change.

I wanted to lead this country into the 21st century with the American dream alive and well for every single American willing to work for it; with this country coming together, bridging our divisions and mutual respect, not dividing; and with our country still the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world. And I can tell you that after 4 years we're in better shape than we were 4 years ago and we're on the right track to the 21st century.

I welcome this debate with our opponents over the next 6 weeks and 5 days because it will be a clear picture of starkly different approaches. You could hardly find two different platforms, two different programs, two different

records that were more opposite in their views of what our purposes are as a people and what our role in Washington is. You see, we really do believe that it takes a village; we don't think you're on your own. Longview looks like a pretty good village to us. We think you help each other to make the most of your own lives. We really do believe we must build a bridge to the future; we can't build a bridge to the past. We really do believe that at this moment in history, if we do the rights things, if we build the right kind of bridge, we can make it possible for more people than ever before in history to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given potential. But we have to do the right things.

It is not an accident that the unemployment rate is down, that the deficit has been reduced by 60 percent, that we have an all-time high in exports from Washington State and the United States, that America's auto industry is number one again, that we have 10½ million jobs, that we have 10 million people about to get a pay increase when the minimum wage goes up on October 1st. That is not an accident. It is not an accident.

Finally, finally, we passed a meaningful piece of health care reform that says if you have to change jobs or if someone in your family gets sick, you still can't be denied health insurance. It's long past time when we should have done that.

It is not an accident that we made every small business in America eligible to get a tax cut if they invest more in their business to hire more people, to grow the business, to make America stronger, if they take out health insurance. We made it easier for them to take out retirement and to protect their own retirement and their employees' when they move from job to job. That didn't happen by accident.

It's not an accident that 40 million American retirees and workers have more secure pensions than they did 4 years ago. It's not an accident that tens of millions of us are breathing cleaner air, that we have safer drinking water standards, higher standards for food safety, that we have saved the national parks from an ill-advised attempt to sell some of them off, that this environment is cleaner, that we've cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than were cleaned up in the previous 12. None of that is an accident. It happened because we changed the direction of this country, and we're on the right track to the 21st century.

It is not an accident that the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. It is not an accident that finally juvenile crime has started to go down. It is not an accident that the welfare rolls have gone down by 1.8 million, that child support collections have gone up by 40 percent, and that there are one million fewer crime victims in the United States today. That is not an accident. It happened because we worked together—together—to create the conditions and to give you the tools to make the most of your own lives. And now we have to finish building that bridge to the 21st century.

I came here today to tell you that if you will work with us for 6 weeks and 5 days, if you'll talk to your friends, your neighbors, your family members, your coworkers and you'll help us build that bridge, then we'll give you 4 years in which we will roar into the 21st century with opportunity, responsibility, and a stronger American community alive for all the people of this country. Will you help us build the bridge? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we have the finest education system in the world and every classroom in every school in America is hooked up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. And if you're not a computer expert, I'll tell you what it means. It means for the first time in history, 4 years from now, if we do our jobs, the children in the most remote rural school districts, the children in the poorest inner-city school districts, the children in the small towns and the rich towns and the middle class towns, all of our kids, for the first time ever will have access to the same learning in the same time at the same level of quality for the first time ever. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which we make college educations available to all Americans who want to go whether they're young or middle aged or older. If they need to go back and get more education, they ought to be able to do it. And I want to do it in three ways.

First, more people saving more with IRA's and then you can withdraw from them without any tax penalty if you're going to use it to educate yourselves or your children or deal with health care or buy a first-time home.

Second, we want to make 2 years of education after high school as universal in 4 years from

now as a high school diploma is today. Every American, we know now, needs more education. And here's how we're going to do that. We're going to let you deduct from your tax bill dollar for dollar the cost of the average tuition at the typical community college in the United States—just take it off your taxes, go back to community college, get that degree, move this country forward.

Third, we want to give you a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of tuition at any college anyplace in this country, whether it's undergraduate school, graduate school, a special program, you name it. If you have to go back and get more education and training to do better with your lives, even if you've been out of school for years, you ought to be able to do it. And we'll support you in doing it.

The second thing I want to do is to keep this economy going. We can have tax cuts, my fellow Americans, but they have to be paid for and they ought to be targeted to education, to childrearing, to buying that first-time home, to dealing with medical emergencies. You ought not to have to pay a tax if you sell your home and you've got a gain on it because it's appreciated in value over time. But we ought to pay for those things.

We have to continue our work to balance the budget. Why? Because we have brought the deficit down by 60 percent. That may not mean much to you. Every time I leave Washington, some political expert says, "Now, Mr. President, don't go out there in the country and start talking about reducing the deficit. People only care about it when the economy is in the tank. When the economy is doing well, it bores them to tears."

Here's why you shouldn't be bored. If we bring the deficit down and we borrow less money just to pay the Government's bills, then interest rates go down. For you that means a lower home mortgage payment, a lower care payment, a lower credit card payment. For business it means lower loan rates, which means they can borrow more money, hire more people, grow this economy, and take us into the 21st century. We have to balance the budget. We have to do it.

We can't have a tax cut so big we undermine the economic recovery of the country. What good would it do you to see this deficit blown up? You get a tax cut on one hand and turn around and have it taken away on the other hand with a higher mortgage payment, a higher credit card payment, a higher car payment, and fewer jobs in America. We've got to keep this economy growing until everybody that wants a good job has one. We need to keep going. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want you to help us build a bridge to the 21st century where we have security for people. We have to continue to bring the crime rate down. I am proud of the fact it's come down 4 years in a row. And I can't help but noting that right here in Washington State, a lot of congressional districts changed hands and went to the other party in 1994 because the people in the other party came out to small towns and rural areas in Washington, and they said, "The President and his party voted for that awful crime bill, and they're going to take your guns away."

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. You need a doctor over there? Send a medic over there, right back there. We'll be right there. Just keep your hands held up. We've got the doctor back there, right back there.

Now, remember this—in 1994, I remember them. I remember them going into all these little towns and saying, "Why, the President voted to take your gun away, the Democrats in Congress did. That crime bill is terrible. It's not going to do anything to bring down crime."

Well, now we know. Four years later, we have 4 years of a declining crime rate. We're halfway home in putting 100,000 police on the street. We didn't take a single hunter's rifle away from him in Washington State or my home State of Arkansas. Everybody's still going into the woods with the same weapons they had. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers lost their right to buy a handgun under the Brady bill. We were right; they were wrong. They were wrong about that.

And we need to keep going. We should oppose their efforts to cut short the 100,000 police commitment. When you put more police officers on the street, knowing the neighbors of the people, getting to know the kids, encouraging young people to stay off drugs and out of gangs and out of trouble—when people work in partnership, they can drop the crime rate dramatically. I have been to community after community after

community where people gave up on it but where the streets are now safe. And I don't want to stop until every American feels safe in their homes, on their streets, in their schools, in their places of work. We can do this. And I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

Let me also say that in every election people always talk about family values. Well, our administration has tried to value families. Tipper Gore has worked for 20 years to try to create conditions in which people could raise children without having them subject to destructive influences from our larger culture. The First Lady has worked for over 20 years to try to help improve the conditions of childrearing and health care for our young children.

We were the first administration in history that took on the tobacco industry and said it is illegal to sell cigarettes to young people—no more advertising, marketing, and sales to them. It is wrong.

The first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law. It said simply you can't be fired if you have to take a little time off for the birth of a child or the illness of a child or a parent. Now, this is a classic example of our differences. My opponent led the fight against that law. He says today, we made a terrible mistake to pass it, that it was antibusiness. Well, if it was antibusiness, how come we got 10½ million more jobs and record numbers of new small businesses? It wasn't antibusiness. People do better at work if they know they're doing right by their kids at home. That's what I mean by a village, a bridge we can all walk across.

And I'd like to see the family and medical leave law expanded just a little bit to say that people shouldn't lose their jobs either—they ought to have a little time off to go to regular conferences with their children's teachers and to be able to take their kids and their parents to the doctor when they need to go. It will make us stronger. It will be a good thing for the economy.

The last thing I want to say is the Vice President and I worked very hard to prove that you could grow the economy and preserve the environment and that in the end you can't grow the economy unless you preserve the environment. I told you a few minutes ago we cleaned up a lot of toxic waste dumps. That's the good news. The bad news is 10 million American children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste site. If you give us 4 more years, we'll get rid of the two-thirds worst ones, 500 of them, so we can say America's children are growing up next to parks like this, not next to poison. That's a big part of our bridge to the 21st century.

Now, I want to ask you again, I want you to take the next 6 weeks and 5 days, go out to your friends and neighbors, without regard to their party, and say, let's have a talk about what we want America to look like in the 21st century. Let's have a talk about what we want America to look like when our children are our age. Let's have a talk about this election because we're electing the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. And let's have a talk about how we can build that bridge big enough, wide enough, and strong enough so we can all go marching across it together to the best days America has ever had.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:40 p.m. at Sacajawea Park. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Angola (UNITA)

September 19, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since March 25, 1996, concerning the national emergency with respect to Angola that was declared in Executive Order 12865 of September 26, 1993. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

On September 26, 1993, I declared a national emergency with respect to Angola, invoking the authority, *inter alia,* of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) and the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287c). Consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 864, dated September 15, 1993, the order prohibited the sale or supply by United States persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles, equipment and spare parts, and petroleum and petroleum products to the territory of Angola other than through designated points of entry. The order also prohibited such sale or supply to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola ("UNITA"). United States persons are prohibited from activities that promote or are calculated to promote such sales or supplies, or from attempted violations, or from evasion or avoidance or transactions that have the purpose of evasion or avoidance, of the stated prohibitions. The order authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as might be necessary to carry out the purposes of the order.

1. On December 10, 1993, the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) issued the UNITA (Angola) Sanctions Regulations (the "Regulations") (58 *Fed. Reg.* 64904) to implement the President's declaration of a national emergency and imposition of sanctions against Angola (UNITA). There have been no amendments to the Regulations since my report of March 25, 1996.

The Regulations prohibit the sale or supply by United States persons or from the United States, or using U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles, equipment and spare parts, and petroleum and petroleum products to UNITA or to the territory of Angola other than through designated points. United States persons are also prohibited from activities that promote or are calculated to promote such sales or supplies to UNITA or Angola, or from any transaction by any United States persons that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in the Executive order. Also prohibited are transactions by United States persons, or involving the use of U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, relating to transportation to Angola or UNITA of goods the exportation of which is prohibited.

The Government of Angola has designated the following points of entry as points in Angola to which the articles otherwise prohibited by the Regulations may be shipped: *Airports:* Luanda and Katumbela, Benguela Province; *Ports:* Luanda and Lobito, Benguela Province; and Namibe, Namibe Province; and *Entry Points:* Malongo, Cabinda Province. Although no specific license is required by the Department of the Treasury for shipments to these designated points of entry (unless the item is destined for UNITA), any such exports remain subject to the licensing requirements of the Departments of State and/or Commerce.

2. The OFAC has worked closely with the U.S. financial community to assure a heightened awareness of the sanctions against UNITA—through the dissemination of publications, seminars, and notices to electronic bulletin boards. This educational effort has resulted in frequent calls from banks to assure that they are not routing funds in violation of these prohibitions. United States exporters have also been notified of the sanctions through a variety of media, including special fliers and computer bulletin board information initiated by OFAC and posted through the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. Government Printing Office. There have been no license applications under the program.

3. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from March 26, 1996, through September 25, 1996, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to Angola (UNITA) are reported to be about $227,000, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the Under Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel) and the Department of State (particularly the Office of Southern African Affairs).

I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

September 19, 1996.

Remarks in Woodland, Washington
September 19, 1996

Hello. Thank you. It's a lot drier than it was the last time I was here, on Valentine's Day. I'm glad to see you all. And I am so thankful that you're out here. I don't know if you can hear, but the Vice President and I are glad to be here, and we're glad to be here with Gary Locke and Mona Lee Locke, and I hope—[*applause*].

Thank you so much for coming out. Where's Brian Baird? Is he here? Democratic nominee for Congress, Brian Baird.

Folks, when I was here after the flood, I was so impressed with all of you—is this better? Is it better? [*Applause*]

When I was here after the flood, I was so impressed with all of you I talked about it for months and months and months. And I wrote a book to prepare for the campaign to tell the American people what I wanted to do in 4 more years and where I wanted our country to go. And I have a couple of mentions in that book of the day I spent here with you, the people I met, and the impression you made on me. So I came back here to thank you for what you did in demonstrating the best of America.

I want to introduce the Vice President. He wants to say a word or two. And we want to get out and shake hands, but in 6 weeks and 5 days we're going to elect the last President of the 20th century, the first President of the 21st century. We have worked hard to put this country on the right track. We are better off than we were 4 years ago, but we've got a lot left to do. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We need you. Thank you. God bless you. We're glad to be here. Say hello to Vice President Gore.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:03 p.m. at Horseshoe Park. In his remarks, he referred to Gary Locke, Washington gubernatorial candidate, and his wife, Mona Lee Locke; and Brian Baird, candidate for Washington's Third Congressional District. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in Vancouver, Washington
September 19, 1996

The President. Thank you. Hello, Vancouver! Thank you for being here in such wonderful numbers. Thank you for waiting for us. We have had a wonderful, wonderful trip all the way from Tacoma; we started this morning in the rain. There were about 25,000 people there, and then the Sun came out, and then the Sun went in, and the Moon came out—[*laughter*]—and we came to beautiful Vancouver. Thank you. Bless you.

Thank you, Gary Locke, for being with us and good luck—we need you. I hope you'll help him become the next Governor of the State of Washington. And thank you, Brian Baird, for taking on this brave fight for Congress. Congratulations on your great vote on Tuesday. Stick with him, folks. This young man can make it, and he'll represent you well.

Hillary and Tipper and Al and I, we've had a wonderful visit in Washington State. It's great to be back. I was just up the road, Woodland, where I came when the flood came, you know, and I saw some of the people I met there. I was so moved by the way they responded

to the flood, by what they did, that I wrote about them in the book I put out this year as part of telling the American people what I wanted to do for the next 4 years.

And I have to tell you, when I go around to these communities in your wonderful State, I see all of the children coming out, full of hope for the future, I see all of you come out, determined to play a constructive role in this election, it is so different from the way it was beginning to be 4 years ago when we had a stagnant economy, rising crime, a more divided country, and increasing cynicism. Today, we're on the right track for the 21st century, and we need to stay right on it.

My fellow Americans, this election in 6 weeks and 5 days is an election for the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But by far more important, it's an election that will shape what America will be like when our children are our age.

The questions I try to ask and answer every day are: First, what do we have to do to keep the American dream alive for every American, every boy and girl willing to work for it? Second, what do we have to do to keep our country coming together? We're becoming increasingly diverse and different. How can we come together in mutual respect to build the bonds of strong communities to make a strong nation? How can we beat the odds and not become like so many other countries that are being torn apart by their differences, their religious, their racial, their ethnic, their tribal differences? That's not America. We need to be a strong community, just like this is a strong community. And finally, how can we keep on leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity? We've worked on that for 4 years, with a simple strategy: opportunity for every American, responsibility from every American, and a real effort to build our community together.

Now, I tell you, yes, we're better off than we were 4 years ago, and it wasn't an accident. And yes, there are big differences between our opponents, the nominee for President, Senator Dole; Mr. Gingrich; and all of them—we fought over many different issues that we honestly disagreed on. They said if our budget plan passed, it would bring on a recession and increase the deficit; that's what they said. Well, 4 years later we've reduced the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time since the 1840's, we have 10½ million new jobs, our auto industry is number one, we have record exports, record small businesses. I think we were right. We're moving in the right direction. We'll balance the budget if you'll give us 4 more years.

There's been a lot of talk—a lot of talk—about crime. Well, folks, you never heard a politician who was for crime, did you? I never heard a politician give a speech saying, "I really wish we had more crime." Of course, we're all against crime, but what I found when I came to Washington is, we'd had 6 long years of talks, and nothing but hot air and nothing to show for it.

We passed a crime bill that our opponents led the opposition to, to put 100,000 police on the street, to have a "three strikes and you're out" law, to have much tougher punishment, to ban 19 kinds of assault weapons, to protect hunting and sporting weapons. We passed the Brady bill over their opposition. What's happened? Four years in a row, we're halfway home on 100,000 police; we stopped them when they tried to repeal the 100,000 police; we took the assault weapons off the street; 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers didn't get handguns, but all the Washington hunters still have their hunting rifles. I believe we were right, and they were wrong, and we need to keep on going in that direction.

We've moved almost 2 million people off the welfare rolls, increased child support collections by 40 percent. There are a million fewer crime victims in America today. We are moving in the right direction. As the Vice President said, while growing the economy we've worked hard to make the air cleaner, the drinking water and the food safer, to protect our natural resources and to expand them.

Folks, we're moving in the right direction. And I want to ask you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century where we keep cleaning up the environment, where we keep bringing crime down. If we bring it down 8 years in a row instead of 4, it'll be about low enough so we'll actually be surprised when we see a crime on the evening news at night, and our children will be safe on the streets.

I want you to help me to keep building strong families. One of the most interesting issues of this election is that the first bill I signed when I became President was a bill, again, which was opposed by my opponent and Speaker Gingrich. They led the opposition to it, the family and medical leave law. They said it was bad for

business, bad for business to say you could have a little time off when your baby is born or your parent's sick without losing your job. We did it. Twelve million families have taken advantage of it, and 10½ million jobs later, we know it was good for business. America is stronger when we can raise our children and work and succeed at the same time.

So I want you to help me do better. I'd like to see people be able to take a little time off to go to their children's regular meetings with their teachers, the parent-teacher conferences, and take their folks to medical appointments, and we'll be stronger because of it. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we keep this economy growing, where we expand trade even more. Washington State—because we've had over 200 separate trade agreements, the people of Washington are selling more airplanes, more computer software, and apples from Washington for the first time all the way in Japan. We need more of that, and I will give you more of it.

We need to balance the budget, and we can cut taxes. But we only can cut the taxes that we can pay for balancing the budget. Why? Because when we bring this deficit down, it keeps interest rates down; it means your car payment, your credit card payment, your house payments are lower; it means businesses can borrow money to hire people to grow the economy. We have to continue.

We cannot have a tax cut that's so big that we have to have the Government start borrowing more money again to drive up your interest rates. Somebody gives you that kind of a tax cut, they're going to take it right back out in higher interest rates for credit cards, car payments, and home mortgages, and businesses won't be growing again.

So yes, let's cut taxes for education, for childrearing, for medical care, for buying that first-time home. Let's don't charge people a tax on the gain when they sell their homes, but let's pay for it in a balanced budget. Let's do that.

Finally, let me remind you what is at stake. We also have to balance the budget without undermining our commitments to education, to the environment, to Medicaid's commitment to little children, to the seniors in nursing homes, to families with disabilities, most of them middle class families, without creating a two-tier system of Medicare that will be unfair to our seniors. We can do that, folks, without walking away from research.

I want you to think about this. We have to balance the budget, but we do not have to cut Head Start. We do not have to raise taxes on the poorest working people. We do not have to do it in ways that allow corporations to raid their workers' pension funds. We don't have to do it in a way that abolishes the safe and drug-free school program, the AmeriCorps program, gets rid of direct student loans which have helped millions and millions of young people in this country. They were wrong. Our way of balancing the budget is better. And I hope you'll support it. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Finally, most important of all, we've got to create a bridge that all of our children can walk across that gives every American without regard to their age access to a lifetime of educational opportunity.

And I just want to mention two things. Number one, I want to see every classroom and library in America hooked up to the Internet by the year 2000, hooked up to the World Wide Web. I want to make sure that children in small towns, children in inner-city neighborhoods, children in Native American tribes on reservations—children everywhere—for the first time in the history of this country have access to the same learning in the same way at the same level of quality in the same time—everybody. It has never happened. We can do it. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. And the second thing I want to say is, I want you to help me make a college education available to every single American citizen who needs it. And we propose to do it with three simple steps.

First, let families save in an IRA, an individual retirement account, and then withdraw from it tax-free if they're spending the money on a college education for their children or themselves.

Second, second, let's make a commitment that by the year 2000, at least 2 years of education after high school, a community college diploma, will be just as normal, just as usual, just as universal as a high school diploma is today. We can do it. Here's how: I propose to let you

take a credit, just take it off your taxes, dollar for dollar, for the cost of tuition at the typical community college in America. You go find the college, reduce your taxes by the tuition. That way we'll pay for everybody who needs it to go to community college. And we can do it and balance the budget.

And third, third, for people who want to go to the 4-year colleges or to graduate school—of any age—people that were working and have to go back—I think we should allow you a deduction on your taxes of up to $10,000 for the cost of college tuition every year. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Folks, there are 6 weeks and 5 days to this election. I have done everything I could do to make this an election of ideas, not insults, to stop the old-fashioned Washington politics of dividing people. There was a sign at our last rally that said, "We don't need division. We need vision." And I believe that. We need more of that.

So I want to ask you: Will you take some time every day that you possibly can between now and the election to reach out to your family members, your friends, your parents, your children, your cousins, your uncles, your aunts, your coworkers, the people you go bowling with, the people you ate lunch with and talk to them about what they want America to look like when we start that new century?

I'm telling you, there is no nation in the world as well-positioned as the United States for the 21st century. It is there for us if we build the right bridge. Our best days are ahead if you will help us build that bridge to tomorrow. Will you do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:27 p.m. at Fort Vancouver Park.

Remarks on Concluding a Bus Tour in Portland, Oregon
September 20, 1996

Thank you. Good morning, Portland! Mayor Katz, Congresswoman Furse, Tom Bruggere, Darlene Hooley, Mike Dugan. Thank you all for being here with us. Madame Mayor and Congresswoman Furse, thank you for making us feel so welcome in Portland again. Maybe I come back here so often because I like it.

I must say, I have to hand it to the Vice President. I didn't think anyone could keep a secret in Washington. Al Gore cut a book deal with a book full of secrets. It never leaked. Now he's telling it all, and he wrote the book under his own name. Al Gore is doing for the Federal Government what he did for the macarena. He is removing all the unnecessary steps. [*Laughter*] Now, he's got some funny names here. He calls for performance-based organizations—that's sort of a boring title. I think we ought to scrap that title and substitute something more exciting, like "Trailblazers." Would you like that? [*Applause*]

I want to thank Tipper Gore and the First Lady, too, for some things they've already talked about. You know, we've worked very hard to improve the health care of the American people. That's a big part of moving into the 21st century, to immunize more children, to increase medical research, to speed the movement of drugs to market. In only 4 years we've more than doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in just 4 years, as an example. Finally, we got the Congress to pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says to 25 million Americans, you can't lose your health insurance or have it taken away anymore just because someone in your family gets sick or because you change jobs.

And yesterday we had three big victories. Congress did, as Hillary said, answer our call to tell the insurance companies that newborns and their mothers deserve at least 48 hours in the hospital. They can't be kicked out 8 hours after delivery anymore. Congress responded to the work that Tipper Gore has been doing for years and years and years in a bipartisan fashion that also included Senator Domenici from New Mexico in saying that it is time to ensure that people who need treatment for mental illness

get the treatment they need also and without discrimination. And finally, I want to say a special word of thanks to the work that the Congress did in our continuing efforts to be fair to veterans and their families who have served us in foreign theaters and may have been exposed to dangerous chemicals, when they provided health benefits to veterans whose children are born with spina bifida. Those were three great things to do for America yesterday, and I thank the Congress for doing it.

I'm happy to be back in Portland. I'll never forget what I saw here last spring when I visited during the floods: the true spirit of America. The pioneering spirit is alive and well in Oregon. But I was glad to hear the mayor remind me that you have 10 bridges here, and in Oregon you want to build a bridge to the 21st century.

In 1992 the people of Oregon supported the Vice President and me when we came here and asked you to help us to put people first and to change the direction of our country, to put America on the right track and to change the way Government works, to make sure that when we enter the 21st century, as I look out at this sea of people, that every one of you will enter a century with the American dream alive and well for every person who is willing to work for it, that we will enter a century in which America is coming together and embracing its diversity, not being torn apart by it as so many other nations are all around the world, and that we would not run away from our responsibilities to be the strongest force for peace and freedom and security in the world.

The best days of this country are still ahead of us if we build the right bridge to the 21st century. Now, in this election season you will hear a lot of rhetoric back and forth and maybe a lot of characterizations of people's motives. I've tried to stay away from that. I don't want to demean anybody. I want this to be an election season of ideas, not insults. I want to ask, what are we going to do, not who can we blame. How are we going to build this country and move it together.

But I must say, there are some facts that you can't get around. It is a fact that we have 10½ million more jobs; the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years; almost 4½ million new homeowners; the deficit going down for all 4 years of an administration for the first time since before the Civil War, in the 1840's; a record number of exports; record small businesses. On October 1st 10 million hard-working Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage. Every small business in the country has been made eligible for a tax cut when they buy health insurance or if they invest more money in their business to hire more people and grow and help America grow. The welfare rolls are down by 1.8 million. Child support collections are up by 40 percent—$3 billion. The drinking water is safer. The air is purer. Our food standards are much higher. As the Vice President said, just in the last week we have reached an agreement to restore the salmon on the Columbia River and an agreement to protect the old-growth forest in Oregon and Washington. Just a couple of days ago I was honored to proclaim a 1.7-million-acre national monument, the Grand Staircase-Escalante Monument in southern Utah. We are moving this country in the right direction.

And now we have to continue to build that bridge to the future, a bridge where there is opportunity for all, starting with the best education for every single American. We ought to be lifting our teachers and our students up, not running our teachers down, as some are doing in this election season.

I ask you to join me in helping every classroom to be connected to the information superhighway by the year 2000. If every classroom is tied into the Internet and the World Wide Web, we can make sure for the first time in history that every child in America, in the poorest rural district, in the most devastated economic areas of the country, in isolated inner-city districts, in middle class and wealthy districts, that all together, at the same time have access to the same information in the same way. It's never happened before. Will you help us make it happen in the future? [*Applause*]

I ask you to help me in opening the doors of college education to all Americans who want to go. In the past 4 years, we passed the AmeriCorps program, and 50,000 young Americans have built communities like Portland and earned their way through college. We've revolutionized the student loan program to lower the cost and improve the repayment terms so that anybody could borrow the money and know they wouldn't go broke trying to pay it back. But now we have to do more. I propose to make a college education universal by doing three things.

Number one, saying you can save in an IRA for years and years and then withdraw from that IRA tax-free if you're using it to pay for a college education or a health emergency or buying a first home.

Number two, saying we're going to make a community college education, at least 2 years of education after high school, just as common and universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. We need that to start the new century. And here's how we're going to do it. We're going to say to Americans, if you want to go to community college for 2 years, all you have to do is work hard, make your grades. You can take off your taxes, dollar for dollar, the tuition cost at the typical community college in the United States.

And number three, we want to say to all students of whatever age in whatever college in America, undergraduate and graduate, you ought to be able to deduct from your taxes the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that keeps this economy going strong. That means we have to pay for those tax cuts and the tax cuts for childrearing and for buying and selling your home in the context of a balanced budget that continues to invest in education, in the environment, in research, in technology, and protects our obligations through Medicare and Medicaid. We can do that if you will help us build that bridge to the 21st century

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row, the juvenile crime rate is starting to drop, the juvenile murder rate has come way down. We are moving in the right direction, but I want to keep going. I want to rebuff those in the Congress who are trying to stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street. We're halfway home; I want to finish the job.

I want to see us—we passed the Brady bill. Now we ought to extend the Brady bill. Sixty thousand felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not gotten handguns because of the Brady bill. I think we ought to extend it to people who beat up their spouses and their children. They shouldn't have handguns either.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we have a stronger American community. I am very proud that the first bill I signed after becoming President was the family and medical leave law. Over the strong opposition of the leaders of the other party, we passed it. They said it would hurt the economy. They said it would weaken business. They said it would burden small business.

Well, 4 years later, we have 10½ million new jobs, record numbers of new small businesses, record numbers of new businesses owned by women and minorities, and 12 million families have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law to have a child born, to tend to a sick parent, a sick child, a sick spouse. I'm telling you, we're stronger because we did that. And I want to see us expand that. I believe we ought to expand the family and medical leave law to say that parents should be able to go see their children's teachers on a regular basis and be able to take their kids and their folks to the doctor without losing their jobs. It won't hurt the economy; we'll have a stronger economy when people can care for their family members.

And finally, we have a lot of work to do in the environment to build the strong American community. Let me just mention one thing. We have 10 million children still living within 4 miles of a toxic waste site, even though we've cleaned up more of them in 3 years than were cleaned up in the 12 years before we took office. If you will give us 4 more years, we'll clean up 500 more, so we can say our children are growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Now, let me tell you the reason we decided to do this reinventing Government announcement here is because Oregon and particularly the city of Portland have led the way in proving you can have a Government that actually works for people, that inspires confidence, that gets results. When we took office, the deficit was $290 billion a year and going higher. We had the slowest job growth rate since the Great Depression. You have cheered for the achievements of the administration. You have cheered for the things we want to do. We cannot do these things and we could not have achieved what has been done in the last 4 years had it not been for the leadership of the Vice President and our determination to give you a Government that costs less and does more. That's what reinventing Government does. It makes it possible for us to do the other things that you have cheered for, that you are working for here today.

And so I say to you, this book the Vice President gives me today is a book that Americans ought to be interested in. It says we're bringing

common sense to Government. In everything from hiring people to buying things, we've eliminated doubletalk and bureaucracy.

Do you know when I became President, if you wanted to buy—if a Government agency wanted to buy a $4 stapler, they had to do $50 worth of paperwork. Now we can buy a $4 stapler for $4. That's $46 we can spend on Head Start programs, on environmental protection, on investing in medical research.

The second thing we're doing is serving people better. We have ended the era when people could run for office, desperate to be in Government, by just bad-mouthing Government. A lot of our friends on the other side have amazed me; they bad-mouth and bad-mouth and bad-mouth the Government, but they can't bear to live outside of it.

We have proved that you can make Government work. One woman from Sacramento was so overwhelmed by the fast and friendly service she got from the Social Security office, she wrote to tell us it left her, and I quote, "dazed and confused." She could not believe that her Government would do anything that well.

Well, we're doing a lot of things that well. The direct student loan program cuts the cost of college loans but improves the repayment terms, says you can only be required to pay it back as a percentage of your income. So go on and borrow the money and go to college and give yourself a better life.

The SBA loan program, which has helped us to start a record number of small businesses, has been cut down to one page. And we have dramatically increased loans to women and minority business owners without undermining the quality. We've proved that we can diversify educational opportunities and economic opportunities and achieve excellence in both.

At the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros has managed to cut about $1,000 off the closing costs for the average first-time homebuyers and, in a time of budget cuts, to initiate programs that decrease homelessness in communities all across America.

We can make this Government work for you, and we're determined to do it. Wherever they have been willing to do it, we've used businesses as partners. After all, what we want is cleaner air, cleaner water, safer food. We don't want punishment. If Government and business can work as partners, we want to do it.

And we want to be partners with communities. That's what Oregon is all about. Let me tell you, as you think about welfare reform, the partnership that the United States has had with Oregon and with the city of Portland can be a model for how we can make welfare reform work. I signed that bill because it has a new bargain for people on welfare. It says, we'll continue to have a national guarantee for health care, for nutrition for children. If you go to work, we'll spend more than ever on child care. But we're going to give the money that used to be in the welfare check to the States so they can develop community-based systems, not only to give income to people but to move able-bodied people into the work force. The only way that can be done is if there is a community-based system where people are committed to going out and challenging employers and saying, okay, we'll give you some help to do it, but you've been cussing the welfare system all these years, now hire these people, give them a job. We'll support them with child care and education. That has to happen in the communities of America, and we trust Portland to do it. We trust Oregon to do it. You can lead America's way in doing it.

So yes, reinventing Government means doing more efficient things. It means doing better things. It means doing with less. It also means improvements in Medicare and Medicaid, in our educational programs, in our support for small business, in our environmental protection. It means improvements in our national parks, not selling them off, and it means help in emergencies.

I want to say that one of my proudest achievements as President is reforming the Federal Emergency Management Agency. It had become such a disaster itself that Congress even considered abolishing it. But as Portland, as Oregon, as Washington State saw during the flood, as California saw in earthquakes and fires and floods, as we saw in the Middle West where they had a 500-year flood and in the hurricanes along the eastern coast of America, we have an Emergency Management Agency today that works with people on the ground and helps people and helps communities to rebuild their lives. That is something that is worth fighting for.

So, I want to ask you to support us in this effort. I want you to know that when we balance the budget in 2002, we're still going to be spending more money on education and re-

search and protecting the environment. So we're going to have to have a smaller and more productive Government. We're going to have to privatize organizations that can now work better in the private sector, like Sallie Mae. We've got the direct student loan program. They need to be able to do some other things as well.

We want hundreds of organizations to become performance-based, to be trailblazers in increasing productivity and making their customers happy. I don't want people to be dazed and confused if they're well-served by the Government, like that lady in Sacramento was.

Let me give you one example—very important in Oregon and every State with a high-tech base. We want the patent office to become performance-based. Today when an inventor applies for a patent, it takes almost 600 days for the inventor to get it. When we get done, we'll be able to give them those patents in 60 days, one-tenth of the time. That means more progress for America, more new jobs, more advances in high technology.

And finally, we want to use technology to open Government to people more. Today I want to announce that the White House home page, which many of you have already used on the Internet—see that sign "Portland wants Socks"—even my cat has a place on our home page. [*Laughter*] Now we're going to make it a one-stop gateway to Government service. From now on, you can use the home page at the White House to apply for a passport, ask about veterans' benefits, even to buy postage stamps. Transactions, forms, information, it's all there. And it won't be like waiting in a line. There are no lines on-line. This is an example of what we can do to save money, serve you better, and free up money not only to balance the budget but to invest in our children's future.

If you want to build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong economy, good schools, safe streets, a clean environment, healthy children, successful families and communities, you must join us in this commitment to say we can make our Government work for all the people. Will you help us build that bridge in the next 6 weeks and 4 days? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. at Lownsdale Square. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Vera Katz of Portland; Tom Bruggere, Oregon senatorial candidate; and Darlene Hooley and Mike Dugan, candidates for Oregon's Fifth and Second Congressional Districts, respectively.

Remarks at a Reception for Tom Bruggere in Portland
September 20, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You know——

Audience member. Twelve more years!

The President. When Al Gore and I started out together, he had a reputation of being too stiff. [*Laughter*] If anyone ever had told me 4 years ago that I would be counseling him about not being too rowdy, I never would have believed it. [*Laughter*]

We're having a good time here, Hillary and Tipper and Al and I. We love Oregon. We love to come here. We love what you're doing and what you stand for. I want to say that I'm deeply honored to be here today with Tom and Kelley and Maria and T.C. and their friends, with our candidates for Congress, Darlene Hooley and Mike Dugan, with the mayor and Congresswoman Furse, with all of you. But I want to say to you that I do not view, in all candor, this election as primarily a struggle of parties. I think, more than that, this election is primarily a definition of our country.

Once in a great while, our country has gone through profound periods of change in how we work, how we live, how we relate to one another, how we relate to the rest of the world. Everybody who thinks about it knows that this is a period like that.

There have been four or five such periods in our country's history. And you make these decisions, and when you make them, they dramatically impact 30 or 40 or 50 years and shape the country forever. And I want you to think about it like that. I do not want you to vote

for any of these people because it would be nice if President Clinton had a Democratic Congress. It would be nice, but I don't want you to do that.

Instead, I want—to build on what the Vice President said—I want you to define what you want your country to look like when we start the 21st century, what you want your country to look like when these children are our age, and then make your decision based on that. Forget about the politics of it; think about your country.

I was listening to Al talk and he did such a good job, I didn't have any idea what I was going to say. [*Laughter*] But I think what he was saying and what I would like to say to you is that there are these two polar opposite views competing for America's image of itself in this time of change. One is a unifying vision; the other is fundamentally a divisive vision. One says, "We're all in this together;" the other one says, "You're on your own. The Government's the problem." One says, "Let's build a bridge to the future;" the other says, "Let's build a bridge to the past, when times were simpler, and we didn't have to worry about all this." One says, "We believe you can do well by doing good." The other says, "Do-gooders always mess up the private economy." And you have to think about which you believe. I believe that the example of Tom Bruggere's life and success and the results achieved by the policies of our administration in the last 4 years make an overwhelming case for the unifying vision of our future as opposed to the divisive vision of our future.

Every time we try to do something to sort of spread opportunity and let the American people succeed at home and at work and give everybody a chance to live up to the fullest of their God-given potential, those who opposed it said it was big Government and it would mess up a one-car parade; we would weaken the economy; it would be inefficient; it would be this, that, and the other thing.

But 4 years later, yes, we passed family leave, and yes, we continue to protect the environment, but we have 10½ million new jobs, and we have—and I might add that the job growth rate is faster than has occurred under any Republican administration in 70 years. But this is not about party. The things we are debating today don't fit within the old party labels. The new competing philosophy abandons a lot of what the Republican Party adhered to for 25 years.

But if you look at it, that's what's going on. They said, "Oh, if you don't let people continue to live on $4.25 an hour minimum wage, you will just cost jobs." Well, October 1st we'll get a chance to test that out, because 10 million people are going to get a pay raise. But in the same bill we proved that you could have a unifying vision.

Do you know what else was in that minimum wage bill? We also, in the minimum wage bill, increased the tax deductions that businesses get when they invest more in their own business to grow the economy. We have improved—we have given more tax relief for self-employed people to get health insurance. It wasn't either/or.

The bill also has a $5,000 tax credit for people who will adopt children, because there are still a lot of kids out there that need homes. So it was pro-work, pro-business, and pro-family. It was a unifying vision.

When Tom helped his workers be better parents, he increased the productivity of his company; he didn't weaken it. That is our argument. Our argument is that we have been forced into too many false choices for too long by people who were too shortsighted, and the nature of the new economy is such that we can do best by doing the right things, that there must not be a dichotomy between what people have to do in raising up their children and what they have to do in raising up their work lives. And if there is, we lose from the beginning. If you have to choose one or the other, we're beat from the start. We believe we can do both.

We believe there must not be a dichotomy between preserving and, indeed, enhancing the environment and public health and growing the economy because if that is true, then that ultimately would spell the doom of every civilization, and many have been doomed because of the refusal to develop a unifying vision that would permit people to grow the economy in ways that are in harmony with their natural surroundings. That's a fundamental choice you have to make.

We believe that the First Lady is right, that it does take a village to raise children, to build an economy, to build a country. Therefore, unlike the other folks, we don't think it was a waste of money to give 50,000 young people, like this young woman here, a chance to work

in AmeriCorps to serve their communities and earn some money to go to college while they were doing it. We think that's a good thing to do.

They believe there's two kinds of money, the Government's money and your money, and the Government's money is money they've stole from you, and the more they give back to you, the better off you are, because the Government would mess up a one-car parade. We believe it's all your money.

And the question is, are there things we can do together that we cannot do alone? And that is the question. We cannot, by ourselves, guarantee equal access to college education. We cannot, by ourselves, guarantee more equal opportunities for children in the schools. We cannot, by ourselves, guarantee what the Vice President and Tom have worked for, which is to make sure there is equal access to technology, including access to the information superhighway, to all the children in all the schools of America. That's something we have to do together—together.

We cannot—let me just give you three examples. Christopher Reeve talked about this at our convention. We cannot, by ourselves, fund the research necessary to push back the barriers that are destructive of human existence. Just in the last few weeks, for the first time in history, laboratory animals with severed spines have shown movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants. It never happened before. You cannot afford to get that done by yourself. Together, we can fund that kind of research. We have doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in 4 years because of the more rapid—[*inaudible*]—you cannot afford to do that on your own. We just entered a partnership, the United States did with IBM—even IBM did not want to do it on its own—we're going to build a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your hand-held calculator at home in 30,000 years. We have to do that together.

But as we do these things, we change the whole nature of the future. The children in this audience will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet, many will be doing work that has not been imagined yet because of what we do together as well as what we do on our own.

So you have to decide that. You look around this room. Look at all this diversity in this room. Look how different we all are. Do you know how much of your time I spend as President, trying to get people around the world not to do destructive things because they can't live with even a limited amount of diversity, because they literally cannot exist, because they have to have a divisive vision of themselves and their lives, they've got to be thinking they're important because they're not someone else? That's what the deal in Bosnia is all about. That's what Northern Ireland's about. That's what the Middle East is about. That's what the slaughter between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Burundi and Rwanda was all about. All over the world.

That's what the church burnings are all about. When a synagogue is defaced or an Islamic center is burned, that's what it's all about. There are lots of folks that just can't get up in the morning and go through the day unless they've got somebody to look down on to make themselves feel bigger, a divisive view of the world.

Now, I am not being naive here. I don't pretend for a moment that there aren't tough decisions that have to be made, that there are lots of moments when there is no 100 percent perfect answer. But I'm telling you, where you go in life depends not only on all the details in dealing with the tough decisions, it depends on what your view is, how you look at this. And that's why I tell you, if you look at how the world is changing, going from the cold war to a global economy, if you look at the new security threats of the 21st century, terrorism, ethnic strife, the proliferation of dangerous weapons, organized crime, and drug smuggling, they all cross national boundaries. We have to be unified in dealing with that. I asked the Vice President to head that commission to figure out how we could make our airports and our airlines safer. We're dealing with a problem that every country has to deal with, so we have to work together on that.

If you look at the way the economy's going and the competition that we're in with people all around the world, we have to hold ourselves to international standards and then we have to work together to make sure we all do it.

If you think about all of us in this room, most of us would do well if there were no Government efforts of any kind. We would do okay. But we're doing a lot better because everybody else has a chance to make the most of their lives as well.

So I say to you, you're going to have 6 weeks and 4 days of television wars here in Oregon,

and half of what's on there may be irrelevant. But this is a big deal. This is a huge deal. This is the last major election of the 20th century and the first election of the 21st century. Things have changed. We have to change. And America is going to go into that next century with either the unifying vision dominant or the divisive vision dominant.

That's what I want you to think about, not Democrats or Republicans or any of that. I want you to think about your country. And if you look at the life and career and work of this man, it would be hard to think of someone who could be a better poster boy for a unifying vision of America's future in the 21st century than Tom Bruggere.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:46 a.m. at the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry. In his remarks, he referred to Oregon senatorial candidate Tom Bruggere, his wife, Kelley, and their children Maria and T.C.; Mayor Vera Katz of Portland; and actor Christopher Reeve.

Statement on Same-Gender Marriage

September 20, 1996

Throughout my life I have strenuously opposed discrimination of any kind, including discrimination against gay and lesbian Americans. I am signing into law H.R. 3396, a bill relating to same-gender marriage, but it is important to note what this legislation does and does not do.

I have long opposed governmental recognition of same-gender marriages, and this legislation is consistent with that position. The act confirms the right of each State to determine its own policy with respect to same-gender marriage and clarifies for purposes of Federal law the operative meaning of the terms "marriage" and "spouse."

This legislation does not reach beyond those two provisions. It has no effect on any current Federal, State, or local antidiscrimination law and does not constrain the right of Congress or any State or locality to enact antidiscrimination laws. I therefore would take this opportunity to urge Congress to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, an act which would extend employment discrimination protections to gays and lesbians in the workplace. This year the Senate considered this legislation contemporaneously with the act I sign today and failed to pass it by a single vote. I hope that in its next session Congress will pass it expeditiously.

I also want to make clear to all that the enactment of this legislation should not, despite the fierce and at times divisive rhetoric surrounding it, be understood to provide an excuse for discrimination, violence, or intimidation against any person on the basis of sexual orientation. Discrimination, violence, and intimidation for that reason, as well as others, violate the principle of equal protection under the law and have no place in American society.

NOTE: H.R. 3396, approved September 21, was assigned Public Law No. 104–199.

Remarks in Brandon, South Dakota

September 20, 1996

Give them a hand. [*Applause*] I thought they did well. Did you read somewhere that that was my favorite Beatles song? [*Laughter*] Or did you just do it on your—it was a wonderful job. Thank you very much, and thank you for playing here tonight.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to be back in South Dakota. I came here three times when I was seeking the Presidency. I loved every trip. I couldn't wait to get back. And I want you to know how we came to be here tonight. We were planning our schedule a couple of weeks

ago, and we were going to do this bus trip in Washington and Oregon, and I looked at the map and I looked at the schedule and I looked at the time, and they said, "You're going to be dead when you finish." I said, "I'm not going to be that tired. I want to go to South Dakota before I go back to Washington." And I'm glad to be here.

I want to thank all of those who have been here before tonight, your student, Kelly Soye, Senator Chet Jones, Rick Weiland. Thank you for running for Congress, Rick, and I hope you make it. I want to thank Sarah Sholz for that wonderful introduction of Hillary. I liked it even better than she did. [*Laughter*] It meant a lot to me, and I appreciate it.

I want to thank my longtime friend of nearly 25 years now, Senator George McGovern, for being here tonight, for his life and public service, and for his wonderful and very brave book about his beloved daughter. And I'm glad he's home in South Dakota. I'm honored to be here on the same platform with him tonight. Thank you.

I want to thank your superintendent, George Gulson, and your principal, Don Kuchel, for letting me come here. And thank you for delaying the homecoming just a little bit. We needed to stop until it quit raining anyway. [*Laughter*] I am really pleased to see all of you here. I want to say a special word of thanks to the football teams. They came out in the back, and I got to shake hands with all the football teams and all the folks that were there supporting them and take my picture with them. And they made me feel young again. I liked it, standing up there with them. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to acknowledge one other legislator who is here, State Senator Pam Nelson. She is running for public utility commissioner. I used to spend a lot of time on public utilities. We're just in a period of deregulating them more with the telecommunications act. And it's very important that we preserve all the telecommunications operations we can in rural America. I come from a rural State, and I know that this is a big election for you. And I wish her well, and I wish South Dakota well in dealing with these new challenges.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish I could watch the whole football game. I was sitting here thinking it's been a long time since I've been to a high school football game, and I never had a bad time at a single one I attended in my whole life.

Tim Johnson said this election has been going on a long time. It hasn't gone on forever; it just seems like it's gone on forever. [*Laughter*] But it won't be long now. And I wanted to come here tonight to say to all of you really two things. First of all, from my perspective and not just because he is a Democrat and a member of my party, I think Tim Johnson is one of the most gifted public servants with whom I have ever worked. He is highly respected, and I wish him well. The second thing I wanted to say is, when I came to South Dakota, I thought I would feel fairly comfortable because I was Governor of a farming State for many years, and I grew up in Arkansas and all my people were from there. And when I first started coming up here I found some people from there who had ties to people up here, and it was a very personal experience for me.

I ran for President because, frankly, I was turned off by what I thought was going on in Washington. I could see that our country was moving into a period of dramatic, breathtaking change and our patterns of working and living and relating to each other, relating to the rest of the world. And it seemed to me that most of what I heard coming out of Washington, DC, was argument. And there was a lot more focus on who to blame than what to do. And where I came from, if I'd focused on who to blame instead of what to do, I'd have been thrown out of office and been looking for another job. And it seemed to me that what we needed was to bring ideas back to Washington and action and get rid of the insults and the blaming and the trying to divide people, and try to run the country the way you try to run this community or this school or this football team or any other enterprise where people have to work to succeed.

So when these two teams go out to compete tonight, you know, nobody would get any points for breaking the rules or bad-mouthing their opponents. There is a set of rules, everybody has to work together, and if you do your best, you're better off whether you win or not. That's the way this country ought to work. That's the way this country ought to work.

So I have tried to follow a simple vision. You see, I believe that the best days of this country are still ahead, and I think—I can talk in the dark if you can listen. I believe the best

days of our country are still ahead, and I think that what we have to do is to find a way to meet the incredible challenges and seize the opportunities of this new world without giving up the values that make our lives special. And to me, that means we have to do three things: fix the electricity—[*laughter*] Now, where was I here? We've got to try to create the conditions in which every person who is willing to work for it has an opportunity. We have to tell everybody there are some things nobody can give you, and all of our citizens have to be more responsible. And then we've got to bring this country together in a community, a sense of teamwork, a sense of family, a sense of togetherness.

You know, there is not much diversity maybe in South Dakota or in Arkansas, but when we had the Olympics and Hillary and I went to Atlanta to kick them off, there were 197 different nations there. We've got folks from 150 of those places in our biggest county in America. But we have somehow found a way to stay together and work together because our country is founded on a devotion to this place and to the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the idea of work and family, reverence for faith, everybody else's as well as your own. That's what holds us together.

And you know, I spend so much time as your President when I have to deal with foreign policy—you think about how much time I have to spend because other people won't behave that way. People around the world, they do things that you wouldn't put up with your kids doing, because they have to look down on other people who are different from them. What's the problem in Bosnia, those people killing each other because they're of different ethnic and religious backgrounds? Do you know, biologically, they're identical? There is no ethnic difference. It's an historical accident that some were Serbs, some were Croatians, and some were Muslims.

In the Middle East they're still fighting. In Northern Ireland they're fighting over what happened 600 years ago. All of the young folks just want to get on about their lives. And I tell you that to make the point that this is a very special place. And if we can go into this 21st century committed to working together and staying together and building a bridge that we can all walk across, we're going to do very well.

And let me just give you one or two examples. I think we have to build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong economy. And I'm proud of the fact that we have 10½ million more jobs and record exports and record farm exports and record new small businesses in the 4 years since I became President. I think that's a good thing.

I'm proud of the fact that, on October 1st, 10 million Americans will get an increase in the minimum wage and, at the same time, every single small business in America will be made eligible for a tax cut when they invest more in their business. And we're making it easier for those folks and self-employed people, including farmers, to take out health insurance, because they'll get a bigger tax deduction for the cost of their health insurance premium. And we're giving a $5,000 tax credit to couples that will adopt children, because there are a lot of kids out there that need homes.

All of those things were done together, pro-business, pro-work, pro-family. That's the way America ought to work all of the time, and I'm proud of that. But—Tim Johnson alluded to it, but when we were having the debate over the farm bill, we hung pretty tough, Tim and I and, most important, Tom Daschle, who can't be with us tonight, but he led our fight to make sure we kept some provisions for rural development in there, to make sure that we didn't walk away from our commitments to rural water systems and other things that people in the rural areas of our country need. And we may have to take some more looks at that next year.

But one of the things, it seems to me, we have to commit ourselves to is the proposition that the prosperity that America enjoys in general should be made available to every American if they're willing to work for it, and I hope you will share that commitment.

I'll give you another example. You're going to have a big challenge in South Dakota next year; every State will. I signed the welfare reform bill, and I did it for a simple reason: I learned as Governor and as President that people in Washington don't move people in South Dakota or Arkansas off welfare; it happens at the grassroots level. And after 4 years, I'm proud to tell you that we've reduced the welfare rolls in America by nearly 2 million, and we've increased child support collections by nearly 40 percent, over $3 billion. And we have done it by letting local people do what they knew would work.

So that welfare reform bill, here's what it says. It says the United States will continue to guarantee to poor families health care, nutrition for the children, if the parents go to work, child care. But we're going to give what used to be the welfare check to the States and let the States and the local communities take that money and figure out how to put able-bodied people in the work force. They can spend that money on doing that, so that people can draw a paycheck, not a welfare check, and move to independence. You have to meet that challenge. Every church, every business, every organization in this State is going to have to think about what we all have to do together to end the culture of poverty. But work is better than welfare for parents, for families, and for America's future, and I hope you will help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century.

The most important thing we can do in building that bridge is to give every child access to the best education in the world. I know that this school district has one of the highest attendance rates in the entire State of South Dakota, which means it's way above the national average. So I want to start by saying, good for you; don't give it up; bear down and do better. I congratulate you on that.

But I could talk about education the halftime of the homecoming game, but I won't do that. Let me just mention two things. Number one, I know that South Dakota has done a lot of work in distance learning and trying to use technology to bring the benefits of all kinds of subjects to young people who are isolated in rural areas. I worked hard on that when I was a Governor.

Al Gore and I are committed to seeing that by the year 2000, every classroom and library in our country is not only equipped with computers, software, and trained teachers but is also hooked up to what we call the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. Now, for those of you that are my age or older and don't know much about computers, just like I don't, let me tell you what that means in practical terms. It means that technology has given us the opportunity for the first time in the entire history of the United States to guarantee to every student, the students in the most remote rural districts, the students in the poorest inner-city districts, along with the students in the suburban districts, the students in the richest districts—all of them now have a chance to get the same information in the same way in the same time at the same level of quality as any other student in America or indeed in the world. That will revolutionize education in America if we get that done. That's a bridge to the 21st century, and I want us to build it.

The other thing I think we have to do is to make a college education available to every single American who needs to go, not only kids coming out of high school but a lot of older folks are going to have to go back and get education and training as well, and we need to make it available.

So in the balanced budget plan that Tim and I have been working for, there are three provisions to help make college education universal. Number one, we make it easier for more people to save more money through IRA's, individual retirement accounts, and withdraw from them later without a tax penalty if the money is going to be spent on a college education or a health emergency or buying a first-time home.

Number two, we want to make at least 2 years of education at a community college as universal in the next 4 years as a high school diploma is today, because our young people need it and a lot of our adults are going to need it when they move from job to job. And here is how we can do that, all paid for in our balanced budget plan. We want to give a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction off your Federal tax bill, for the cost of tuition at the typical community college for 2 years. All you have to do is show up, go make your grades, make the most of it, and we will pay the bill in that way. No bureaucracy, no hassle, no nothing. We can make a community college education as universal as a high school diploma in just 2 years.

And finally, I believe we ought to have a tax deduction for the cost of college tuition, up to $10,000 a year, for any kind of college costs. Four years of undergraduate school, medical school, veterinary school, you name it, we ought to make it possible for every child here tonight who wants to go to college to go to college. And that's a bridge to the 21st century we ought to build.

Tim mentioned something about the family leave law. Let me say we've worked hard to make family life more secure over the generations. We've worked to increase childhood immunizations, to improve and increase Head

Start. We've worked hard to make it easier—one of the most important bills we passed in this Congress makes it easier for people in small businesses to take out pensions and easier for people to carry those pensions around with them if they move from job to job. People in smaller businesses should be able to do that.

Only about half the American work force has a good pension plan today. Under this new law, it'll be a lot easier for a lot more people and a lot more employers to participate in guaranteeing pensions to more Americans, and I'm proud of that. I think it'll help South Dakota; I know it'll help my home State. Small businesses are creating most of the jobs in this country, and we need to be doing more to support them. This pension bill will do that.

We also passed a bill, the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, which says to 25 million Americans, an insurance company cannot automatically take your insurance away from you, your health insurance now, just because somebody in your family got sick or because you moved from job to job. You've got a right to keep that insurance. That can help 25 million Americans. Seven hundred thousand kids a year can be protected by that—just children alone, poor children, new children every year.

Just this week, the Congress agreed to two things I've been asking to do: one, to offer some coverage for mental health conditions. You know, that's a big problem in every State in America, in all kinds of families, little communities and big ones. We now know that a lot of mental health problems are just that, they're health problems. They can be treated. People can get over them; they can work through them. But there's no insurance in most places under most policies. Now we'll begin to change that, and I think that's a positive thing for America.

And most important to me—and this is something my wife's been working on forever and a day—20 years ago, the average hospital stay for a mother who went in to have a baby was 4 days. By 1992, when I was running for President, the average hospital stay had dropped substantially. By the time I was in office, I noticed that more and more insurance companies were actually requiring mothers and their newborns to leave after a day; some of them were being pushed out of the hospital in 8 hours. And it seems to me that the decision about when a mother and a newborn child leave the hospital should be a medical decision for the doctor to make. Today Congress has voted to say you get at least 48 hours, and 96 hours if you have a cesarean. I think that's a good thing for America. It will make us stronger.

So, I say to all of you, these are things we can do to build America's families. In our budget plan, we've got a plan, also, to help people who are between jobs, who lose their jobs and don't have another one, keep their insurance for 6 months, their health insurance—paid for in the balanced budget plan.

In our budget plan, we have a provision to help families who are caring for their relatives with Alzheimer's disease to get a little respite care. That will save us money, because a lot of families want to care for their parents. But that's a full-time job; that's 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and families that are doing that need a little break. So it will save us money in the long run, and we can afford it in our budget plan.

These are things that—each of them may seem like a small thing, but when you add them all up, we're building the fabric in America that I think is important, where people can succeed at home and succeed at work. I never go anyplace in America that families don't come up and talk to me with the conflicts they feel; nearly every family has felt some conflict between their job as parents and their job at work.

If we have to make a choice, folks, we're in deep trouble. Most parents are working; most parents have to work. We've got to create a country where you can win at home and win at work, be a good parent, be a successful employee or employer. And that's the way to build the right kind of bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across.

Finally, let me just say this: I have worked very hard to prove that we don't have to make a choice between growing our economy and protecting our environment. Most farmers I know care a lot about the environment. The agricultural community did a remarkable thing this year. They all came in and agreed on a new pesticide protection act which repealed the old Delaney clause, which a lot of farmers found absolutely unenforceable and that they couldn't comply with, and instead subjected all kinds of foods, processed foods and raw foods, to new standards to protect not just against cancer but all other kinds of illnesses—supported by the agricultural community, supported by the

consumer community. It's the way America ought to work.

We've passed unanimously a new food protection act which will be better for farmers and better for the children in the future of America. That's the kind of solution we need to find to our public health and our environmental problems.

We've made the air cleaner, the drinking water safer. We've destroyed and cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in the 12 years before I became President. But I want you to know something here in South Dakota on this beautiful night. We still have a lot of challenges. There are still 10 million kids in this country living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. That may be hard to imagine out here where you've got all the space in the world, but that's terrifying for parents. And one of the things we intend to do in the next 4 years is to take the 500 worst dumps, that's two-thirds of all that are left, and get rid of them so every American child can be saying, "I'm growing up next to a park, not next to poison." We have to build an environmentally friendly economy, and we can do it by working together.

So I say to you, finally, I want you to think about this election not in partisan terms but in American terms. You're electing the last President of the 20th century, the first President of the 21st century. The Congress you elect will make decisions that will shape this country for 50 years. We hit periods like this every so often.

When we started as a country, our founding families had to say, "Well, are we going to be one nation or just 13 different States?" They decided we'd be one nation. If they hadn't made that decision, you and I wouldn't be Americans today. They would never have gotten around the Louisiana Purchase and making Arkansas and then later making South Dakota a State. That's a big deal. Two hundred and twenty years later it still is felt.

We fought a Civil War over whether the country could break apart. When we became primarily an industrial country, we had to make new decisions about what kind of country we were going to be a hundred years ago. And Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson led us in that.

Now we're moving into a global economy where information and ideas and technology goes around the world, where American farm prices are up, based in no small measure on what happens elsewhere, and where our exports are at an all-time high, where I can go around the world—I was just in Washington State, and it was interesting; since I've been President, they're selling more airplanes and more computer software, but they're also selling their apples for the first time to Japan.

The world is getting smaller, and we have to learn how to protect our values and still meet all these challenges. And again I will say, I think the most important thing is for us to create a sense that this country can operate the way this community does, that we are neighbors, that if we believe in the same things and we're willing to show up for work tomorrow and obey the law and work hard, we've all got a role to play, we've all got a place in the American community, and we're going to build that bridge to the 21st century together.

I'll say again, our best days are ahead of us. The children here in this audience will have more opportunities to live out their dreams than any generation that has ever lived. They will be doing jobs, many of them that have not been invented yet. Some of them will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet. And we have got to do those things together that make it possible for them to do it. That's the commitment I ask from you.

In 6 weeks and 4 days, we're going to have an election. Whether you're a Republican, a Democrat, or an independent, I'm asking you, because here you've got a reputation for being civil and neighborly and calm and talking things out. Talk to your friends and neighbors. Sit down over coffee. Talk to them when you're at work. Talk to them when you're at a civic club. Talk to them when you're at a bowling alley. Talk to them at halftime. Talk to them about what you want this country to look like as we roar into that new century and what you want this country to look like when our children are our age. If we do that, our best days are ahead, we'll make the right decision, and we'll sure enough build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:31 p.m. at Brandon Valley High School. In his remarks, he referred to State Senator Chet Jones and student Sarah Sholz.

The President's Radio Address
September 21, 1996

Good morning. I want to talk to you about two important breakthroughs for the health and security of our families that took place in Congress this week, as we work with both parties to agree on a budget for next year that reflects our values and keeps us moving toward a balanced budget.

Nothing is more important to our families than access to quality health care, and we have made real progress. Last year we stopped the Republican majority from repealing the guarantee of quality health care for children, pregnant women, the elderly, and people with disabilities. Last month I signed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill to guarantee Americans will not lose health coverage as they change jobs or just because a member of their family gets sick. When it comes to improving health care we are finally moving on the right track.

In my acceptance speech in Chicago and across America I have called upon Congress to take the next steps. And yesterday congressional leaders answered this call in two very important ways. First, Congress agreed to tell insurance companies, newborns and their mothers deserve at least 48 hours in the hospital after childbirth.

In 1970, the average length of stay for an uncomplicated delivery was 4 days. By 1992, it was 2 days. Today, a large and growing number of insurers refuse to pay for anything more than 24 hours, and some even recommend release as early as 8 hours after delivery. That's risky and wrong. And it can have severe health consequences for new babies, including feeding problems, dehydration, brain damage, and stroke.

We've all heard heartbreaking stories like the family in New Jersey sent home after 24 hours, whose baby died 24 hours after that from an infection that would have been detected and treated in a hospital. Doctors, not rigid insurance company rules, should decide when a new baby goes home.

This new legislation requires insurance companies to pay for new mothers and their babies to stay in the hospital for 48 hours, and 96 hours if the mother has had a cesarean. From now on, families may still rush to the hospital, but they won't be rushed out of it, because parents deserve at least 2 days of care and comfort when they can hold their child, bond with the child, introduce the child to the world, and make sure their child is in the very best health. America has a responsibility to protect the health of our families, and that's exactly what we're working to do.

Second, Congress agreed that it's time to ensure that people who need treatment for mental illness will get the treatment they need without discrimination. From now on, insurance companies will have to set the same limits for mental illness that they set for physical illness—no more double standards.

I've been with Tipper Gore for the past 2 days. She's one of our most effective advocates for the mentally ill. I know how much this means to her and to millions of other Americans who have dealt with this challenge in their own families.

I repeatedly urged Congress to take these steps, and now I urge them to finish their work as quickly as possible. When I have the bill to guarantee 48 hours in the hospital for new mothers and their babies, and to stop insurance discrimination against the mentally ill, I will sign it with enthusiasm.

Of course, we still have more to do. No child should ever be put at risk in America because a parent has lost his or her job and the health care that goes with it. We must make sure that people continue to have health care coverage when they're between jobs and looking for a new job. My balanced budget includes these reforms, along with expanded coverage under Medicare for mammograms and respite care for families who have Alzheimer's victims.

This week's agreement shows what we can accomplish when we set aside rigid agendas, put aside partisanship, and work together. Just a year ago Congress was consumed by bitter partisanship as the Republican majority sought deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment that were unnecessary to balance the budget.

I vetoed their plan, and the American people supported my decision. So this year, in clear contrast, we are getting things done to help protect our children and our parents. And we're

doing it even as we move toward a balanced budget. That's good for our families and good for our Nation.

When we recognize that we're all in it together, that no one should have to go it alone, there are things that we must do as a nation together, we are building our bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 4:35 p.m. on September 20 at the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry in Portland, OR, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 21.

Statement on Supplemental Disaster Assistance Funding for Victims of Hurricanes Fran and Hortense

September 21, 1996

I have asked the Congress today for $291 million in supplemental funding for fiscal 1996 to help the victims of Hurricanes Fran and Hortense, bringing total Federal assistance in response to those hurricanes to over $1.5 billion.

About half of the $1.5 billion will go to North Carolina, with the rest spread among South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, and perhaps other States. The Federal Government will pay $1.2 billion from existing funds, and I have requested that the Congress allocate the additional $291 million within congressional spending limits.

Total Federal aid almost surely will exceed $1.5 billion, however. These figures do not include all of the expected claims that will come in against the Federal crop and flood insurance programs, both of which have written substantial numbers of policies in the affected States.

I recently visited North Carolina, and I saw for myself the devastation brought by the two hurricanes as well as the related flooding. In addition, senior members of my administration have visited the region to learn more about the problems that the hurricanes have brought in such areas as agriculture, housing, and public power.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and other Federal agencies are doing what they can to help the victims. FEMA, for instance, has provided a full week of 100 percent financed, direct assistance in the form of equipment, supplies, and personnel to save lives and property, and it will continue to provide 100 percent financing for debris removal. It also has provided extensive individual and public assistance, helping tens of thousands of Americans. In addition, I have directed FEMA officials to continue to assess whether and when North Carolina will be eligible for 90/10 financing, that is, Federal financing of 90 percent of the costs, for eligible public assistance repair.

Other Federal agencies that are providing assistance include the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Health and Human Services, and Housing and Urban Development; Small Business Administration; Army Corps of Engineers; Federal Highway Administration; General Services Administration; and Corporation for National and Community Service.

But we can and must do more. The $291 million that I am requesting today includes funding for the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation as well as the Small Business Administration and the Army Corps of Engineers.

Specifically, the request includes:

Department of Agriculture, $40 million—$20 million for the Emergency Conservation Program to help farmers and ranchers whose farmland was damaged, and $20 million for the Watershed and Flood Prevention to help communities reduce hazards to life and property;

Department of Commerce's Economic Development Administration, $18 million—to enhance and improve infrastructure, such as water and sewer systems;

Department of Housing and Urban Development, $110 million—$100 million for Community Planning and Development and $10 million for the Flexible Subsidy Funds pro-

gram, which provides capital funds for FHA-insured multifamily housing;

Department of Transportation's Federal Highway Administration, $82 million—to repair damages and to help meet other anticipated emergency relief needs in fiscal 1997;

Small Business Administration's Disaster Loan Program, $22 million—to quickly service disaster loans in the affected States; and

Army Corps of Engineers, $18.8 million—for high-priority emergency dredging and debris removal in critical waterways.

I strongly urge the Congress to quickly approve this request for supplemental funding. Together, we can provide the assistance that our fellow Americans—the victims of these natural disasters—so desperately need.

Remarks on Signing the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 and an Exchange With Reporters

September 23, 1996

The President. Today I have the privilege of signing legislation that will increase the security of our country and our families. Before I finish my statement, I would like to say a special word of thanks to three legislators who are retiring from the Congress who have provided great leadership on national security issues for a very long time.

I thank my friend Senator Nunn, who has been here since 1972, for many years was the chairman of the Armed Services Committee. And since he has been here we have always had a defense authorization bill, many times only because of his persistent efforts.

I thank Senator Cohen for so many things that he's done, particularly in the area of national defense and security, for his willingness to work for a genuine bipartisan foreign policy, and especially in view of the events of the last several days, for his decisive votes with regard to the Saudi AWACS which was a critical decision which enabled us to contain Saddam Hussein.

And finally, I thank Congressman Sonny Montgomery, the father of the GI bill, a great friend of the National Guard and Reserve and the veterans of this country, for more than 30 years of service here in the Congress.

So I thank them all for their role not only in this legislation but for their entire careers, which will be ending shortly and too shortly for many of us.

One of our central missions is to ensure that our country remains the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world. This bill makes good on our pledge to keep our Armed Forces the best trained, best equipped fighting force on Earth. It carries forward our modernization programs by funding crucial weapons systems, such as the F–22 and F/A–18E/F fighters, the *Comanche* helicopters, and the V–22 *Osprey*. It gives us the technological edge to prevail on the battlefields of tomorrow. It builds on our progress in reducing the nuclear threat. It continues programs sponsored by Senators Nunn and Lugar to destroy thousands of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union and to prevent dangerous materials from these weapons from falling into the wrong hands.

This month our Nation has again been reminded of the extraordinary skill and dedication of our Armed Forces. In Iraq our men and women in uniform have shown their strength in advancing our strategic interests. In Bosnia our troops and their IFOR counterparts have helped to make possible the elections which mark another milestone on the road of that nation's recovery.

Our service men and women go the extra mile for us and we in turn should do the same for them. This bill does that by paying for improvements in family and troop housing, along with new starts in military construction projects. It provides a pay raise of 3 percent, nearly 1 percent more than the law now provides. Our troops have more than earned that.

The legislation protects not only our national security but also our security at home. The Interstate Stalking Punishment and Prevention Act of 1996, which is part of this legislation, dramatically toughens the law against stalkers, those who would threaten, harass, and instill

fear in others, especially women and girls. Though most States have strong antistalking laws, still there are big loopholes for those stalkers to slip through. We started to close those in the 1994 crime bill. Thanks to that law, stalkers now can be charged with violating restraining orders if they travel from one State to another to pursue their victims.

But many who are being stalked and harassed do not have protection orders and may not even know who is pursuing them. Until now they were not protected by Federal law. Until now, those being pursued across State lines by a spouse or an intimate had to wait until they had suffered an act of violence before we could use Federal resources to protect them. For the very first time, this legislation makes it a Federal crime for any stalker to cross State lines to pursue a victim, whether or not there is a protection order in effect, whether or not they have committed an actual act of violence, whether or not they are a spouse or an intimate of the victim.

Today we say loud and clear, if you stalk and harass, the law will follow you wherever you go. And if you are the victim of stalking and want to build a new life somewhere else, you will have the full protection of Federal law.

I want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, the bill's sponsor, a victim of stalking who fought back; to Senator Dianne Feinstein, who's done so much to bring this legislation here today; to the victims and families who are here today, including Bonnie Campbell, a survivor of stalking; Shari De Priest and her son, Jesse—Shari's stalker is currently behind bars; Ricardo Wiggs, who lost his wife to a stalker and is here with their daughters, Jenine and Janelle. These are the true faces of this legislation and the reason we worked so hard for these new protections.

We have continued to work to make American life safer for women and children and families. We have more to do. I am calling for a constitutional amendment to guarantee victims' rights, legislation to extend the Brady bill to keep guns away from people with a history of domestic violence.

This legislation is proof, I will say in closing, of the progress we can make for the American people when we put the national security and the security of America's families first. And I thank those who have done so much work on this. I'd like to thank the Vice President especially and ask him to now make just a few comments about the reinventing Government aspects of this bill—some of them are remarkable and important—and then I will sign the legislation.

[*At this point, the Vice President explained the reinventing Government initiatives in the bill.*]

The President. Thank you.

Now I'd like to sign the bill.

[*The President signed the legislation.*]

Presidential Debates

Q. Mr. President, are you supporting Perot's bid to participate in the debates?

The President. We signed an agreement with the Dole campaign when it was obvious that there would be no debates if Mr. Perot was involved. And I thought the American people were entitled to a debate between Senator Dole and me, so eventually, the people that were negotiating for me told me—I told them to go ahead and make the agreement.

President Boris Yeltsin of Russia

Q. Mr. President, are you concerned that Boris Yeltsin's health, his apparently deteriorating health, is creating a destabilizing situation in the Soviet Union?

The President. I think they've come a long way in developing constitutional mechanisms of authority. They have worked out the relationships that will exist between President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. And we have regular contact with him, with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Primakov, with others in the executive office of the President, and I feel comfortable right now that our relationship will proceed on a normal course and a positive one.

United Nations

Q. Mr. President, what's it going to be like to go to the U.N. tomorrow with your campaign to force out Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the $1.7 billion debt that the United States owes, and the questions about the Persian Gulf coalition? Is there any awkwardness there?

The President. No. It's going to be a happy day because we're going to be the first country to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. So it will be a milestone day for the United States and for the world. And that issue will—and then what we now have to do to fol-

low up on it is what I intend to talk about and will overshadow everything else.

I believe that things are proceeding reasonably well now in Iraq, based on what I know today. I feel good about that. I think the United States should pay its U.N. dues. We're going to pay our dues this year, and we'll start to pay our debts on a regular basis until we get our debt paid back. I think we ought to, and I've always felt that, as you know.

And our position on the future of the U.N. and the Secretary-General, a man for whom I have great personal respect, has been clear for many months now. So nothing's changed there. That's not new, not a surprise. And I expect it to be a good day.

Q. Have you got a replacement for him? Do you have a successor in mind?

1996 Elections

Q. What do you think about Bob Dole calling you a closet liberal and hitting you so personally on the drug issue?

The President. Well, let me—I'll just answer the liberal thing. I'll save the other one. I've got to have something to say at the debate. [*Laughter*]

But there's a real problem with that. One is my record, my record as Governor, my record as President. If you look at what we did on the deficit, bringing it down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War; what we did with the crime bill, which had the death penalty for drug kingpins and people who kill police officers and "three strikes and you're out" and 100,000 police and the assault weapons ban and the Brady bill; when you look at what we have done on welfare reform, starting in '93, that now has reduced the rolls on welfare by almost 2 million, the record doesn't support the charge. If you look at what I'm advocating for the next 4 years, it doesn't support the charge.

It is true that he and I had differences over the budget last year. And we will again in this campaign. And we have different tax cut plans. But I don't think that that qualifies me as a closet liberal.

Besides that, a President is too exposed. You can't be a—I don't have a closet. [*Laughter*]

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Reform Party Presidential candidate Ross Perot; Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov of Russia; and United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. H.R. 3230, approved September 23, was assigned Public Law No. 104–201.

Statement on Signing the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997

September 23, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3230, the "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997," legislation authorizing fiscal 1997 appropriations for military activities of the Department of Defense, military construction, and defense activities of the Department of Energy. While I have reservations about parts of this Act, it is a step in the right direction, authorizing much of what my administration sought and omitting a number of provisions that we opposed.

First, the Act will improve the quality of life for military personnel by providing a 3 percent pay increase and better housing opportunities.

Second, the Act authorizes appropriations for important modernization programs requested in my budget. These programs, which are designed to provide our forces with the most modern equipment found anywhere on the globe, include the Army's Comanche helicopter, the Navy's Seawolf submarine, the Air Force's C–17 transport, and the V–22 Osprey for the Marine Corps.

Third, the Act authorizes additional appropriations for counter-narcotics programs, which my Administration sought in a FY 1996 supplemental appropriations request.

Fourth, the Act authorizes the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program, which provides a highly effective means of enhancing U.S. security by eliminating nuclear weapons and preventing weapons proliferation in the states of the former Soviet Union. And the Act also establishes the Nunn-Lugar II program, which authorizes the Department of Defense to assist civilian law enforcement agencies in responding to emergencies involving biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons of mass destruction, and to provide funding to improve the security of U.S. and international borders.

Fifth, the Act creates a new National Imagery and Mapping Agency, which will provide a single focus within the Government for managing imagery and geospatial information.

Sixth, the Act advances my commitment to sound environmental management by fully funding my request for Defense environmental programs and authorizing solid waste management technologies for Navy ships.

Seventh, the Act authorizes my Administration's request to award the Medal of Honor to seven African American soldiers who demonstrated outstanding heroism in combat during World War II.

I am also gratified that the final version of this bill omitted certain provisions that my Administration staunchly opposed. These include: provisions that would have interfered with our ability to control ballistic missiles by legislating the standards for demarcating theater from strategic ballistic missiles and preventing the President from adding states of the former Soviet Union to the ABM Treaty; and a discriminatory provision requiring discharge of HIV-positive service members.

And I am pleased as well that this Act includes an important nondefense measure, the Interstate Stalking Punishment and Prevention Act, which makes interstate stalking a Federal offense. Most States have strong anti-stalking laws against those who seek to threaten, harass, or intimidate others, especially women and girls. But, until now, stalkers could not be charged with violating restraining orders if they travelled to another State to pursue their victims. This new measure eliminates that loophole and will allow Federal law enforcement to crack down on stalkers wherever they go.

For all its strengths, though, I do have some reservations about this Act. Most important, the Act authorizes $11.5 billion of appropriations above my 1997 budget request of $254.2 billion. I firmly believe that my requested funding levels maintain a strong defense without sacrificing important domestic programs. Moreover, much of the increase authorized by this Act is for programs not in the Department of Defense's long-range plan and will require additional future funding, precluding successful completion of modernization programs more vital to our national defense.

Nevertheless, authorization legislation establishes spending ceilings and not floors. The actual spending levels will be set through the appropriations process. Without adjustments to the proposed Defense Appropriations funding levels, I am deeply concerned about the Congress' ability to fund critical domestic needs in education and other areas. These needs must be met before the Congress adjourns.

I am also disappointed in several other features of the Act. First, it reduces funding for the important Dual Use Applications Program, the successor to my Technology Reinvestment Project. And it also omits my Administration's proposals to broaden the Defense Department's authority to acquire commercial or industrial supplies by contract from the private sector and to outsource more depot maintenance.

Further, the Act fails to include a provision passed by the Senate that would have permitted overseas military medical facilities to provide the same essential medical services to military personnel and their dependents stationed abroad for privately financed abortions that are available in the United States. I supported the Senate provision because I think it is unfair to deny American women serving our country overseas the ability to choose to have a safe legal abortion.

Other provisions of the Act raise serious constitutional concerns. Provisions purporting to require the President to enter into or report on specified negotiations with foreign governments, as well as a provision that limits the information that could be revealed in negotiations, intrude on the President's constitutional authority to conduct the Nation's diplomacy and the President's role as Commander in Chief. I will interpret these provisions as precatory.

Further, the bill's method for appointing the National Ocean Leadership Council would violate the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. I urge the Congress to pass amendments at the earliest possible time to provide for a

constitutional means of appointing this Council. Until this correction is made, the Council should not exercise significant governmental authority.

Another provision of the Act could be read to require intra-branch consultations before the Secretary of Defense could make recommendations to me regarding certain appointments. This provision is constitutionally questionable, and I therefore will construe it consistent with my authorities under the Constitution. I anticipate implementing the intent of the provisions with an Executive order.

The Act would overturn organizational arrangements in the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons complex that have served the Nation well for over 50 years. Because this micromanagement provision would severely limit the Secretary's ability to determine and control the best way to manage the Department's personnel, budget and procurement functions, I have directed the Secretary to study the provision's effects and to report to me and to the Congress on the study's results before implementing this provision. If reorganization is appropriate, the Secretary of Energy should use existing statutory authority to assure that the Department is organized in a way that is most efficient for carrying out the Department's business.

Finally, I note that the Act requires the Secretaries of Defense and Health and Human Services to submit a plan to the Congress to establish a Medicare subvention demonstration program. This program would allow Medicare-eligible beneficiaries to enroll in the Defense Department's TRICARE managed care program. These Departments recently reached agreement on a detailed plan to implement a 3-year Medicare subvention demonstration. Thus, I have directed the Departments to work with the Congress on bipartisan legislation that would initiate this demonstration.

On balance, this Act takes a number of important steps to advance our national security and the well-being of those who serve us with such loyalty and distinction in our Armed Forces. I look forward to working with the Congress to assure that the appropriated funding is consistent with my Administration's commitment both to defend this Nation and to honor its values.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 23, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3230, approved September 23, was assigned Public Law No. 104–201. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 24.

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

September 24, 1996

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

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

The challenge before us plainly is twofold: to seize the opportunities for more people to enjoy peace and freedom, security and prosperity, and to move strongly and swiftly against the dangers that change has produced. This week in this place, we take a giant step forward.

By overwhelming global consensus, we will make a solemn commitment to end all nuclear tests for all time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fourth, we must reinforce our efforts against the spread of nuclear weapons by strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We should give the International Atomic Energy Agency a stronger role and sharper tools for

conducting worldwide inspections. Our law enforcement and customs officials should cooperate more in the fight against nuclear smuggling. And I urge all nations that have not signed the NPT to do so without delay.

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

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

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

It was in that same speech that he announced that talks would shortly begin in Moscow on a comprehensive test ban treaty. President Kennedy's vision exceeded the possibilities of his time, but his words speak to us still. As we sign our names to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the longest sought, hardest fought prize in arms control history, let us summon the confidence of earlier pioneers and set our sights on the challenges of the new century.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So let us strengthen our determination to fight the rogue states, the terrorists, the criminals who menace our safety, our way of life, and the potential of our children in the 21st century. Let us recommit ourselves to prevent them from acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Let us work harder than ever to lift the

nuclear backdrop that has darkened the world's stage for too long now. Let us make these solemn tasks our common obligation, our common commitment. If we do, then together we will enter the 21st century marching toward a better, safer world, the very better, safer world the United Nations has sought to build for 51 years.

Thank you very much.

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

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan in New York City

September 24, 1996

Okinawa

Q. President Clinton, what do you think about the idea of floating offshore facility for a U.S. military base in Okinawa?

The President. Well, let me say, first of all, I very much appreciate the work that the Prime Minister has done in trying to resolve this matter to the satisfaction of the people of Okinawa and in a way that is consistent with the security relationship between the United States and Japan. And I intend to keep working on it, and we are prepared to do whatever is reasonable to respond to the concerns of the people of Okinawa, consistent with the absolute importance of our military readiness. So we'll just keep working on this and hope we can come to a satisfactory conclusion.

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Prime Minister Hashimoto. We agree on the major point between ourselves at the moment that we cannot have a meaningful conversation while the microphones are on. [*Laughter*]

Federal Reserve Board

Q. Mr. President, the Fed is meeting today to decide whether to raise interest rates. Do you think the Fed has any cause to raise interest rates at this time?

The President. Well, I'm going to continue my policy of not commenting on their decisions. I will say this: I am very pleased that we have strong growth and no sign of inflation. I feel good about that. But they have to make their decisions; I can't comment on that.

Q. Well, do you believe there's any justification whatsoever, economic or otherwise, to raise interest rates?

The President. I don't know what you mean by "otherwise."

United Nations

Q. Mr. President, you said today that some Americans don't appreciate the U.N. and have made it difficult for the United States to pay its dues. Were you talking about anybody in particular, maybe like Senator Dole and Mr. Gingrich? Did you have them in mind?

The President. No, I was talking about everybody who believes that we—that the U.N. is, in effect, not important to the United States and to our future. I believe it is important to our future. I think it's also important that the United States and some of our friends, especially Great Britain, have pushed the U.N. for reform. And the Japanese have supported that.

We like the idea that the U.N.'s budget has been frozen and that the bureaucracy is being reduced. And I think the people in Congress in both parties who have pushed for that were right, and they should be complimented for that. But I think that having launched this process of reform, if we want to continue to have influence over it, at least we have to pay what we owe here and pay up our past-due obligations. That's the point I was making. I think that we are helped by having a system of shared burdens throughout the world, and I think most Americans feel that way.

Q. Mr. President, did you discuss the Secretary-General's term when you met with him this morning?

The President. I didn't, because he and everyone else knows our position. They know it's firm. There was nothing to talk about.

Q. In other words, there was nothing he could say or do, sir, that would change your mind perhaps after the election?

The President. There was nothing to discuss. Our position is clear and is set, and there was nothing to talk about.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:42 a.m. at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. In his remarks, the President referred to United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Remarks in Freehold Borough, New Jersey
September 24, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you, in the back, for being here. Thank you, way down under the trees, for being here. Mayor Wilson, it's great to be in Freehold. It's great to be in Monmouth County. It's great to be here with all of you.

I want to thank all those officials who are here—Mayor Susan Bass Levin, Mayor Cardell Cooper. Governor Florio, it's good to see you. State Chairman Tom Byrne, it's good to see you. Senator Ray Lesniak, State Senator John Lynch, all the other legislators and local leaders who are here.

Mayor Dave DelVecchio, thank you very much for running for the Congress and for making the stakes as clear as you have today. I know one thing, if you're representing this district in Congress in January, I believe that you will not vote for a Speaker of the House who wants to enact a contract on America, I think you will vote for the people of this district and their future. And I thank you for running.

I think we have some students here from the Freehold Borough Regional High School; thank you all for coming. You've got a big stake in this election, and I'm glad you're here.

You know, I was told this morning when I got up to come to New Jersey, after I went to the United Nations—I'll say more about that in a moment—that this magnificent monument commemorates George Washington's defeat of a British general in 1778 named Sir Henry Clinton. [*Laughter*] And I thought I would tell you here in the presence of these Revolutionary War reenactors who come from the Delaware Valley—and they did a great job today, let's give them a hand. [*Applause*] That may have happened in 1778, but in 1996, Clinton is on the right side of the battle for America's future.

And so is Bob Torricelli. You know, I've watched Bob Torricelli in Congress for 4 years now. I've watched him fight for legislation. I saw him sponsor legislation to require 48 hours as a minimum stay for new mothers and their newborns. He and Senator Bradley did that, and it's going to be the law of the land within about 48 more hours, I believe, when the Congress passes that. It took 4 long years, but I thank him for that.

I saw him sponsor legislation that I have embraced to expand the Brady bill. The Brady bill, which was also opposed by the leaders of the other party in Congress, basically says you have to wait 5 days while we do a background check before you get a handgun. Now, when we passed the Brady bill, there was all this screaming and yelling that we would be taking people's guns away. And 3 years later every hunter still has the same gun, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers were not able to get handguns. Bob Torricelli was right, and they were wrong. And now, he and I believe that the Brady bill ought to be modestly extended to say if you have beaten up your spouse or your child you shouldn't get a handgun, either. And I think New Jersey agrees with that.

I understand there's been a little ad running in New Jersey about Bob Torricelli's vote for our economic plan in 1993. "That one vote," they say, "was the biggest tax increase in history." Of course, it wasn't. The biggest one in history was in 1982, under President Reagan, and he supported it and signed it. I wasn't around.

But I'll tell you this—let me tell you about that one vote. The next time you watch the ad, you see if you think it's accurate, fair, and complete. That one vote cut taxes for 5 times as many families in New Jersey as it raised taxes on. That one vote made 90 percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut when they invest more in their business. That one vote gave people in New Jersey who wanted to take a chance on investing in a new company a tax break for doing it. That one vote cut the deficit more than any one vote in history. We've now had 4 years of a declining deficit; it's the first time that's happened since the 1840's, before the Civil War. That's what that one vote did.

That one vote—that one vote brought down interest rates for car payments, home payments, credit card payments, and business loans. And that one vote is a big reason that we have 10½ million more jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years, a 15-year high in homeownership, record highs in small business formation and the ownership of businesses by women. Yes, that one vote was a pretty big vote. It was the right vote for America, and I hope you will remember that.

And I'll tell you something else about that one vote. Because we have cut the deficit from $290 billion down to $116 billion, that one vote now makes it possible for us to balance the budget without hurting Medicare, Medicaid, cutting back on education or environmental protection, and to give targeted tax cuts for childrearing, to pay for the cost of college education, to pay for health care, to pay for buying that first home, and to say to people when you sell your home with a reasonable gain, you'll never have to pay taxes on that again. That's what that one vote did. Don't forget that one vote.

So every time you see an ad, "that one vote" ought to be a paid political commercial for Bob Torricelli and everybody else who had the courage to put America's future over short-term demagoguery. We're better off today than we were 4 years ago. How could anybody dispute that?

My friends, 4 years ago when I came to New Jersey and asked for your support, I said I had a simple vision for our country on the edge of a new century. I wanted us to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive and well for everyone who was willing to work for it. I wanted us to go into the 21st century as a country that respected our diversity and relished it, that was coming together more closely as a community, not drifting apart as so many other nations of the world are. And I wanted us to continue to be the world's strongest nation for peace and freedom and prosperity.

And I say to you today the strategy we adopted, opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community in which every person has a role to play and a part, is working. We not only have a stronger economy, the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row; the welfare rolls are down by nearly 2 million; child support collections are up by $3 billion, 40 percent; there are no Russian missiles pointed at the children of the United States; and today I became the first head of state to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to ban all nuclear tests forever.

Now, this did not happen by accident. These things happened because we changed the way Washington works. We got out of who's to blame, and we asked, what can we do about our problems? We invited everyone to help us. We invited everyone to put aside their partisanship, their extremism, to roll up their sleeves and tackle America's problems, seize America's opportunities. It worked. That's why we're on the right track.

Now, you have a great choice to make. And it has been clearly, and I must say, candidly articulated, not just by me but also by my opponent: Are we going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Are we going to say, "You're on your own out there. We can't afford things like family leave," or are we going to say, "The First Lady's right. It does take a village to raise our children and to build up our country."

You have to make this decision. You heard what Meryl said. My distinguished opponent voted against the family leave law four times and said this year he still did the right thing, said it was bad for business. Well, you tell me how it can be bad for business. Since we adopted the family leave law, we've had 10½ million new jobs, a record number of new small businesses in each and every year. I think it's good for business if people can succeed at home and they're not worried sick about their children all day long while they're at work. I think it's better for America if people are good parents. I think

they're better workers, they're more productive workers, and this is a stronger country.

But to believe that, you have to believe that we have common responsibilities to give each other the conditions and the tools we need to make the most of our own lives. It is the big question in this election. And we have to come to grips with that. We're celebrating family leave today because 12 million times, families in America have said to their employers: I'm sorry, but I'm about to have a baby; my wife's about to have a baby; my children are sick; my parents are desperately ill; I've got to have just a little time off; I'll be back to work as quick as I can. And they didn't lose their jobs for that. Is that so bad? I think that makes us a better, stronger, more powerful country.

You hear people talking all the time about family values. Well, if we're going to talk about family values, shouldn't we value families? Is there anything more important in life than doing a good job of raising our children? I never go anywhere in America—never—that I don't meet families who have at least one or two examples in their own lives where they have felt the wrenching conflict between their responsibilities to their children or their parents and their responsibilities at work.

This is just a small step to say, in America we want people to succeed at home and at work. In America we know most parents work and most parents have to work. In single-parent or two-parent households, we just want them to be winners with their kids and winners at work. And if you give us 4 more years I'd like to see the family leave law modestly expanded. I think it would be a very good thing if parents could also take a little time off from work to go to regular meetings with their children's teachers and make regular doctor appointments with their children or their sick parents. It would make us stronger and our economy stronger.

All across the spectrum, if you look at what is at stake here, I offer you a bridge to the 21st century that you have to help build—no guarantees but opportunity and the challenge of responsibility and the reminder that we have to do it together. Think about our economy. If I had told you 4 years ago we'd have 10½ million new jobs, a 7½-year low in unemployment, virtually no inflation, the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years, you'd have said that's pretty good, bring it on.

But we can do better. We can grow the economy faster. We can offer opportunity to those who have still not participated in the economic recovery. And now that we have passed a welfare reform law that says to poor families we'll keep guaranteeing health care and nutrition, and child care if you go to work, but now the check itself goes to the State, and communities have to devise a way to move able-bodied people to work, we have to create jobs for those people. We cannot permit the children to be hurt. We have to give their parents a chance to go to work, the same chance that all the rest of us want in life. That is what we must do. And I hope you'll help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

We can—let me say again—we can balance the budget, and we must. That keeps the interest rates down. That keeps your home mortgage rates, your car payments, your credit card payments, your business loan rates down. But we have to do it in a way that does not divide this country or compromise our future. That means protecting Medicare and Medicaid. It means investing in education. It means investing in environmental protection. It means investing in research and technology.

Let me just tell you, just in the last couple of years there have been breathtaking advances in medical research, in the treatment of people with spinal cord injuries, in breast cancer, in dealing with AIDS. The life expectancy of people with HIV has more than doubled in the last 4 years, thanks to medical research and the rapid movement of drugs to the market. Just recently, for the first time ever, a laboratory animal with a severed spinal cord had movement in its lower limbs because of nerve transplants.

We have got to keep investing in these things. In the nonmedical area we are about to build a supercomputer with IBM, the United States and IBM—listen to this—that will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

The world is changing. And we owe it to the future to continue to invest in making sure that America stays at the head of the pack in new technologies, new opportunities, and new jobs for the American people and new adventures for our children. And we must do that.

We have to build a bridge to the 21st century that does more of what I saw in Uniontown when I visited the school there not very long ago, right here in New Jersey. I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that gives all of our children the best educational opportunities in the world. We want to hook up every classroom and every library in America to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web.

Let me tell you what that means. It means for the first time in history, the children in the most remote rural districts and in the poorest urban districts will have access to the same information in the same way at the same quality in the same time as every other child in America. It will revolutionize education. And we intend to do it if you will help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

We want to build a bridge to the 21st century in which every American can go to college, every American of any age. And we propose to do it in the following way:

Number one, more people than ever will be able to save through an IRA and withdraw from that IRA tax-free if the savings are used to pay for college, medical care, a first-time home.

Number two, we're going to say in the next 4 years we want a community college education to be just as universal in the United States as a high school diploma is today. Everybody needs more than a high school diploma today and here's how we're going to pay for it. We want to say to working Americans, "If you go to a community college, you can deduct from your taxes dollar for dollar the cost of tuition at a typical community college in the United States." We can do that—no bureaucracy, no extra hassle. And we can pay for it in the balanced budget amendment.

And finally, we want to permit every family to deduct the cost of college tuition, any kind of college, undergraduate or graduate school, up to $10,000 a year from their taxes so that we can educate our people. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We want to build a bridge to the 21st century of responsibility, which means that we have to continue to resist the efforts to stop our anticrime program. You want to know what a big issue is in the Senate race here and in this Congress race? For reasons that absolutely elude me, after 4 years of a declining crime rate, when our strategy embodied in the 1994 crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street, have "three strikes and you're out" and other tough penalties, ban the assault weapons, and give our kids some prevention programs—that strategy was written by law enforcement officers all over America—for reasons that elude me, for the last 2 years the leaders of the other party in Congress have done everything they can to repeal it, to stop the 100,000 police program in its tracks. I do not understand that.

But if you want a reason to support these two men, that's a good one. We've got the crime rate coming down 4 years in a row. If we can bring it down 4 more years in a row, it might just be bearable for Americans. I think we should finish the job of putting 100,000 more police officers on our street. And I hope you'll help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

I hope you'll help Bob Torricelli expand the Brady bill to cover those people who abuse their spouses and their children. They should not have guns. Torricelli was right: 4 more years, and we'll get that done. I hope that you will help us to do things, in short, that will say to the American people, we want everybody to be more responsible.

Finally, let me say we need to prove that we can go forward together as one community. A big part of that is the family support system we talked about, family and medical leave. Something else I'd like to see done—a lot of our people today have to work and want to work to get overtime. A lot of people have to do it just to keep their jobs. I'd like to see more options for the workers to take some of that overtime if they want to, and it's best for the family, in time at home with their kids and their parents instead of pay if they decide that's what they need to keep their families together.

We have to look for new and exciting and innovative and different ways to grow this economy and support families as they meet the struggles and the challenges of the 21st century.

The last point I want to make about that is that perhaps nothing defines us so clearly in terms of our commitment to going forward together as whether we're committed to a clean environment for all of our people. I'm proud of the fact that since this administration has been in office, millions of people are breathing cleaner air; we passed a safe drinking water bill; we passed a pesticide protection act; we modernized the meat inspection standards for the first time in seven decades.

We have added to the national park system and protected our most precious national treasures, and we cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. But I am not proud of the fact that there are still 10 million American children living within 4 miles of a toxic waste site. That is wrong. And if you give us 4 more years, we intend to clean up the 500 worst sites so we can say America's children are growing up next to parks, not poison. Every child in America is entitled to that, and I want you to help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have loved being here today. I'm sorry that some distant ancestor of mine strayed in the Revolutionary War, probably was just being loyal to where he was born. But 200 years later, I'm mighty proud to be here with you, proud to be representing the people of New Jersey, grateful for the support you have given me, and asking you to think among yourselves not about party, not about politics, but about what you want our country to look like when we start a new century in a new millennium, and what you want America to be like when your children are your age. That is all that matters.

I believe, as strongly as I can say, that if you want the kind of America I believe you do, we've got to build a bridge to the future. We can revere our past, but we can't recapture it. The best days of America are still ahead.

The children in this audience today, many of them will do jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of them will do work that has not been imagined yet. All we have to do is to build the right kind of bridge that's broad enough, big enough, and strong enough for all of us to walk across. I hope you will help me build it.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:25 p.m. at the Battlefield Monument at the Monmouth County Courthouse. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael Wilson of Freehold Borough; Mayor Susan Bass Levin of Cherry Hill Township; Mayor Cardell Cooper of East Orange; Mayor David M. DelVecchio of Lambertville City; James J. Florio, former New Jersey Governor; Brendan (Tom) Byrne, Jr., chair, New Jersey Democratic Party; and Meryl Frank, who introduced the President. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks at Robert Morris College in Coraopolis, Pennsylvania

September 25, 1996

Thank you so much. Thank you, Secretary Rubin. First let me start with first things first. Thank all of you for showing up and thank you for your enthusiasm and your warm welcome. It's good to be back in western Pennsylvania. Thank you.

Thank you, Secretary Rubin, for your great leadership on economic policy and for your remarks here today. Thank you, Congressman Frank Mascara, for representing the people of western Pennsylvania so well and for being what we need more of in Washington, a genuine gentleman and an honest public servant who really cares about the people here. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Tony Gliozzo, for your fine remarks. I wish you well. I'd let you be President if you'd let me be 22 again. [*Laughter*] I'd take my chances. [*Laughter*] I was talking to Tony about his studies here at Robert Morris, his career ambitions. Every time I have a chance to meet with young people in America it reinforces my faith about our future, and I thank you for being up here with us today.

I'm delighted to be joined by Pittsburgh Mayor Tom Murphy and Allegheny County Commissioner Mike Dawida. Thank you both for being here. And there are a lot of others here—I don't want to get into a name-calling contest even in a positive way, but I want to thank my good friend, the former mayor of Pittsburgh, Sophie Maslaw, for being here; and George Becker, the president of the United Steelworkers, thank you, George, for being here. Ron DiNicola is here. I thank you all for being here. And Dr. Nicholson, thank you for welcoming us to Robert Morris, sir. We're delighted to be here.

I never had a bad day in western Pennsylvania. I always love coming here. But I know that for many people this is a sad day in the Pittsburgh area because Jim Leyland is managing his last home game for the Pirates today. And after 11 years and three division championships, a man who worked hard and never tried to grab the credit, and built a quiet reputation as one of the best people in baseball, let me just say I admire him, and I wish him the best. And I know all of you do, too.

As has already been said by Tony, Robert Morris was one of the most important financiers of our American Revolution. He was the first budget balancer, also. He actually resigned from the Continental Congress in 1778 because he thought they were printing too much worthless money. And because of his own economic achievements, he was really one of the founders of the remarkable American economy, which has sustained us and become the envy of the world over 220 years.

All of you here who are students and teachers and who work in other ways at Robert Morris are carrying on that spirit by studying business and working hard to prepare yourselves for the remarkable opportunities of the 21st century.

Today I want to talk to you for a few minutes about the subject that Secretary Rubin mentioned, how we can provide greater opportunities for Americans to save, to increase investment growth and personal security. And I want to do it in the context of how we can build a bridge to the 21st century with a strong American economy that every person who is willing to work hard has a fair chance to participate in and to benefit from.

Four years ago, just before the Presidential election, I came to Pittsburgh, just about 4 days before the election, and said that I had entered that campaign because, and I'd like to quote, "I didn't want my daughter to grow up to be part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than her parents, because I knew we could do better with more opportunity and more responsibility and a stronger American community." Well, today I'm here to tell you that I'm not worried about that anymore because America is on the right track and our children are going to do better.

Four years ago our economy was stalled: New job growth was the slowest since the Depression, wages had been stagnant for half the work force for nearly two decades, our working people were becoming more divided economically, the deficit was at an all-time high, the debt had been quadrupled, cynicism was rising, our people were working harder and harder just to keep up. I was determined to give us a new direction.

We put in place the comprehensive economic strategy that Secretary Rubin discussed. It was, quite simply: cut the deficit, open more markets to American goods and services and investment, invest in education, invest in new technologies and research, protect the environment in a way that grows the economy and creates the opportunities of tomorrow. And do it in a way that keeps the American people coming together, not drifting apart.

Now, we are moving in the right direction. Unemployment has been cut by a third; it's the lowest it's been in 7½ years. The combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and mortgages are the lowest in 28 years. Our economy has produced 10½ million new jobs, about 200,000 of them, just under 200,000 here in Pennsylvania. Our auto industry leads the world again, producing and selling more cars than Japanese automakers for the first time since the 1970's, something I'm proud of.

In each of the last 3 years—we don't have the '96 figures yet, but in '93, '94, and '95, we set new records in the exports of American products and new records in the formation of new small businesses. Now 8 million businesses are owned by women in America, an all-time high.

Homeownership is at a 15-year high. And in the industries that will dominate the new century, from semiconductors to airlines, America is leading the way. Of the new jobs created in the last 3½ years, more than half of them are in high-wage industries. That also breaks a pattern of the recent past; more of our new jobs are good jobs. And after falling for a decade, real hourly wages, the thing that shows up in the paycheck of the average worker—those wages are finally starting to rise again.

In addition to that, inflation in health care costs is finally coming down, nearer the rate of inflation of the economy as a whole. Last year it was just under 4 percent, a 23-year low. This year in the first 6 months, it's running at about 2 percent per year and could actually finish below the overall rate of inflation for the first time in anyone's memory.

So I say to you the country is moving in the right direction. But Pittsburgh and America's industrial heartland are also rebuilding. Over the past 4 years, the unemployment rate has dropped by a third, to 5 percent, slightly under the national average. Today, 2,400 high-tech companies employ over 90,000 people in the Pittsburgh area. Thousands of more manufacturing companies use high-tech and employee creativity to make old products in new ways. With specialty steel, biotech computer software, and environmental technologies, Pittsburgh will be the heart of America's 21st century economy.

Now, it pleases me greatly to see our country and this community and this area moving on the right track to the 21st century with confidence and conviction. But there is more to do, and we must press forward. We can do better, and we must if we want to give all Americans who are willing to work for it the chance to benefit from economic opportunity and if we want to grow faster so that living standards can keep rising again after being stagnant for nearly 20 years for too many of our fellow Americans.

What else can we do? Well, let's take first things first. You heard what Secretary Rubin said. More than ever before, the private sector is the engine of economic growth. I am very proud that 93 percent of the new jobs created in America in the last 4 years have been in the private sector. That is the highest percentage in a very long time. I am proud of that.

We've downsized the Government by about 250,000. It's the smallest it's been now since John Kennedy was President. As a percentage of the civilian work force, your Federal Government is the smallest it's been since 1933 when Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office. We have not done this with big Government programs; we've done it with targeted, strategic policies working with the private sector to grow this economy. And we have to continue.

You heard what Secretary Rubin said about the conditions of growth. When we cut the deficit by 60 percent—and I might add, this will be the first time that an administration has cut the deficit in all 4 years of its term since John Tyler was President of the United States in the 1840's, before the Civil War.

For all of you here who have been so supportive of me, I have to tell you, the bad news is John Tyler was not reelected. [*Laughter*] But it was still a good thing that he did. And it's too bad it took 150 years to do it again. I'm determined to keep going until we balance the budget and do it in the right way.

Now, I want to take just a minute to talk about this because I have to tell you, back in Washington, where political consultants tell politicians what will or won't sell out in the country, every political consultant says, "Don't talk about balancing the budget. It only works when the economy is bad. When people think the economy is good, balancing the budget is boring. Nobody wants to hear about it."

But you have to understand, the economy is better because we cut the deficit, which meant the Government borrowed less, which meant you could borrow more at lower interest rates. And we have to keep trying to balance the budget so that we can keep interest rates down on home mortgages, car loans, credit card payments, and most importantly, on business loans so business can afford to invest, to create new jobs, to create greater productivity, to strengthen the pay, the security, the incomes, and the future of their workers and their families. That is what is at issue here.

We now would have a balanced budget for the last 2 years, indeed, we would have a surplus today if it weren't for the interest we are paying on only the debt run up in the 12 years before I took office. We had a radical departure from America's history of fiscal responsibility in those 12 years. And we quadrupled the national debt. My senior Senator from Arkansas, where I'm from, Dale Bumpers, said, "Well, you can understand that. You can have a good time on $200 billion worth of hot checks. But sooner or later the bills come due."

And the bills came due to us in higher interest rates, slower growth, stagnant wages. And we paid and we paid and we paid. So by bringing the deficit down in a dramatic and sustained way, we were able to get interest rates down, which put money directly back in the pockets of ordinary Americans and enabled us to grow more rapidly and grow together more. That's why I say we have to finish the job, because we want to keep the interest rates down and we want to have growth without inflation.

But we have to do it in the right way. We actually have some fundamental responsibilities as a nation that we can best meet together. That's the Government's role and our partnership. Yes, we have to make sure that we extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund. I agree with that and I have proposed savings to achieve

that. But we should not break up Medicare, turn it into a second-class system, treat the oldest, the poorest, and the most ill of our senior citizens in an unfair way. The Medicare program has the lowest administrative costs of any insurance program, health insurance program, in the United States, public or private. It works well and we should not destroy it.

We should not, in my view, endanger the national commitment we made 30 years ago to provide health care not only to poor but largely to middle class families through the Medicaid program, helping seniors into nursing homes, helping poor pregnant women and poor little children, and among the most important things, helping families who have family members with disabilities to keep working and care for their family members with disabilities so that they could go together and maintain a middle class lifestyle. I believe that would be a mistake, and it's not necessary to balance the budget.

I also don't think we should sacrifice our future. We shouldn't cut our investments in education, in environmental protection, in research and technology. We need more investments in research and technology. But we can balance the budget and still continue to invest an appropriate amount there.

We can also balance the budget and have a tax cut, but it has to be one that is paid for line by line and dime by dime. We heard before—that's how we got into this mess—we heard before that we would grow our way into paying for a tax cut that no one thought we could grow our way into paying for. Now, the tax cut that I have proposed is a targeted tax cut for families that need it, for child-rearing, for education, for health care costs, for homebuying and for selling a home without having to pay taxes on the gain from the sale, a $500-per-child tax credit, individual retirement accounts you can withdraw from without penalty for education, health costs, and first-time homebuying, a capital gains exemption for $500,000 on the gain of a sale of a home, and that goes with what we have already done, which is to double the earned-income tax credit for lower-income working people. It's worth about $1,000 in lower taxes today than would have been the case in 1993 for a family of four with an income of $28,000 a year or less. It was a big tax cut for about 15 million American families.

We made a hundred percent of the small businesses in this country eligible for a tax cut if they invest more money in their business by taking the expensing provision from $10,000 to $25,000 a year. We made the self-employed people who buy their own health insurance eligible for a tax cut by taking the premium deductibility from 30—we're moving it up to 80 percent of the cost of their premiums. And we had a small business capital gains investment: If you invest in a new or growing small business and hold the investment for 5 years, you only owe half the normal tax rate.

So these things together, every one of them, is paid for in the context of a balanced budget. And I will say again, I believe it is imperative, we dare not go back to telling people we can give them something that cannot be paid for. It may be popular, but it isn't the right thing to do. We ought to have those things that we know we can pay for in the context of keeping the interest rates down.

That's the big difference in me and my opponent and those who support the $550-billion across-the-board big tax cut with no idea how it's going to be paid for. I can tell you how it will have to be paid for. Ask the Congressman; don't take my word for it. Ask the Secretary of the Treasury. It will be paid for in two ways. One is, we'll have even bigger cuts in Medicaid, Medicare, education, and the environment than the ones I vetoed, and it still won't be enough to pay for, so the deficit will go up anyway, and that means interest rates will go up.

Last year, a Republican economist put out a paper I agree with—I agree with. Just last year they said if we did not have a plan to move toward a balanced budget that was credible in the financial markets it would add 2 percent to the interest rates of every American family and every American business. That's what they said, not me. So you can go home and figure it out. How would it affect you if your credit card payment, your home mortgage payment, your car payment went up 2 percent? Even worse, how would it affect this area after we have worked so hard to finally come out of the devastation of the collapse of the old economy here and to build a new economy if all business loans were 2 percent more expensive.

What would that do to the creation of new jobs? What would it do to Mr. Becker's steel worker members attempting to maintain their

lifestyle, their wages, their health care benefits, their retirement, to be productive in a hotly contested global economy for steel? We cannot do that. We dare not do that.

So I ask you again to say, let's balance the budget. That's the first thing. Let's do it in a way that maintains our common obligations, and let's have a tax cut, but only let's have a tax cut we can pay for that will grow the economy and support strong families, targeted to childrearing, to education, to the essentials of family life, including health care costs and homebuying. That will make America stronger, it will grow the economy faster and keep us moving in the right direction.

Let me just mention two other things. We have to continue to work to open more markets to America's products and services. Exports have surged by one-third in the last 3 years to a record level, but this is now the most productive economy in the world, and there are still too many markets that are closed to us, while we have the most open market in the world. We have made over 200 separate trade agreements, 21 with Japan.

If you think those things don't matter, let me just give you one statistic. In the 21 areas where we have actually made trade agreements with Japan, our exports have gone up by 85 percent in 3 years. We need more of that. We have to open these markets around the world to the work being done here in western Pennsylvania by our people.

The third thing we have to do, I want to emphasize it again, is we have to continue to stay on the cutting edge of change. You should support an investment of an appropriate amount of your tax dollars in research and technology, because that is the key to our future. Let me give you some examples that I think you can all identify with.

The human genome project at the National Institutes of Health, also being supported in universities all across America, will one day in the not-too-distant future enable every set of parents that has a little baby to get a map of the genetic structure of their child. So if their child has a predisposition to a certain kind of illness or a certain kind of problem, or even to heart disease or stroke in the early forties, they will be able to plan that child's life, that child's upbringing to minimize the possibility of the child developing that illness or that predisposition, to organize the diet plan, the exercise plan, the medical treatment that would enable untold numbers of people to have far more full lives than would have been the case before. It will also create huge numbers of new, fascinating, high-wage jobs that have not even been invented yet for people like the young people who go to Robert Morris.

Example number two, closer to the present day. Medical research, funding new medicines, and a dramatic speeding-up of the approval of the drug process at the FDA have led to a more than doubling of the life expectancy of people with HIV in only 4 years—more than doubling the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in just 4 years.

Example 3. A lot of you heard Christopher Reeve speak at the Democratic Convention, and he talked about more research. He said we need more research. Just a few days before he spoke, for the first time ever, a laboratory animal with a severed spine had movement in its lower limbs because of nerve transplants. This had never been done before. We are moving in the right direction. That can change the future of America.

I'll just give you one last example, because it always knocks people out. We just signed a joint project with IBM and the Federal Government to produce a supercomputer in the next couple of years that will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

I say it to make this point: Every time an election comes around, somebody will say, "Well, this is all your money." It is all your money, but you can't invest in that kind of supercomputer by yourself, and even businesses, individually, can't afford to do that. These are things societies must do together in common, making common commitments. And it's good for you that we're doing this. It will open up new frontiers of health and quality of life, it will open new frontiers of human knowledge, and we will be thrilled by what we learn.

We're sending this robotic mission to Mars, two of them, by the end of the year. I can tell you that our space program, every single year, is reaping untold benefits in what we are learning about the technology to deal with our environmental problems here on Earth and what we're learning from the weightlessness of human bodies about how to deal with health care challenges. So this is an important part of our economic strategy for the future.

We also have to give families a way of dealing with all of these changes. You know, people's job security is different than it used to be. And since more and more people are being employed by small businesses and the pension plans are changing—more of them, from defined benefits into the future to specific contribution requirements—and since more and more people are—in the last 10 years have been employed in businesses where they didn't have guaranteed health plans, if you think about what it takes to succeed at home and succeed at work, we need to create a work environment where working people who are productive have access to affordable health care and access to a good retirement program, and they can carry those things with them when they move from job to job if they have to move from job to job. And they need the ability to get educated for a lifetime. That is also very important.

We just passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill in Washington which makes 25 million Americans more eligible for health care by saying that you can't be denied health insurance anymore when you move from job to job, or just because somebody in your family has been sick; that's what insurance is for in the first place. That's a huge improvement.

This week, Congress is passing legislation to guarantee at least 48 hours in the hospital for new mothers and their babies—big issue. Our balanced budget plan contains a provision paid for in the balanced budget to help people keep their health insurance for six months when they're between jobs. That could help up to 700,000 kids a year—5 million Americans are changing jobs, all the time, at any given time. It's an important issue.

Next week, actually Tuesday, to be precise, 10 millions of hard-working Americans will get a pay raise when the minimum wage law goes into effect. Something that isn't quite as well known is that we also, in that bill, passed most of the pension provisions that were sought by the White House Conference on Small Business and the American small business community which will make it much easier for small businesses and self-employed people to take out pensions and for small businesses to take out pension plans for themselves and their employees, and then for people to move them seamlessly when they move from job to job. Secretary Rubin's done a lot of work on that. That's a big deal for people who work in small business and who need it; it's very, very important.

One last thing that I've not succeeded in passing in 4 years, but I'm going to keep banging away at it until someday I find a Congress that likes the idea as much as I do—we have today in America a wonderful network of training. We have good vocational schools; we have good specialty schools; we have a world-class network of community colleges; we have good general universities; we have great colleges like Robert Morris that specialize in certain things. This is an incredible thing we have, this resource.

And when people need it, they're smart enough to figure out what they need, I believe. That's the reason these institutions are open. If nobody had enough sense to come to them, they would shut down, right? I mean, by definition, our people—they figure out what's best for them.

Well, over time, we have developed 70 or more separate specific Federal job training programs that were all passed for the best of motives. They all really had a good purpose. But now, they're just different programs in different categories. And for 4 years, I have been trying, and I'm going to keep trying, to get Congress to get rid of all of these separate categories of programs and create a simple "G.I. bill" for America's workers, and say to people, if you lose your job and you need new training to get a new job and a better one, or if you're grossly underemployed and you're eligible because you're underemployed and you're earning very low wages to go back and get Federal job training help, we'll just send you a certificate, it will be your skills grant. It will be your "G.I. bill" that says you get $2,500, take it where you want to take it. Take it to Robert Morris, take it to the community college, take it to the vocational school. You decide. It will help you.

So these are the things that I believe we need to do to help. Just one other thing I think is very important, and I know I'm preaching to the saved here because you're all here. But we have got to raise the skill level of the American work force generally. It means higher standards in our schools. It means more access to computer technology. It means a lot of things. But it certainly means making access to college universal in America. Everybody who wants to go and is willing to work ought to be able to go.

And let me say, my proposals on that include the direct loan program we've already put in which lowers the costs of college loans and says you can pay them back as a percentage of your income; the AmeriCorps program, which has given 50,000 young people a way to pay for college by serving in their communities.

But we want to do three things, three more things that will make a big difference. Number one, say that families with joint incomes of up to $100,000 can save in an IRA, withdraw from it tax-free if the money goes to a college education for their kids. Number two, make at least a community college education as universal by the year 2000 as a high school diploma is today by simply saying—this requires no program—all we have to say is, if you want to go to get 2 more years of college, we will let you deduct, dollar for dollar off your tax bill, the cost of a typical community college tuition up to $1,500 a year, strict reduction off your tax bill for the costs of going back for the first 2 years. And I think that is important. And finally, something that would help virtually every family represented at Robert Morris College here. I believe that the cost of any education after high school, the tuition costs, up to $10,000 a year, ought to be tax deductible—any education.

All of that is paid for in our balanced budget plan. It would make America stronger. It would make America stronger, and it would help individual families. We also need, I think, to do more to give families more options to save for their other purposes, and that's what I wanted to talk to you about in some specific detail today.

Today, America's families have a wide choice of opportunities to save, but we want to give them one more that will give them greater investment security. I'm grateful today that inflation is low. Inflation has been under 3 percent for 3 years in a row for the first time since the 1960's, and I am grateful for that. But I also remember well the 1970's and the early eighties when inflation was high.

Last spring we announced that we would work to issue a new kind of security to protect investors from inflation, to encourage long-term savings. We asked for public response to this idea. We got it, and it was overwhelmingly positive. So today, we announced a new way to save: an inflation protection bond. It will allow middle-class families to protect their savings from inflation no matter what. These bonds will first be issued on January 15th. They will be available in denominations as low as $1,000, the value of the principal will increase as necessary over the years to keep up with inflation, and they will pay interest on the principal adjusted for inflation. Not a penny of value will ever be lost to anyone who buys them because of inflation at whatever rate inflation occurs.

For investors who choose these bonds, there will not be paper gains, there will be real gains, and this is a real incentive for families to save for their own future and for their children's. I'm thinking about this a lot now because of my own situation, because our daughter is going off to college next year. We started saving for that a long time ago. If you want to save now for a newborn baby's college education, you can do it and know that no matter what happens to inflation over the next 18 years, it will not erode your investment. You will be able to make that savings good in your child's life.

If you want to start saving for a home, these bonds will enable you to start saving now without worrying about inflation. If you want to save for retirement or if you're already retired, the bonds will guarantee a lifetime of savings as solid as the word of the Treasury. Inflation protection bonds can be a solid rock upon which families build their futures and their dreams.

We also want to do two other things to help families save. Within a year, the Treasury Department will issue inflation-protected savings bonds, things that young people can buy, bonds in denominations as small as $50 that employers will be able to offer through their payroll deduction plans. And we want to make it even easier to save for training and education after high school.

Today, the interest payments on savings bonds for many families are exempt if the money is used to pay for college. In the minimum wage legislation I signed, we expanded the number of families that can get that break, and today I want to ask Congress to do more. They should be available to pay not only for college education but for vocational education, and while you have to be 24 years old to get this break today, parents of any age should be able to start as soon as they want to save for their children. We should encourage savings by all Americans and get rid of all the impediments to it. We're going to have to save more as individuals, as families, and as a nation. If we want

to invest more and be more productive in the future, these actions today will help us to achieve that goal.

I thank you, Secretary Rubin, for what you've done to achieve that.

Ladies and gentlemen, all of these actions are part of a strategy that I've called building a bridge to the 21st century, big enough, strong enough, wide enough for everybody to walk across. I believe very strongly that our best days are still ahead; I believe that the young people in this audience today will have more chances to live out their dreams and live up to their God-given potential than any generation of Americans ever has if we will meet the challenges, deal with the problems, and protect our traditional values that have kept America around here for 220 years.

These young people are going to be doing work that has not been invented yet; some of them will be doing things that have not been imagined yet. But it will still be America; it will be wonderful; and it will be better than ever if we do the right things today.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the gymnasium. In his remarks, he referred to Anthony Gliozzo, student, who introduced the President, and Edward A. Nicholson, president, Robert Morris College; Ron DiNicola, candidate for Pennsylvania's 21st Congressional District; and actor Christopher Reeve. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Reception in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

September 25, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you, Don Fowler, for your remarks. I was standing outside and I heard them. I thank you for what you said, and I thank you for your extraordinary hard work, your devotion, and your incredible energy. He is probably traveling considerably more than I am. He's worked hard to bring our party back and I thank him.

Thank you, Tom Leonard, for always, always being there for me, for our administration, and for our country. And thank you, Mayor Rendell. You know, when you started that, I didn't quite know where you were going. [*Laughter*] He said, "If I had told you in the fall of 1991 that all this would happen," and he went through all these—I thought he said, "And then I got elected mayor." [*Laughter*] And that's what brought it on. And Philadelphia sparked a firestorm of reform and investment—[*laughter*]—all over America, in every State.

Well, I shook hands with one of your police officers today when we were down getting our cheesesteak at Pat's—[*laughter*]—and the police officer said, "Mr. President, the first time I met you, you were Governor, and you and the mayor were shooting baskets not very far from here." You remember that? And so I looked at the police officer, and I said, "Now, who won that?" [*Laughter*] He knew what he was supposed to answer. And I assured him that in 1992 and again in 1996, I could take it; there was only one contest I was interested in winning. And Mayor Rendell won the other one. [*Laughter*]

I am delighted to be back in Philadelphia. I've had a wonderful day already. I started the day in western Pennsylvania, outside Pittsburgh. I went to Robert Morris College and announced the issuance of our first inflation-free bonds to let people save first in denominations of $1,000 and up, in bonds that will be adjusted in their principal as inflation grows so that you will get a real rate of return on investments in savings and Government securities from now on. I'm very excited about it. It's a way to give families a real protection.

And I can tell you that if there is a good market—and I think there will be—next year we're going to have those bonds come out in denominations as low as $50, so that working people can take them in their paychecks if they want, and students can buy them in savings bonds. And I am very, very hopeful that this will make it easier for people of modest means to save more and to know that their savings

will actually count for them even if we hit another patch of inflation, and there's always some inflation in the economy. Now these savings are going to be guaranteed with the backing of the United States Treasury. So I had a good day there, and I was glad to be there.

And it was interesting, you know, Robert Morris of Pennsylvania was really one of the major financial backers of the Revolutionary War, of our side. [*Laughter*] And he was also the first budget balancer. He resigned from the Continental Congress in 1778 because he thought they were printing too much money. My kind of Democrat. [*Laughter*] So, anyway, it was a great day.

Then I came over to Philadelphia and the mayor and I and some other folks, we did go down and get a little cheesesteak at Pat's and I reminded myself—we had that wonderful rally there, you may remember—some of you may have been down there 4 years ago. We had a great rally. I was giving Pat's equal time; I went to Gino's 4 years ago. [*Laughter*] And I had a picture up there, and I just couldn't stand going to a place and not seeing the picture on the other store, so I—[*laughter*]—it was wonderful, we had a great time.

And I saw a little piece of America there. I shook hands with a woman who had just come to live in the United States and her child and she said, "This could only happen in your country." She said, "I've only been here 3 months. I've just moved here from Hong Kong." I thought, what an amazing thing, you know. We sometimes forget what a remarkable place the United States is and how real the Statue of Liberty is in the lives of so many millions of our people and how the President is essentially the Nation's hired hand and is and should be accessible to all kinds of people from all walks of life and all stations. So we had a nice little visit, and she likes Philadelphia. [*Laughter*]

Let me also say that I want to compliment the mayor on pushing so many reforms and the city of Philadelphia has really been on the cutting edge of change. Philadelphia received one of our empowerment zones. We've done a lot of work here in defense conversion. We've done a lot of work in other areas. But today the city of Philadelphia did something that I think was very important. The board of education today instituted a dress code for the schools and authorized schools to adopt school uniform policies.

Let me say, I have been all over this country—the third largest school district in the State of California, in Long Beach, has a school uniform policy for elementary school students and maybe for junior high school students but not for high school. I know of no place that has one for high school students. But in a lot of these places, especially for the middle school students, it's made the children a lot safer if the schools were in dangerous neighborhoods, subject to gangs and battles. And it's made the schoolyards themselves much safer, because you can always tell who doesn't belong there because they're not dressed right. In every place, the uniforms have been simple. Most places, the kids get to choose the colors. A lot of times, the teachers dress like the students do. There's always a fund set up for the children whose parents can't afford them.

But it's one thing that has served to lower crime, violence, and increase attendance and increase learning at a lot of schools. And I think a dress code is itself an important statement, because we want our young children, whether they're poor or rich or middle class, when they're in school to define themselves primarily in terms of what's going on on the inside, not what they're wearing on the outside. And I think it's a very, very good thing.

So this reflects the sort of thing I think we should be doing in America, trying to figure out how to meet our challenges. And one of them is to increase learning levels among all of our people and at the same time preserve our basic values. And that is really what this election is all about.

The city of Philadelphia had a lot to do with my becoming President. We won a bigger victory here in terms of votes than President Kennedy did in 1960, even though the population was smaller. And I was very grateful to all of you.

The normally Republican suburban areas near here were unusually good to the Clinton/Gore ticket in 1992, and I hope they will be in 1996. The mayor told you that the platform we ran on in 1992, "Putting People First," with a strategy of opportunity, responsibility, and a stronger American community, has brought good results, and I feel very good about them. But I can't say that we've done what we need to do to realize what my vision is for this country at the dawn of the 21st century. And I've been going all across this country, saying to people,

"I want you to think about this election in a different way, not even if you're an ardent Democrat or Republican or independent. I think you should think primarily in terms of the Nation. What do you want America to be like when we toll the dawn of a new century and a new millennium? What do you want America to be like when our children are our age? What are our responsibilities to bring about that vision?"

We are going through a period of enormous change, as all of you know, and most of you have experienced in your own lives, in the nature of work, the nature of work and family, how we relate to each other, and how we relate to people around the world in commercial, political, and other ways. A change of this magnitude only occurs rarely, certainly no more than a couple of times every 100 years.

And very often, such disruptive and cataclysmic changes are accompanied by wars. Indeed, even though the cold war is over and we have succeeded in getting the nuclear threat to recede—I was so proud yesterday to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. [*Applause*] Thank you. Even though that threat is receding, not gone but receding, we see new threats that we have lived with painfully in the World Trade Center bombing or the destruction of the Federal building and all of the loss of life in Oklahoma City or the capture and conviction of the terrorists who planned to blow up as many as 12 of our airplanes flying over the Pacific. And thank God we were able to truncate that plan. They saw it in Japan in the sarin gas attack, chemical weapons in the Tokyo subway that took the lives of innocent people. And of course, you see it all over the world.

The new security threats we face are different. Terrorism has been around a long time, and it's been quite prominent from time to time in the last 20 years. But now we see it crossing national boundaries at a rapid rate, because the world we're living in has to be more open. We can share information and ideas, technology. We can move money around in no time at all, and we have more open borders. More people are getting on airplanes and moving around. All this is a good thing. But it makes us more vulnerable to the forces of destruction that cross national lines, the ethnic hatreds, the terrorism, the proliferation of dangerous weapons, organized crime, drug trafficking, all these things.

So we're going through this period of change. What I want to do is I want us to be able to say when we start the new century that we are confident that the American dream is available for every person, without regard to their station in life, who is willing to work for it. I want us to be able to say with confidence that even though ethnic, religious, racial, tribal divisions are tearing the heart out of lives all over the world, in America we relish our diversity, we're proud of it, and we're going stronger because of that diversity, because of our shared values and our commitment to work together. That's what I want us to be able to say. And finally, I want us to be able to say, mean, and believe that our country is going to continue to be the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom and prosperity, not just for ourselves but for others. We have to understand that we are living in a highly interdependent world.

I was in Seattle, Washington, the other day; 35,000 people showed up in the rain and waited 4 hours in the rain. I wasn't 4 hours late, but they just started gathering. [*Laughter*] Thirty-five thousand in the rain. But no place is probably so attuned to how tied we are to the rest of the world. In Washington State already, one in five jobs is directly dependent on the global economy, already—in one of our States in the United States.

So we have to fashion a strategy to meet that vision. We're on the right track. We're better off than we were 4 years ago. There is more opportunity, there is a greater sense of citizen responsibility. And we certainly are seeing more community-based efforts to move our country forward and make the most of our own lives. That's why, when something happens like the decision that the board of education here made, I want to highlight it; I want the rest of America to see it. There are still too many kids out there raising themselves. They need help. They need support. They need to be part of something bigger than themselves. And we need to support them, we need to help them.

So if you look ahead to the future and you ask yourself, look where we've come from, the strategy is working, but what else do we need to do, that's what I want this election to be about. And I want to ask all of you—there are now 5 weeks and 6 days left—[*laughter*]—and what I would ask you to do is to take the time that is left, some time every day, and engage someone in a conversation about our national destiny and about what kinds of decisions we

have to make and what will be reflected by the judgments we make on election day this November and what impact it will have. Talk to your friends and family members, your coworkers, people you run into here throughout the State of Pennsylvania and beyond the borders of this State; many of you have friends around the country. And every one of you has the capacity to influence others. For me, the idea of building a bridge to the 21st century is a powerful idea because it implies it's a work that we have to do together, that will span the difference between here and there in a way that is strong and good and enduring, and when we do it, then others will be able to walk across the bridge behind us. That's why I talk about it all the time. It captures the image of public work at its best. And not just something the President does, not just something the mayor does, not just something that Congress does, but something that we all do together, where everyone has a role to play, and everyone has a right to walk on the bridge.

I also say that, to me, the idea of what we're trying to do and how we're trying to do it is best captured by the title of the First Lady's book. I believe it does take a village to raise a child, to build a community, and to build a country.

So if you believe that we're at this unique moment in history as I do, and all of these things are changing, we don't have an option to recapture a past that's not there. We don't have an option to deny the changes. If you believe we can build a bridge and if you believe we have do to it together, then we are at truly a unique moment when all of our hopes and dreams have a better chance to be realized.

I believe the best days of this country are still ahead of us. I don't just believe, I know that the children of Philadelphia today, within 10 years when they're grown, will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many of them will be doing work that has not even been imagined yet. When I am in my dotage, I expect my grandchildren to be making fun of me because I can't even understand half of the ways that people are communicating with each other by then. [*Laughter*] And what we have to do is to make sure that we do what still needs to be done.

We know that not every person in this country or every person in this city has still had an opportunity to participate in this economic revival. We know that. We know that there are neighborhoods and rural areas that have not been caught up in this remarkable recovery, even though there have been 10½ million new jobs. We know that even though wages are beginning to rise again for the first time in a decade, we still haven't had enough growth to overcome two decades of stagnant wages and increasing inequality. We know that not everyone has the education and skills that they need.

We know that even though we've fought strongly for environmental protection and we have advanced the cause of the environment in many ways—the air is cleaner; we have a safe drinking water law; we've upgraded the meat inspection laws of the country for the first time in 70 years, and we've revolutionized, through the pesticide protection act, the protection of all kinds of foods from chemicals that might be cancer-causing; we've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than have been cleaned up in the 12 previous years—we know there is still work to be done there because 10 million kids still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste site, and that's pretty frightening when you think of it. So we know we've got work to do right across the board.

And that's what I'd like this campaign to be about. That's why, in my speech to the convention, I went through so many specific things that I'd like to do in the next 4 years. That's why I wrote that book that gentleman's holding there, because I wanted people to know exactly what I thought ought to be done, not just vague rhetoric but some clear ideas about what we ought to do.

So I want you to participate in that discussion. I want you to make a commitment as citizens that for the next 6 weeks you're going to make your investment here good by asking people to think about every election they vote in in terms of these issues, not in terms of yesterday's categories but in terms of tomorrow's dreams.

We have to keep this economic recovery going, and we have to find a way to increase our growth and productivity until everyone has a chance to be rewarded for their work. That means we have to balance the budget, but we have to do it in the right way. We have to continue to invest in education and research and technology and environmental protection. We have to reform and secure the life of the Trust Fund on Medicare. But we don't want to make it into a two-tiered system where we basically

discriminate against elderly people in this country if they happen to be older, poorer, and sicker than most others.

We want to make sure that we can fund the Medicaid program and that we can afford it in the context of a balanced budget. But we shouldn't remove our national commitment to poor children and pregnant women and the elderly in nursing homes and families with members with disabilities. We shouldn't do that. And we can balance the budget and keep our common commitments, keep our village responsibilities, if you will, and keep on building that bridge. That's what we have to do.

We ought to give people a tax cut, but it ought to be a tax cut that can be afforded, and it ought to be focused on the biggest challenges people face, childrearing, education, heath care, homebuying. And when people sell their homes they shouldn't have to pay taxes on the gain, because often it's the only savings they have in their whole lives. So those are the things that we ought to do, and we can afford that. But we ought not to have a tax cut we cannot afford and claim we're going to be able to pay for it. That's wrong.

Think how hard we have worked. Do you know when the last time an administration reduced the deficit in all 4 years was? John Tyler, in the 1840's. [*Laughter*] Of course, thank goodness most of my predecessors didn't have to do it because we didn't have this problem. We would have a surplus today in the budget, and we could invest more in education, more in technology, more in the future, more in high-speed rail, more in all kinds of things that we need to be doing in this country, more in helping the cities to rebuild their infrastructure, their water systems, their sewer systems, their roads, their streets, their bridges. We could do all that if it weren't for the interest we're paying today just on the debt run up in the 12 years before I took office. We do not need to go back down that road. We need to keep going down the road we're on and building this economy and growing it.

And this must be seen as a mainstream, middle-class, working American's issue. It should be seen as a poor person's issue as well as an issue for investors. Bringing the deficit down keeps interest rates down. Most of us in this room are in an income group where we can make a lot of money if interest rates go up. We can figure out how to do it. But if interest rates go up, it means higher credit card rates, higher car payments, higher house payments. And for small-business people it means higher loan rates, which means a lower rate of job creation, less productivity, less income, and less ability to raise the wages of ordinary Americans. We are better off with low interest rates and high growth so that everyone can participate at every income level in the growth of the country. And we have to keep fighting for it.

We have to continue to do a lot of other things. And you've heard me outline it all, but I want to hammer home one thing in some detail: We have got to continue to work to give every single child a world-class education. And we now have the means to do it that we didn't have before.

The first computer was built right here 50 years ago. Now it's typical; you find computers in classrooms all over the country. But what I want for this country is to have every classroom and every library and every school in America, including the poorest inner-city schools, have not only computers and good educational software and trained teachers—we had 100,000 teachers training a half a million more just this past summer to make sure that the teachers could keep up with the kids on the computers, so I want that. But in addition to that, we've got to hook all these computers up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web.

Now, what does that mean? That means that we have a chance for the first time in the entire history of the United States—this has never been true before—in the history of the United States to see that the children in the most remote rural schools, in the poorest urban classrooms have access to the same information at the same level of quality in the same time and the same way as the kids in the wealthiest, best schools, public or private, in America do. That will revolutionize education if we can do that. That's why it is so important to connect our classrooms to the information superhighway to the year 2000. It is truly a democratic educational opportunity.

And it's very important that we make college available to everybody that wants to go. Now, we've done a lot on that. We've increased loans to needy students. We passed the direct loan program, which cut the cost of college loans and improved the repayment terms and said nobody could be asked to pay more than a certain

percentage of their income when they borrow money. So no young person should ever be discouraged from going. We've got 50,000 young people who served in AmeriCorps and earned money for college. But we can do more.

And I propose three things: Number one, let families with incomes up to $100,000 take out more in IRA's and then take it out tax-free to pay for a college education or a first-time home or a medical emergency.

Number two, let families—try to make community college education, at least 2 years of education after high school as universal as high school is in the next 4 years by simply saying that you can take off your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the average, the typical tuition cost at a community college in the United States, just a strict tax credit for the cost of tuition for 2 years.

And number three, give everybody a deduction of up to $10,000 for the cost of any college tuition—any kind, undergraduate, postgraduate, anything else. Now, we can pay for that. You think, in the 1980's and early nineties, college tuition was the only thing in the market basket of a family's essential costs that went up more rapidly than health care, the only thing. And if you've had more than one kid in college, you know that. Maybe if you just had one you know it. [*Laughter*] So this is very important.

The last one I want to make that's especially relevant to the cities is this: This city and this State has new—and all of you as private sector people, those of you in the private sector—have new and profound responsibilities under the welfare reform law. And let me just state again, because there's been a lot of talk about this and a lot of confusion: We have reduced the welfare rolls by almost 2 million, 1.8 million. We did it by basically giving States who often gave cities the flexibility to devise new systems to move people from welfare to work. We also did it by increasing child support collections by $3 billion, by 40 percent. So the new bill gives us more authority to collect more child support. Eight hundred thousand people could be moved off the rolls tomorrow if people just paid the child support they legally owed. That's staggering, isn't it? Eight hundred thousand women and children.

But the new bill says, here's the new deal, the National Government will continue to guarantee to poor people and their children health care, nutrition, and if they go to work, even more in child care than ever before. What used to be the federally guaranteed check for income, which was a combination of Federal and State money, will now go to the States, and the States have 2 years to convert the income check into a paycheck if the welfare recipient is able-bodied. Now, they can do a lot of things, but it's going to be a real challenge.

I was just in Kansas City where I gave them permission 2 years ago to try something I've been begging everybody else to try. In Kansas City they established a full employment council, the whole business community, all the churches, all the social groups, work groups, all the adult educators, everybody gets together, they're all represented. And let's say you've got 10 employees; if you will hire an 11th one, they'll give you the welfare check for 4 years. Therefore, it costs you less to hire the employee. But they understand in return for that, you're taking responsibility to train, to make sure that the employee is able to succeed at home and take care of the kids as well as come to work, and to try to end the almost physical isolation of half the welfare caseload.

Half the welfare folks, the system now works fine; they just get off as quick as they can and go back to work. But half of these folks have been physically isolated in dependence for too long. This will only work—I will say it again—this will only work if you believe it takes a village, if you think you have got a responsibility.

Because now, anybody that ever cussed out the present welfare system has nothing left to kick around. This is now everybody's problem, and everybody's opportunity, and everybody can play a role in it. So every community of any size that has any substantial group of children and parents on the welfare rolls now has the opportunity, literally, to explode the myth of poverty, break the culture of poverty, and bring huge numbers of people back into the mainstream. It will only work if people say, "You know, I could do that. I could hire one other person, especially if they can give me that, and I can train those folks. And if you subsidize the training in that way—well, if there's a few problems getting people adjusted to the work force, well, so what, I'm getting a little help to do that, so it's not the end of the world."

Every one of you needs to think about that. That's a big challenge for Philadelphia and a big challenge for America. But if we meet it, if we meet it, if we can prove that we've got

a community-based, caring, work-oriented, child-oriented system for poor families, we can take care of our children, liberate their parents from their difficulties, and prove that all of the myths that a lot of people have used to kick poor people around for years are wrong, by taking responsibility for developing a system that is oriented toward success at home and success at work. That's what we want for all the rest of us. That's what we should want for those folks, too. And I hope you will help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

This is a good time to be an American because we know things are going better than they were. We know things are going in the right direction. But this is no time for complacency, no time for complacency in the political campaign. Believe me, it is not over; in some ways it may be just about to begin. It is not over. But most importantly, this is no time for complacency for us as Americans. We have work to do. We have work to do to get to the 21st century with the American dream alive for all, with an America that's coming together, with an America that's still able to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity. But if we do, our best days are still to come.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:21 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Warwick Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee; Thomas A. Leonard, fundraiser for the Democratic National Committee; and Mayor Edward Rendell of Philadelphia.

Statement on Signing Legislation on Most-Favored-Nation Trade Status for Cambodia

September 25, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 1642, a bill to extend most-favored-nation (MFN) status to Cambodia after a bilateral trade agreement between the United States and Cambodia has entered into force.

This legislation is an important milestone in U.S.-Cambodian relations. The United States was a major supporter of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), a peacekeeping success that led to free and fair elections in 1993 and the establishment of the Royal Government of Cambodia. The United States supports efforts in Cambodia to strengthen democratic institutions, promote human rights, and foster economic development.

Most-favored-nation status will make it possible for Cambodia's private sector to realize its full development potential and will further improve the access American firms enjoy in Cambodia. United States export financing programs now will be able to go forward to the extent possible under the criteria established by relevant governing statutes. MFN will open the door to significant future opportunities as Cambodia seeks to join the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and takes steps to integrate itself into the dynamic regional economy of Southeast Asia.

My approval of this legislation reflects the strong U.S. support for the people of Cambodia in their efforts to overcome a tragic past and establish a democracy based on human rights and market economy reforms.

While I recognize that the process of democratization and development in Cambodia has not been easy, I believe MFN status will make an important contribution to achieving our policy goals for a peaceful, prosperous, and free Cambodia. I am confident that with the support of the international community, Cambodia will continue to make progress and strengthen its efforts at economic reform and greater protection of human rights.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

September 25, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 1642, approved September 25, was assigned Public Law No. 104–203.

Remarks at the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute Dinner

September 25, 1996

Thank you. Thank you so much. Well, I thought I had had a long day in Pennsylvania. [*Laughter*] I went to Pittsburgh and to Robert Morris College. Robert Morris was one of the main financiers of the American Revolution, and he quit the Continental Congress in 1778 because he thought they were printing too much hot money. I guess he would have quit the Congress in the 12 years the other folks were making economic policy. [*Laughter*]

I announced there, with Secretary Rubin, a new savings instrument for the American people, a bond that will appreciate with inflation, an inflation-proof savings bond that the American people will be able to buy from now on, so that families that are trying to save for their children's education or their retirement will always know that inflation will not eat up the value of a secure Government investment. I'm very proud of that; it was a good day.

I went then to Philadelphia, and I went down to the south side to eat a Philly cheesesteak; a lot of you have done that. And all the people were gathering in the neighborhood, and I met a lady who had just been in our country for 3 months. She had moved here from Hong Kong and she introduced me to her children and she said, "I can't believe this happens in America." I said, "Well, ma'am, that's the way it works here. I work for you, not the other way around." [*Laughter*] And she was pretty happy about that, and I was glad to see it.

So then I went to two events there and came home just in time to put on my uniform so I could come and be with you. [*Laughter*] I thank you, Ed Pastor, for your leadership. I thank all the members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus for their service to our country. Thank you, Rita Elizondo, for your leadership with the Caucus Institute; the Institute Fellows, thank you for your support. John Quinones, I wish I had heard you; you're probably better at this than I am. To the members of my Cabinet who are here and the members of our administration in every facet of it, I thank you for your service and for being here.

I would like to say a special word of thanks to my longtime friend Congressman Kika de la Garza. I heard the last of his remarks outside, and I loved it. I wish I had heard the whole thing. He is a wonderful man, much loved and much respected. He will be much missed, and we wish him well and thank him for his remarkable service.

As Ed said, this is the 4th year you have invited me and the 4th year I've showed up. You know, by this time of the year I'm normally pretty tired, even when it's not an election year. I come here out of purely selfish motives. There is more energy in this room than any other place I go all year long and you get me going, you know. As all of you know, I have been trying to sort of improve my Spanish as my daughter races off into the sunset of increasing fluency, and I try to demonstrate that every year. And it was suggested that I try to do something different this year, that maybe I should do the macarena, but Al Gore has a corner on that. I can't begin to move in the way he does doing that. So how about this: *Siempre es un placer estar con ustedes.*

Now, tomorrow I will get a grade on this from Bill Richardson. I hope the others will be more gracious.

This is the 19th anniversary of the Caucus Institute. You have worked to do some profoundly important things. You have worked to demonstrate what I have been working for in America, opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community that truly includes all of us. For the last few weeks I've had the extraordinary opportunity to get out and around our country again. Hillary and Al and Tipper and I have traveled by rail, by bus; we've gone all over America. We've asked people everywhere to help us build the bridge to the 21st century. And frankly, I have been overwhelmed by the hope, the conviction, the energy, the determination that I see in the faces of people.

We were in Seattle not very long ago, in the rain. And I know it always rains in Washington, but 35,000 people waited, some of them up to 4 hours, in the rain to say they wanted to build a bridge to the 21st century that we could all walk across. They did not think that we should walk away from one another, and

they believed it does take a village to raise a child and build a country.

Now, that's a far cry from where we were 4 years ago. We had high unemployment, the slowest job growth since the Great Depression, stagnant wages, rising crime, increasing cynicism among our people, and evidence of division that was truly troubling. Washington had been caught up for too long, in my view, in asking who's to blame and too shortly—had spent too little time in asking the question that I always ask everybody when they bring me a problem. I ask, "Well, what are we going to do about it?" That's important: What are we going to do? Not who can we blame, not how can we divide the American people for our political advantage, but how can we come together and meet our challenges, advance our values, and give our children a better future.

Well, we've been working at that for 4 years now, and we've gotten some pretty good results. If you look at them, they're hard to dispute. In the last 4 years we've got 10½ million new jobs. In the last 4 years we have record numbers of new small businesses. We have record numbers of new businesses owned by all kinds of minorities and women. We have an astonishing growth in homeownership; it's at a 15-year high. The combined rates of home mortgages, unemployment, and inflation are at a 28-year low.

Of the 10½ million new jobs, 1½ million of those jobholders were Hispanic-American. Crime has gone down in this country 4 years in a row. The welfare rolls are down by nearly 2 million. Child support collections are up 40 percent, about $3 billion. Twelve million Americans have been able to take some time off under the family and medical leave law when a baby is born or a parent is sick.

Under the increase which the Congress voted in 1993 in the earned-income tax credit, 15 million working families have been given a tax cut. It's worth about $1,000 in lower taxes to a family of four with an income of less than $28,000, and that's most Hispanic families in the United States. And that's one big reason that the welfare rolls are down, because we're making work pay. On October 1st, 10 million more Americans will get a pay raise when the minimum wage increase goes into effect.

In addition to that, we have moved hard to help small businesses where most of the new jobs are being created. Every small business in America is now eligible for a substantial tax cut when they spend more money to invest in their business, to become more productive or hire new people. People who are self-employed are now getting a bigger tax deduction on their health insurance premiums. And we've made it a lot easier for people in small business to take out pensions for themselves and their employees and then to take those pensions from job to job.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum bill says to 25 million Americans you can't be denied health insurance anymore just because you changed jobs or because someone in your family has been sick—a very important advance. And I'm very pleased that at the end of this session of Congress we finally were able to get an agreement that new mothers and their newborns should not be thrown out of the hospital before the doctor says that they are ready to leave.

We're breathing cleaner air. Our food standards have been improved. We've shut down more toxic waste dumps in the last 3 years than the previous administration did in the last 12—the last two. Our deficit has gone down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War. That's the good news. Do you want the bad news? The President who did that was John Tyler, and John Tyler did not win reelection. [*Laughter*] But it was still a good thing to do, and it's too bad it's been 150 years since it happened. And we're better off because that means lower interest rates. It means lower interest rates on your car payments, your house payments, your credit card payments, lower interest rates for business people who borrow money to invest and grow the American economy.

Clearly, if you look at all the evidence we are moving in the right direction, and we need to keep right on going in that direction.

In addition to the 1½ million new jobs for Hispanic-Americans, more than 220,000 of those new businesses are owned by Hispanics. The unemployment rate has gone down to single digits for the first time in a long time for Hispanics, wages are on the rise. We are clearly moving in the right direction.

Now, one reason I believe that we've been able to do these things is that I have done my best to create, as Ed alluded to, a real partnership that includes everybody in America who's willing to work with us for the common good. I was rather surprised when I came to Washington that I was attacked even by some people who claim to be progressive, for making

an honest effort to put together an administration that looked like America. I said that I would never sacrifice quality. I said I believe we could have excellence and diversity, but I thought it was worth taking a little time to have both because I thought we would be more effective.

If you look at our judicial appointments, which includes a record number of Hispanics, a record number of women, a record number of other minorities, those judicial appointments as a group have the highest ratings from the American Bar Association of any Presidencies since they have been doing the ratings. You can have excellence and diversity.

It's also important that we recognize that in our policymaking and in our politics we have people involved. You know that this room is full of members of my administration. I mentioned them before, but I want you to know that I'm proud of each and every one of them. Their voices are heard, their work is legendary, and they have made a difference for you and for all the American people. I am proud of them.

I'd also like to thank the Hispanic-Americans who are in our campaign—Linda Chavez-Thompson, the highest ranking Hispanic in organized labor, our honorary chair; Ray Martinez, who's left the White House to go work in our reelection; and Mickey Ibarra, who's serving as a senior adviser, my senior Hispanic in the campaign.

I'd like to make another announcement tonight. Our campaign, as all campaigns do, has to have certain funds accumulated which we have to save for other purposes later. We have decided to deposit $5 million equally among four minority-owned banks, two Hispanic banks and two African-American banks. One is the largest Hispanic-owned commercial bank in our country, the International Bank of Commerce in Laredo. The other is the Banco Popularo of Puerto Rico, which has a branch in New York.

The $1¼ million going to each bank will help them to support inner-city development; it will stimulate growth in other investment. It means job stability and new life for their communities. This is the first time, I was surprised to learn, that any national campaign has made this kind of commitment to any minority-owned bank, and I think it is a very good thing to do.

Ed was saying when he introduced me that we've done a lot of good things together, but that is in the past. I didn't like quite the tone of it, but I don't think he meant it that way, do you? [*Laughter*] But it reminded me of a story once. When I was running for reelection as Governor of my home State in 1984, I went through a litany of things that I had done as Governor, just kind of like I just did with you. And all I said—and frankly, I thought it was a great speech—I was out in the country giving this speech on a country crossroads, and there was a man in overalls in the mountains of North Arkansas, in the Ozarks, leaning up against a tree—he'd always supported me—listening to this speech. I mean, I thought it was really great. I thought I was terrific.

So after it was over I went up to him, and I said, "Well, what do you think." He said, "Well, that's a pretty good speech." He said, "I heard all that about what a good job you did. But," he said, "now, after all, that is what we hired you to do, and you did draw a paycheck every 2 weeks." [*Laughter*] He said, "This election is about what you're going to do if we give you a new contract, not what you did before." And in truth, that is what this election is about. And my record and the record of all those others who are running for office is really relevant only as an indication of what we will do in the future and whether our general view of the direction for our country is right or wrong.

I believe that this is a profoundly important election because we will decide whether to validate my view, which is that what we ought to be doing is breaking out of the old stale debates that paralyze politics up here too long and being really committed to finishing the work of building that bridge, so that every American has the opportunity to make the most of his or her life; so that we are growing together, instead of coming apart, we're beating the odds in the rest of the world consumed by ethnic and religious and tribal and racial hatreds. We're going to say, "No, in America we're going to be together. We're going to make a virtue of our diversity and wear it like a badge of honor and a cloak of pride."

But to do that we have to decide: Are we going to build a bridge to the future or try to build a bridge to the past? Is it going to be a big, wide bridge strong enough for everybody to walk across and strong enough to stay up so that all of our kids and grandkids can walk across it after us? And are we going to

build it together? Do we think it takes a village, or do we think you are better off on your own? Is the Government inherently bad and part of the problem and totally irrelevant to this modern, high-tech entrepreneurial world, or is the Government inherently neither good or bad, simply the servant of the people that has a role to play but not the only role in the partnerships that we have to create? These are the questions we must face in this election.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that will keep this economy growing until everybody has a chance to live up to the fullest of their abilities. That means a lot of things. It means, yes, we have to go on and balance the budget because that will keep interest rates down and that will help you to grow, those of you in the private sector to grow this country. But it means we have to do it in a way that honors our obligations to our parents and our children, to those who through no fault of their own need our help and will do better, and so will we, if they get a little of our help. We have to honor our obligations to the environment and to our future. We have to invest in education and in research and technology.

And if we walk away from those things, we will pay a terrible price, and no one will do as well as all of us will if we work together.

Can we have tax cuts? Yes, we can, but they ought to be targeted to the people who need them and to the places that will do the most good, to childrearing, to paying for college education, to helping people pay for health care or to buy a first-time home or not imposing taxes on the gain people have when they sell their homes because that's the only savings a lot of families have. We can pay for those things and balance the budget and protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. That's the right direction for the future, and that's the way to build a bridge we can all walk across.

We also have to commit ourselves to the proposition that in the modern world education is more important even than it was for us and our parents, that our children will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet, that many of them will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet. And so it is unacceptable that 40 percent of our third graders cannot read on their own. That's why I have a plan to mobilize an army, literally an army, of reading tutors to work with teachers and schools and with parents so that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." That is terribly important.

We must also understand that technology, if we use it right, offers us an opportunity to democratize educational opportunity and educational excellence in ways that were never before attainable. If we achieve the goal that the Vice President and I have set out, to hook up every classroom and every library not only with computers and software and trained teachers but to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, to all these interlocking networks of information, if we do that by the year 2000, then for the first time in American history the children in the poorest, remotest school district in the mountains of my home State of Arkansas, the children in the poorest school districts in south Texas, the children in the poorest inner-city neighborhood will for the first time ever have access to the same information in the same way in the same time as the children in the wealthiest districts of the United States. It will explode opportunity in the United States if we do it.

And finally, we ought to build a bridge to the 21st century that says we're going to create education for a lifetime for everyone beginning with the proposition that everybody who's willing to work hard ought to be able to go to college, and we're going to make it available to every single person in this country.

We can do it pretty simply. Almost every American lives within driving distance of a community college. I want to say, "If you'll go get 2 years of education after high school, so that we can make that as universal in 4 years as a high school education is today, you can take the cost of a typical community college tuition right off your tax bill, dollar for dollar, a tax credit for 2 years to do that." That's paid for in our balanced budget plan.

I want to say you can save in an IRA and withdraw money from that IRA with no tax penalty at all if you're paying for a college education. And I believe we ought to let people deduct the cost of any education after high school for the tuition, up to $10,000 a year, for undergraduate school, graduate school, you name it, that money will pay itself back many times over.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where everybody has a chance to work. And I want to challenge every one of you now to

examine what your own responsibilities are under this new welfare reform law. Let me explain to you exactly what it says, and imagine what it means in a community where you live. The law says that the United States will continue to guarantee to poor families eligible for welfare health care, nutrition, and if the parent goes to work, more child care by far than ever before. But the monthly welfare check which used to go—which is part Federal money, part State money—which used to go direct to the recipient may still continue to do that, but now the States have to come up with a plan that will be community-based to move people who are able-bodied from the welfare check into a paycheck within 2 years.

Now, the only way this will work is if in every community in the country, employers and churches and nonprofits and educational institutions, as well as people involved in social work are actively involved in this.

I was just in Kansas City—let me just give you this example, because it's important, anybody can do this. Two years ago our administration gave the State of Missouri a waiver to try an experiment in Kansas City that I have been begging for years every place in America to do. Here's what they do in Kansas City. They say, "If you will hire a new employee—not a replacement but a new employee—from the welfare rolls, we'll give you the welfare check for up to 4 years as a wage supplement. And if you're a small-business person and you don't have a health care policy, we'll cover them with Medicaid for 4 years. And in that 4 years you have to pay them at least $6 an hour above the minimum wage, but let's say the welfare check is worth $2 an hour, or $2.50, you keep that, and that's what we pay you for helping us give those folks a new life, for training them, for investing in them, for dealing with people who may have never been in the workforce before and all the little problems that may mean, but we want you to give them a new chance."

I met a man running a business with 25 employees, 5 of his employees are people who came from the welfare rolls. He says they're all doing great. And when they leave, if they leave early, he can keep that position for up to 10 years if he'll keep bringing people onto the welfare rolls. Folks, if we do that in every community in the country and people like you sign up and say, "What can I do? This is now my problem. I'm tired of complaining about it. We have a responsibility to give people a future and the ability to support their children, and I will participate." We can solve this problem, and we'll have a community-based support system for poor families that is work-oriented and that does not isolate people. But we have to do it, and I am committed to helping the States and the cities create a million new jobs to solve that problem in the next 4 years, and I want to ask you to help.

Let me say, there's a lot more things that I could talk about. There are things we have to do in crime, things we have to do in the environment. We have health care challenges still to go. Our balanced budget plan helps people keep their health insurance when they're between jobs for 6 months—5 million people a year change jobs and are without health insurance for some time just because they're changing jobs and they're unemployed for several months. We have a lot more to do.

But the main thing I want to say to you is we have to decide whether we believe we have an obligation to work toward this future together. This is not about big Government. We have the smallest Government in Washington we've had since President Kennedy was here. And as a percentage of our workforce, it's the smallest it's been since Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office in 1933. That is a red herring. But we do need—we do need—a Government that can bring us together and help us to go forward together.

There are some things we cannot do on our own. We're building a supercomputer with IBM, and IBM is no tiny company, they needed us to help. It's a research project that will give us a supercomputer that—listen to this—will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Now, I don't know about you, but I think it's worth it, I want America to have the first one of those. And it means more jobs and more discoveries.

Every time we send a mission into space we learn something else about how the human body works and we learn something else about the Earth's environment that will help our children and our grandchildren create opportunity and live in a better world. The investments we have made in the last few years have reaped untold benefits. The average life expectancy of people with AIDS and HIV has more than doubled

in the last 4 years alone because of medical research and moving drugs to market faster.

A lot of you were very moved, as I was, I'm sure, by Christopher Reeve's wonderful speech at the Democratic Convention. At about the time he made that speech, just a few days before, for the first time in history laboratory animals whose spines had been severed had movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants. That's what research brings you.

So it is simply not true that we do not need to invest in our common future—whether it's education, the environment, health care, research, or technology. We do. It does take a village and we do have to build a bridge and that is the decision before the American people that I know you, the most family-oriented group in the United States, will help to make the right decision.

Let me also say a strong word of thanks to every Member of Congress here today that helped us to get that Gallegly provision out of the immigration bill. It was a great victory.

For the life of me, I could never understand why the leaders of the other party wanted to put that provision in and try to turn teachers into people who would be putting kids on the street—when every law enforcement agency, every education agency in the world said so. So we got it out of there. Oh, if it comes to my desk, it's history. But I don't think the Gallegly amendment will even pass now. I don't believe the Senate will vote for it. I believe when it's put up there, I doubt very seriously that the Senate will do that. But, anyway, for those of you that helped to get it out, I thank you.

Let me also say that I do believe we should have a tough, strong defense against people who violate our immigration laws, because it's unfair to people who wait in line to be legal immigrants. But I'm proud of the fact that this year, by the end of 1996, more than one million people will have become citizens by naturalization in one year. That is more than twice as many as last year. And I think one of the things that's happened here in this very ill-advised assault on legal immigrants, the people who have carried it on have made a lot more people interested in becoming citizens and exercising their right to vote and being heard and saying we don't appreciate people who try to divide the American people. And that is a very positive thing.

Let me just close with this thought: There's no country in the world better positioned for the 21st century than we are, in no small measure because of you. Our neighbors to the south, all the way to the tip of South America, are the second fastest growing region in the world. They're our trading partners, our friends, all but one of their countries is a democracy. If you think about how well America is positioned, what we have to do is to create the conditions in which we have opportunity and responsibility so we're making progress on our own challenges here at home. And then we have to beat this terrible thing that has bedeviled the rest of the world, this curse of the human spirit which makes whole groups of people believe that the only way they can exist and feel important is if they have some other group of people to look down on, to hate, to fight, to shoot.

Look at Bosnia, a small country where biologically the Croats, the Serbs, and the Muslims are indistinguishable. There is no true ethnic difference. They are in different groups because of accidents of political history. They lived together in peace and harmony for decades, and in no time at all they were killing each other's children. Now we've had peace for several months, nearly a year; now we've had elections. It's going to be a long road back for people that had, among other things, one of the most beautiful cities in the world in Sarajevo and were willing to throw it all away just so they could feel superior to somebody else.

Look at Northern Ireland, where they had a cease-fire for 15 months, and Hillary and I went over there and the Catholics and the Protestants lined the streets together and cheered. And people who did not have the patience for peace broke the cease-fire. Then others did things that were foolish. Now they're back to arguing about battles that occurred 600 years ago, that have nothing to do with the future of any Catholic or Protestant child in Northern Ireland.

Look at the Middle East, where every day we see both the exhilaration and the heartbreak that comes from the progress of peace and the shattering of hopes because they cannot lay down the things which have driven stakes in too many hearts. Some people say I overreact when a church is burned or a synagogue is defaced or an Islamic center is destroyed in this country. But what makes this country work is you don't have to be in any ethnic or racial

or religious group; all you have to do is say I believe in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, show up tomorrow, do the right thing, raise your kids, and you're part of our country. That is what is special about America.

And so, I understand there are difficult issues, and I understand when people are having a hard time economically they get frustrated. But that's why I fought to mend affirmative action instead of destroy it. That's why I stood against Proposition 187 in California and the CPRI, because I think we have to prove that America is different. And we're going to be given a chance to prove it.

Think how tragic it would be if having won the cold war for freedom, seeing the nuclear threat recede—I was so proud that America was the first country to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty yesterday at the United Nations, banning all nuclear testing forever. Think how tragic it would be if we did all that and then we saw the world consumed by terrorism, by weapons of mass destruction like biological and chemical weapons, by organized crime and drug gangs and all that, but all of it rooted in nations consumed by tribal, racial, ethnic, and religious hatred.

It does not have to be that way. We know better. We know better.

So all of us, but especially you, who have succeeded, who are articulate, who can pierce people's heart and get people's reasoning going, you've got to say one of the things that we have to say to ourselves and to the world in this season of democratic choosing is this is one country, we like our diversity, we are proud of it, and we are going to take it into the next century. All of us are going across that bridge because we know if we do that our best days are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 p.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Representative Ed Pastor, chair, Rita Elizondo, executive director, and Representative Bill Richardson, board of directors, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute; ABC newsman John Quinones, master of ceremonies; and actor Christopher Reeve.

Remarks on Signing the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997

September 26, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you, Tipper; thank you, ladies and gentlemen. To the Members of Congress who are here, all the advocates of the various profoundly important issues in this bill, thank you for being here.

This is truly a landmark day in our efforts to strengthen our families, our community, and our future. We have worked very hard here for 4 years to create in America a sense that there should be opportunity for everybody, responsibility from every citizen, and a strong sense of community. We should work together to help each other make the most of our own lives.

Today, with this legislation, we are truly upholding the basic American value of community. We're helping parents to care for their children, honoring those who have served our country in the military, encouraging our young people to serve in their communities, and living up to the duties we owe to one another. By ensuring 48-hour hospital stays for mothers and newborns, battling discrimination against mental illness, caring for children of veterans who suffer from a terrible disease, we affirm that we will do everything we can to strengthen our families and build a stronger future.

We also build a stronger future and a stronger community through service. I want to especially thank the Congress for reinforcing our national service initiative, AmeriCorps, in this bill. It helps young people earn their way through college, makes our streets safer, cleans our environment, and soon, with even greater focus, our AmeriCorps volunteers will be working with parents and teachers to make sure all of our young children can read.

We build a stronger community when we keep our environment clean and safe. This legislation gives the Environmental Protection Agency the resources to protect our air and water, to carry forward our brownfields urban toxic waste initiative, to build on our record pace of toxic waste cleanups, to see to it that our children live near parks, not poison. We will continue to seek additional resources for these and a few other areas in our ongoing budget negotiations.

We also build a stronger America when we invest and create jobs anywhere in our country. This bill will expand the community development banks that help to start businesses in poor neighborhoods. They have worked all over the world; they have worked in America; they can work to bring free enterprise opportunity to people who have been denied it for too long.

The bill allows the Department of Housing and Urban Development to accelerate the demolition of the Nation's worst public housing projects, as well, and to replace them with more livable housing. It gives HUD the tools to evict gang members and drug dealers so that public housing is available only to those who are law-abiding citizens of our country. And I want to thank Secretary Cisneros for his historic efforts in all these areas as well as in battling the homelessness problem in our country. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

This bill reinforces our American community by enabling the Federal Emergency Management Agency to do its job for people in tough times. It helps us to chart new horizons by enabling NASA to continue the work of space exploration. It helps our families to grow stronger as well by requiring better access to health care.

We are making progress on that front, as we all know. Last month I was pleased to sign here the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill which guarantees that Americans do not lose their coverage if someone in their family has been sick or if they change jobs. This bill goes further. As has been said, it does end drive-through deliveries. Parents may rush to the hospital, but they shouldn't be rushed out of it unless it's the medically right thing to do for the parent and the child.

This law is common sense and now it will be the law of the land. I want to thank Congress for passing this important legislation. I thank, especially, Senator Bradley and Senator Frist; I thank Congressman Dingell and the other Members of the House who were involved in this important effort.

The second thing this bill does is to require insurance companies to set the same annual and lifetime coverage limits for mental illness that now apply to physical illness. No more double standards; it's time that law and insurance practices caught up with science.

I think that the last statement Tipper Gore made in many ways is the most important. I am convinced that the more we deal with this issue, the more we will come to see all kinds of medical problems as part of a seamless web, not easily divisible into mental and physical categories. The more we learn, the more we will know that.

Today, we try to bring our institutional response to those challenges up to what we now know and what we also know is morally right. I want to thank Tipper Gore for her passionate, persistent, unrelenting advocacy of this position to the President and others. When I walked up here—you know, there's always a marked contrast when you see someone happy and you see someone sad. I know no one in whom the contrast is more marked. I would do anything to see Tipper Gore as happy as she was today. [*Laughter*] She has fought for all of you who believe in this position.

I would also like to say a very personal word of thanks for the quiet and courageous dignity with which Senator Domenici and Senator Wellstone have brought to bear their own life's experience on this great endeavor. They have made a profound impact on me and on their colleagues and on our country at some considerable effort to themselves, and I thank them very much for it. Thank you.

Finally, I am very, very proud that this legislation will protect the families of Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange, for too many of these brave soldiers have suffered illness as a result of their service, and now we know that, for many of them, the health effects were also passed along to their children. That is more than anyone can ask in terms of service to nation.

This legislation says that the children of those veterans exposed to Agent Orange who have the birth defect known as spina bifida will receive health care and rehabilitation under our disability system. The children of our soldiers should not have to suffer for the sacrifice of their parents. I want to thank all the Senators

who are here who worked so hard on this. I want to thank Representative Lane Evans of Illinois and Senators Daschle and Rockefeller, who were also active in that endeavor.

This is a very good thing we do today, but it is long overdue. And I thank the representatives of all the veterans' groups who are here today as well for their service and their persistence in this matter. This legislation proves that we can make progress when we all put politics aside and join across party lines to get the job done for our country.

Before I sign the bill into law, I want to give you some more good news that proves if we all work for opportunity, responsibility, and a stronger American community, we'll be a better country.

Just before I came out here this morning, the annual census study of incomes for 1995 was released. The news is remarkably good, and I'd like to share it with you. In one year, median household income was up $898 after inflation. That's the biggest increase in a decade. Over the last 2 years, the typical American family has seen its income rise $1,600 over inflation. After two decades of increasing inequality, these gains were finally shared by people at every income level for the second year in a row. We have had the largest decline in the inequality of incomes in America in 27 years.

There are also 1.6 million fewer people in poverty. That is also the biggest drop in 27 years. Poverty among elderly Americans has fallen to its lowest level in history. Poverty among African-Americans has fallen to its lowest level in history. With 10½ million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 7½ years, a 60 percent reduction in the deficit, the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and mortgage rates in nearly three decades, it is clear that we are moving on the right track.

Today it is clear that more and more of our people are sharing in that prosperity. We are growing and growing together, and I am convinced that for us to keep the American dream alive into the 21st century for all Americans, we must grow and grow together. That, too, is good news for our American community.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, let me say again, I thank all of you who are responsible for this legislation. I thank all the hard-working Americans, the business leaders, the labor leaders, the working people of this country. I thank our economic team and others who have worked to construct an economic direction for America that will permit us to grow together. This is a good day for our country.

If we keep our economy strong, if we educate our young people, if we protect our environment, and if we fulfill our responsibilities to one another, then we will build that bridge to the 21st century I've been talking about, and our best days are still ahead. No one who heard what was said today and saw these families and looked at these Members of Congress standing together and working together for America's benefit could be anything but optimistic about that future.

It is now my honor to sign this legislation. And I'd like to ask the Members and the families who are here to join us up here on the platform so we can sign the bill.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:25 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. H.R. 3666, approved September 26, was assigned Public Law No. 104–204.

Statement on Signing the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997

September 26, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3666, the "Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, FY 1997."

The Act provides funding for the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the National Aero-

nautics and Space Administration, the National Science Foundation, and several other agencies. This Act will fund vital environmental, veterans, housing, community development, science, and space programs.

I am pleased that the Congress has responded to my call to include three bipartisan provisions aimed at eliminating a range of health care crises that thousands of Americans face every year. These include: a mental health parity provision that prohibits health plans from establishing separate lifetime and annual limits for mental health; the Newborns' and Mothers' Health Protection Act of 1996 that requires health insurers to let all new mothers and their babies stay in the hospital for at least 48 hours following normal deliveries; and my proposal to assist the children of Vietnam veterans who are born with the birth defect, spina bifida.

The Act provides funding for a number of my high-priority investment proposals, including the Corporation for National and Community Service and the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) fund. The National Service initiative gives young people an opportunity to obtain funding for a college education while serving the country in areas of great need, such as education, environment, public safety, and human services. If Congress had provided my request, an additional 6,000 young Americans would have had the opportunity to help their community through AmeriCorps. Funding for CDFI will increase the flow of capital to distressed neighborhoods and their currently underserved, low-income residents, and provide financing for neighborhood redevelopment and revitalization efforts.

The Act provides $6.7 billion for the EPA, or 4.5 percent less than my request and will enable the EPA to adequately enforce our environmental laws and provide for the continued cleanup of hazardous waste sites.

I am, however, concerned about the levels provided for EPA's important implementation of the recently enacted safe drinking water and food quality legislation, continued progress on the U.S. global climate change Action Plan, Montreal Protocol efforts to prevent ozone layer depletion, and Boston Harbor clean-up. I will continue to press the Congress to provide more adequate funding levels for these and other important priorities as my Administration negotiates with the Congress over an omnibus appropriations bill to resolve remaining fiscal 1997 funding issues.

The Act extends several expiring provisions of last year's bill that are critical to HUD's ability to continue its activities, including demolishing and replacing the worst public housing, supporting movement from dependency to work, and streamlining low-income housing assistance and FHA mortgage insurance programs. The bill also provides the tools necessary to reduce the costs of section 8 renewals for FHA-insured properties, and fully funds my request for the Housing Opportunities for Persons With Aids program.

I am pleased that the bill continues to support States and cities through HUD's key economic development programs—Community Development Block Grants, and the Home Investment Partnerships program. Funding provided for the Youthbuild program will help at-risk youth learn valuable skills, that will enable them to gain employment and break the cycle of poverty. The bill also provides needed capital and operating funds to support the sound operation of over one million public housing apartments.

The Act fully funds my request for the medical care of this Nation's veterans and includes incremental funding for a VA hospital at Travis Air Force Base in Fairfield, California. I am, however, disappointed that the bill does not provide necessary funding for an additional hospital in Brevard County, Florida.

The bill fully funds the Space Station program, and includes needed buyout authority for NASA as it moves to restructure itself for the future.

I am concerned, however, that the bill does not provide funding for NASA's or EPA's contribution to the innovative GLOBE program. This unwarranted change of direction will adversely impact thousands of teachers and students in 2,000 U.S. schools and in 35 other countries who have invested their resources, time, and energy in this valuable program. I plan to press the Congress to include funding for GLOBE in the omnibus 1997 funding bill that my Administration is negotiating with the Congress.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 26, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3666, approved September 26, was assigned Public Law No. 104–204.

Remarks on the Middle East and an Exchange With Reporters
September 26, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. I'd like to say a few words about the situation in the Middle East. I deeply regret the injuries and the loss of life we've seen in the West Bank and Gaza in the last few days. It points to the urgency for both sides not only to end the violence but to take positive steps to resolve the issues that divide them.

Over the past 24 hours we have been in constant touch with the Israelis and the Palestinians. Our message to them is this: It is in everyone's interest to resolve their differences peacefully, to work together on security, and to avoid any actions that could make progress on the peace between Israelis and Palestinians more difficult.

The events of the past 2 days stand out precisely because we have made so much progress toward peace in these past few years. Violence was becoming the exception, not the rule. The overwhelming majority of Israelis and Palestinians want peace, and they have been doing the hard work to build it.

So again, let me say: I ask both sides to end this violence, to get back to the business of peace, to implement the agreements they've reached, to resolve their differences through negotiations.

Q. Mr. President, are the Israelis wrong to open this tunnel? It seems like to some people it may have been really a provocation.

The President. Let me say, I have said repeatedly, and I would like to just repeat what I have said consistently: I think that all the parties should avoid any actions which are likely to undermine the progress of the peace. And now, the important thing is to end the violence and to get back to implementing those peace agreements.

Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, Cable News Network].

Q. Do you think, Mr. President, the Israelis should seal up that tunnel since that seems to have started this chain of events?

The President. What I think is, they need to end the violence, and they need to discuss these matters between them, and they need to ask themselves, all of them do: What can we do to avoid unnecessarily provocative actions?

Let me also say to you that in a larger sense, what is important is that some progress be made on the issues that are the subject of the agreement. Now, we were supposed to have talks begin again this week to resolve those larger issues, and I had hoped that those talks—and I had some indication, some reason to believe that those talks could lead to some concrete progress which would diminish these tensions instead of seeing them aggravated.

So all I can tell you today is, I hope again that everyone will heed our position, which is to do nothing that will provoke a disruption and instead to get back to the talks and to the business of resolving the differences.

Q. Mr. President, have you spoken with Chairman Arafat or Prime Minister Netanyahu, and what have they told you?

The President. Secretary Christopher has talked with Prime Minister Netanyahu more than once, and we have been in touch several times with Chairman Arafat through the channels that we always use, through our team there, to talk with him, and I have had extensive and regular reports over the last 2 days about this.

So we are working with them, and we are working with them to try to work this out to restore order and peace, and then to get on with the talks. We are prepared to do anything we can that will be of assistance, and I've made that clear, that I personally was prepared to do anything I could. The Secretary of State has worked hard on this. He's done a fine job as always in these matters. And I've been kept completely informed by him of everything that is going on. So, we're working hard.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any plans to talk with Prime Minister Netanyahu today?

The President. You know, he was in Europe, and he cut his trip short to go back to the Middle East, which I think was a very good thing for him to do. And when I come back from the Hill today, I'm going to get another

update, and then we'll make a decision about what's the most helpful thing I can do. I'm certainly prepared to put in whatever time and effort I can on this to be a constructive force. That's the most important thing.

Thanks.

Q. Have you offered to send a U.S. delegation over there if that's necessary, sir?

The President. Well, I think—let me just say—I would say on that—let me give you the same answer I did before to the other question. I'm going to be guided very heavily by Secretary Christopher's advice on that.

We are watching these events as they unfold, trying to keep up with them, trying to do what we can to have a constructive impact. And after I talk to him, if he believes that's the right thing to do, then that's something I would consider. But I do not—I want to do what will be constructive. I do not want to do anything that will not be helpful.

So, we're going to talk again today and see where we are and then see what the next step should be.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:45 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House, prior to his departure for Capitol Hill. In his remarks, he referred to Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel.

Remarks on the Legislative Accomplishments of the 104th Congress and an Exchange With Reporters

September 26, 1996

The President. Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President. Let me join the Vice President in thanking Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt for their strong leadership in this session of Congress. Here at the end we have had a real spate of positive legislation coming out: improving our environment through safe drinking water and the pesticide protection act; health care reform; reforms in the pension systems for people who work for small businesses; the raise in the minimum wage. This has been a remarkable, remarkable last few days, and these leaders have worked very hard to gather support for this legislation and to work in a constructive manner with those in the Republican majority.

But they have also done something else. They have protected Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, workers' pension funds, the earned-income tax credit for hard-working people and still continued to work toward a balanced budget, and I came here to thank them for that. I believe the American people want a Congress that will fight for the interests of working families, expand education opportunities, balance the budget in the right way and never, ever shut the Government down again. And I am committed to that; I know that they are.

Let me say that the strategy we have been pursuing for 4 years now is clearly working. The strategy of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community which includes all people who are willing to do their part is plainly working. We not only have 10½ million jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 7½ years, 4 years of declining deficits for the first time since before the Civil War so that now we've got a 60 percent reduction, but we saw the census numbers.

You heard the Vice President's headlines. Let me read you what today's headlines should be: Typical household income up $898 in 1995, after inflation; family income up over $1,600; since our economic plan passed the interest rates dropped and the economy started to grow. The largest decline in income inequality in 27 years—the largest decline in income inequality in 27 years; the largest decline in the number of Americans living in poverty in 27 years. These are remarkable turnarounds from a condition that many people thought was inevitable—from the American people growing apart, now we're growing together as we work together.

We had the biggest drop in the poverty rate in over a decade, the lowest poverty rates ever recorded for African-Americans and for senior citizens, the biggest drop in child poverty in

20 years and the biggest drop in poverty in female-headed households in 30 years. This country is on the right track, and we need to bear down and pursue that course.

And these leaders and their Members have helped us to do that, and for that I am very, very grateful.

Thank you.

Budget Negotiations

Q. Mr. President, in terms of the budget, do you feel like an 800-pound gorilla because Republicans have been seemingly willing to give you much of what you wanted, had no taste for a Government shutdown, a continuing resolution? Could you tell us what your feelings about that are?

The President. Well, I feel good about it, but that is the way that our Government has traditionally worked. We've gotten together, worked together, and made principled compromises, and we did make principled compromises here. And we're continuing to bring the deficit down and work toward a balanced budget. We must do that. I am for that.

And I am very gratified. I think the American people made it quite clear that they do not support the Government-shutdown way of governing America. They want us to work together, and I'm pleased by that.

Q. Are you satisfied with continuing resolutions?

The President. Well, we're still negotiating on that. I hope I will be. I'm satisfied with the process so far, but I haven't seen the product. So let me see the product before I tell you that.

Immigration Legislation

Q. Mr. President, are you willing to sign the congressional immigration report or in the conference report can still changes be made? What's your view?

The President. First of all, I'm gratified that we got the Gallegly amendment out of the immigration bill. I thought that was the right thing to do, certainly the right thing for children. Every law enforcement group in America supported our position. I feel good about it.

I want to withhold further comments on the immigration bill because it is a subject of intense negotiation now and they're working on how it might be resolved in the context of the continuing resolution and moving to get Congress out of town. So I don't want to say anything that will complicate the work that's being done. I hope some progress can be made there.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:14 p.m. at the Longworth House Office Building, following a meeting with Democratic congressional leaders.

Remarks in a Telephone Conversation With Astronaut Shannon Lucid

September 26, 1996

The President. Hello.

Ms. Lucid. Hello.

The President. Welcome home.

Ms. Lucid. Why, thank you so much. It's so kind of you to call.

The President. Well, we're all so proud of you. We've been watching you, and I couldn't believe you walked off the shuttle.

Ms. Lucid. Well, I'm just really proud to be an American, and I'm just really proud to be part of this cooperative program that we have going with the Russians. It was just a great mission. And I just had a great time.

The President. Well, it was wonderful. And as I said, the whole country followed you, but I appreciate what you said about the cooperation with Russia, too. It really sets the stage for the work on the international space station. And it's very, very important. And I believe the way you captured the public imagination will also help us to build long-term support for the space program.

Ms. Lucid. Well, I think so. Of course, I don't know from a political standpoint or from the big boss standpoint, but I just know from the people that are actually working, you know, like the Cosmonauts and the Astronauts working together, that this works out just great. They were just wonderful people to work with.

The President. Yes, they are good people, and we're making real progress in working with them, I think.

Ms. Lucid. I think so. And it couldn't have been a better experience. And I just thoroughly enjoyed working with the Cosmonauts.

The President. The other thing that I wanted to say was that—on behalf of my wife and daughter, is that you have been a terrific inspiration for young women around the country and all around the world. And I know as you get out and around and people get to congratulate you, you'll see that. But it's a wonderful thing for these young girls that may have nontraditional aspirations to see someone like you up there doing that.

Ms. Lucid. Well, thank you, sir. Yes, I just didn't really give a thought to that. It was just something that I'd always wanted to do. And I was just very glad that it worked out.

The President. Did you have a good reunion with your kids?

Ms. Lucid. I sure did. [*Laughter*] And they're here nagging me already.

The President. Did you get your M&M's I sent you?

Ms. Lucid. Oh, I sure did. I wanted to thank you first thing. That was so nice. They're already into them.

The President. That's good.

Ms. Lucid. That was so nice and so thoughtful of you. I really, really appreciate that.

The President. Thanks. I'm going down to Texas tomorrow, and I just got a note that said you might be there at the time I land in Houston. If so, I hope I get to see you.

Ms. Lucid. Oh, well, that would be very nice. I hope that works out. That would just be great.

The President. Me too. Well, congratulations. I know you want to go back to your family, but I just wanted to say hello. You've given us all a great deal to be proud of and a lot of thrills, and we're glad you're home safe and sound.

Ms. Lucid. Thank you very much, Mr. President. And it was very nice of you to call. I really appreciate that. Thank you so much.

The President. Bye-bye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:52 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Teleconference Remarks to the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

September 26, 1996

Thank you. I want you to save some of that energy for the next 5 weeks and 4 days; we need your help all the way. I thank you for your endorsement. Your support means a great deal to me. As you know, it is crucial to our victory. I wish I could be there with you to thank you in person, but I'm glad to have this opportunity to speak to you by satellite. You're out there in Chicago, a city that has always stood for the strength and drive of our working people, and a city that was awfully good to our Democrats just a couple of weeks ago.

I want to thank my good friend, your president, George Kourpias, for all of his hard work and support. George rode with me on the train to Chicago, and I enjoyed that very much, and I missed him on Labor Day. We usually spend that together, too. I'll see you soon, George.

I also want to thank Don Wharton, your secretary-treasurer, and the entire executive council of the IAM. You're all doing a great job. The International Association of Machinists has been going strong for 108 years now, and I congratulate you on your plans to unify IAM with two other great unions, the United Steel Workers and the United Auto Workers.

By the year 2000 when we start that new century, you will be the largest union in North America. And with leaders like George Kourpias, Steve Yokich, and George Becker, I don't have any doubt at all that soon you'll be the largest in the entire world.

I want to talk to you today for a few minutes about the choice our country is facing in just 40 days, a choice that will determine whether we build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past, whether we can build a bridge to

the 21st century that is strong enough and wide enough for every American to walk across.

Just 4 years ago, our economy was stalled with high unemployment, the slowest job growth since the Great Depression, a record budget deficit, stagnant wages, increasing inequality, rampant cynicism. Our workers were becoming more divided economically, and it seemed that Americans were working harder and harder just to keep up.

I took office with a simple strategy: Opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and bring us all together in a great American community again. That's America's basic bargain. We didn't ask who is to blame; instead, we asked what can we do. And our strategy has worked. Today, we have further evidence of just how well it is working.

According to the Census Bureau just today, we have had the largest decline in the last year in income inequality in 27 years, the largest decline in the number of Americans living in poverty in 27 years.

Since our economic plan passed, family incomes are up over $1,600. In the last year, after inflation, average incomes are up about $900. That's the biggest jump in a decade. Now, these are remarkable turnarounds from a condition that many people thought was inevitable, from America growing apart, to America growing together as we go forward together. And that's just today's news.

In the past 4 years, we've cut unemployment by a third to its lowest level in 7½ years. The combined rates of unemployment and inflation and home mortgages are the lowest in nearly 30 years. Our economy has produced 10½ million new jobs, 4.4 million new homeowners. We've cut the deficit by 60 percent, given 15 million of our hardest working American families a tax cut. And now we're going to help 25 million Americans get the quality health care access they need by saying, in the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, you can no longer have your insurance taken away from you when you move from job to job, and you can't be denied coverage simply because someone in your family has been sick.

The U.S. aerospace industry, which is so critical to our country and its future, is on the rebound in a big way. Last year, American aerospace companies captured a record 83 percent of the world market for large commercial aircraft. I am committed to supporting the aerospace industry and the hundreds of thousands of good jobs it produces. That's why our administration will continue to promote our aerospace industry and our exports all around the world, just the way the late Ron Brown and Secretary Mickey Kantor and I have done for the last 4 years.

I know that many of you have been affected by defense downsizing. That's why we've done what we could to ease the transition by developing new applications for defense technology and working to create employment opportunities for former defense workers. Over the past 4 years, we've also fought to protect our own values, the ones you and I share.

Yes, we do have to balance the budget; it keeps interest rates down and the economy growing. But when the Republican Congress tried to pass devastating cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, I stopped them. Then, they shut down the Government twice to try to force their cuts on the American people, and together, we said no again.

Because we want to strengthen families, we fought for the Family and Medical Leave Act. Because we honor our parents, we worked to secure the pensions of 40 million working and already retired people. And we stopped the Republicans from letting their corporations raid their workers' pension plans again in their budget. We learned our lesson in the eighties; we don't want to do that again.

And because we honor work and family, we were right to raise the minimum wage for 10 million American workers. Next Tuesday, because of that victory, those 10 million American workers will get their raise. It was a long and difficult fight, but when many of our hardest pressed citizens get a raise on Tuesday, I know you will agree it was worth it.

And I want to pay a special word of tribute to the IAM and to the labor movement in general for its fight for this increase. I know your members don't earn the minimum wage, but you fought for it, anyway, because you know how important it is for people who are working hard to support their children and to be productive citizens and to stay off welfare, to be able to be rewarded and to have dignity in their work. So I thank you; you did a great thing for our country.

We all know that America is on the right track to the 21st century, but we've got more to do. I want to build a bridge to the next century where every American family has a

chance to benefit from the growing economy, a chance to succeed at home with their children, and to succeed at work.

We should expand the Family and Medical Leave Act to give parents a little time off to take their children to the doctor and to parent-teacher conferences. We ought to make the first 2 years of college as universal as high school is today by giving families tax cuts to pay for college tuition. I know that will help a lot of you.

I've proposed a $1,500 tax credit for tuition, a dollar-for-dollar reduction from your tax bill, for the first 2 years of college. That's the typical cost of tuition at a community college. And I've proposed a $10,000 tax deduction for any tuition after high school for people of any age. We also want to expand IRA's so that families can save for college and then withdraw from the IRA, tax-free, to pay for those college costs or for a medical emergency or to buy a first home.

I also want to streamline the training programs that have been passed to benefit America's workers who are unemployed or underemployed. I've proposed a "GI bill" for America's workers that will tell every worker in America: If you lose your job or you're underemployed and you qualify for a Federal training program, we'll give you a skill grant worth up to $2,600 a year, and you figure out where you want to take it, to get the training you most need to go on to a better job. I don't want anybody left behind or stuck in this global economy; I want us to go forward together.

We also had a good day for health care here in the Nation's Capital. We said that there are not going to be any more drive-by deliveries, that insurance companies can't force mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital in just a day, in some cases up to 8 hours. We began to take some steps to provide some parity for families that have members with mental health problems, which I think is terribly important. And we said to the Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange and whose children, therefore, were born with the terrible disease of spina bifida, we're going to give you the support and the help you deserve. These things, plus Kennedy-Kassebaum, mean we're moving in the right direction.

Now, we've got to take the next step on health care. My balanced budget plan would provide for support for people who are between jobs so they can keep their health insurance for 6 months. That will help 5 million Americans a year, up to 700,000 children a year. And I know you're for that, and I ask you to keep working with me until we make sure that health care is accessible and affordable to all American working families.

Now, that's how we'll build our bridge to the 21st century, doing everything we can to strengthen and support working American families. Soon after I took office, I got rid of my predecessor's anti-worker, anti-union Executive orders. Our administration is pro-family, pro-worker, and pro-union. I strongly support collective bargaining. It is not a privilege, it's the right of all of our workers.

The recent resolution of the McDonnell-Douglas contract dispute at the bargaining table is a great example of why we have to preserve that right always. And we're glad to have you back at work. I want you to know I'll keep standing up for working Americans. Congress tried to make our workplaces less safe and company unions the law of the land, but I wouldn't let them. Congress tried to gut the National Labor Relations Board and undermine the prevailing wage laws, and I said no.

We can have a stronger economy without sacrificing workers' rights, workers' job security, and safe workplaces. And I will keep fighting to protect striking workers from being permanently replaced. I will also continue to use my veto pen to stop Republicans in Congress from attacking our working families and the unions that represent them. Our unequaled progress throughout the entire 20th century would simply not have been possible without the unions that helped to make it happen. I know I can count on you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

Our best days are still ahead of us, but we have to do everything we possibly can to make that promise real for all Americans. And as we do, we'll all be better off.

So, for the next 40 days, go out and tell your friends what president Kourpias told you. Your vote matters more than ever, for the Presidential race, for the fight to elect good people to Congress, for your future, your children's future, and the future of America.

Thank you, God bless you all, and on to victory.

NOTE: The President spoke by satellite at 6:41 p.m. from the Hyatt Regency Hotel to the associa-

tion meeting in Chicago, IL. In his remarks, he referred to George J. Kourpias, president, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers; George F. Becker, international president, United Steel Workers; and Stephen P. Yokich, president, United Auto Workers.

Remarks at a Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Reception
September 26, 1996

Thank you so much. Thank you, Senator Kerrey, for that uncommonly generous introduction. [*Laughter*] And I thank you and Senator Kennedy for being on your best behavior tonight. [*Laughter*] And I thank you for giving me the chance to be the warmup act for Don Henley. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, I very much wanted to be here tonight with Senator Daschle and Senator Lieberman and Senator Kerrey and all the others who have talked and who are here because this is an important evening. I'd like to personally thank the retiring Senators who are here; many of them I have known for a long, long time.

I thank my friend Bill Bradley, and I thank Jim Exon who always gave me such wonderful, sage advice. If I had taken all of it, I'd be better off today. [*Laughter*] I thank Howell Heflin whom I first met over 20 years ago when neither one of us were even close to our present positions. I thank my neighbor Bennett Johnston for his friendship and his guidance. I thank Sam Nunn for his many contributions to our country and to me personally. I thank Claiborne Pell for always standing up for what is noble and good in politics and human nature. I thank Paul Simon for being a force for reform down to the last day of his service in public life. And I thank my friend David Pryor, as good a friend as I ever had in public life. I will miss them all, and they have served our Nation well.

I do believe that Senator Kerrey and others who were involved in this, and maybe just the civic impulses of the candidates themselves, have given us an unusually attractive group of candidates who are running for the United States Senate this year. And I know that I have the names of 12 who are here, and I'm going to, at the risk of—if I miss anyone, this will be a good test for how you'll do in the Senate. You must stand up and make sure you are recognized. [*Laughter*] But I'd like to introduce those whom I know are here.

Steve Beshear from Kentucky. Steve, are you here? Where are you? Stand up. Come out here so we can all get a look at you, if you're over there in the crowd. Come on up here. Come here; come and stand here. Thank you. Fritz Hollings certified that he looked like a Senator—[*laughter*]—and I can tell you he'd be a fine one. My friend and former colleague Governor Joe Brennan from Maine and your former Congressman from Maine. Come on up, Joe. I know he's here somewhere. Come on up. I know Joe didn't leave. Jill Docking from Kansas, I saw her. She's right here. Come on up, Jill. Congressman Dick Durbin from Illinois. Where is he? Where is Dick? Congressman Tim Johnson from South Dakota, come on up. Come on up, Joe. Mary Landrieu from Louisiana, is she here? Mary, are you here? Jack Reed from Rhode Island, Congressman Jack Reed from Rhode Island. Dick Swett from New Hampshire. Tom Strickland from Colorado. Come on up, Tim. Sally Thompson from Kansas, she's right here. Come on, Sally. Congressman Bob Torricelli from New Jersey. Mark Warner from Virginia. If anybody else is here who is running for the Senate, come up here so we can see you. If it looks so exciting and you have an uncontrollable impulse to start now, come on up here so we can see you. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, I've had the honor of being in the States of most of these candidates and doing what I could to speak a word for them. They are truly outstanding. They would serve our country well. They would be worthy successors to those whom we honor tonight. I wanted you to see them, and I want you to remember, as Bob Kerrey said, we have just 40 days, and they have a lot of hurdles to overcome and a lot of rain to walk through to get to the sunshine on election day. I hope you'll stick with them and do what you can

to help them. Thank you very much. Give them a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, last night I got home late from Pennsylvania and I got all my accumulated paperwork and I took it to bed and started ripping open the envelopes and talking to Hillary. And she was saying, "It's late. We should go to sleep." And I said, "I've got to read this stuff." And all of a sudden I opened this envelope, and I said, "Holy smokes." And I got, as I do, the Government reports regularly scheduled to come out the next day. They send me a little summary the night before, and this was just a brief summary. But it said, "Tomorrow the United States Government, in its regularly scheduled annual report on the incomes of Americans, will say that we've had the biggest reduction in the inequality of incomes of Americans in 27 years, the biggest drop in poverty in raw numbers in 27 years, the biggest drop of children in poverty in 20 years, the biggest drop of female head of households in poverty in 30 years, the lowest recorded poverty rates ever among African-Americans and senior citizens in the United States." And I thought, we are on the right track. We're onto something. We're doing something right.

And I appreciate what Bob Kerrey said. But to be fair to him, given the prevailing political rhetoric in 1993, it wasn't very easy for a Senator from Nebraska to cast the vote he did. But we got the interest rates down. We got the economy going again. We have 10½ million jobs to show for it, record numbers of new small businesses, the lowest combined rates of home mortgages and inflation and unemployment in 27 years. That's what we have to show for it. We're moving in the right direction.

And because of what we tried to do and because of the results that our efforts are helping to bring, I think it puts the choice the American people will make in 40 days in a clear perspective, particularly when you look at the fights we had over the budget, the Government shutdown, and the other issues.

I was just out in Senator Daschle's home State in South Dakota where they put—if you ever get discouraged about America, go to South Dakota. We said we'd like to stop in South Dakota, and we wanted to go to a town where they were having a homecoming game, so they just put the homecoming game back an hour. And we sort of warmed up the crowd. So I've now warmed up for—I've been the lead act for a homecoming game and the lead act for Don Henley. I'm kind of getting into this. I like this. [*Laughter*] And I was just talking to people there in the audience. And it's very humbling to see the fundamental goodness of our people and the old-fashioned faith people have in this country and to see people feel connected again to their elected representatives and understand the relationship between what happens here and what happens where they live. And that really is what this election is all about.

Once in a great while, a country like ours makes a set of decisions at election time—or if they don't have a democracy, they do it in some other way—that has huge, huge ramifications. This is such a time, not because of any of us but because of the times in which we live, because we are changing so fundamentally the way we work and live and relate to each other and relate to the rest of the world.

When I sought the Presidency 4 years ago, I did it because I did not like the fact that we were not prepared and we didn't have a unifying vision to take us into the 21st century. And every day I get up and think of the three things that I wanted to do in 1992. I wanted to take us into the next century with the American dream alive for every man and woman, every boy and girl willing to work for it. I wanted us to grow together instead of be driven apart by our diversity, as so much of the rest of the world is being bedeviled by their diversity, even though it's much less in most countries than we have here. And I wanted us to continue to lead the world, as Bob said, for peace and freedom and prosperity.

And 4 years later, because we followed a strategy that was simple and profound: of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community where everybody who works hard and shows up and does the right thing has a place, we are clearly better off than we were, and we are clearly moving in the right direction.

But there are some very big decisions that underlie all the specific issues that are being discussed. It really is: Are we going to build a bridge to the future or attempt to build one to the past? There really is a difference of opinion about whether you think we're better off being left to our own devices, or at least our family is left to their own devices, or is the First Lady right, does it take a village to raise our children and build our country and strengthen our economy and move forward?

It is not a question of big Government or small Government. Our administration and the Democrats who are here took the lead in reducing the size of Government and the burden of regulation and changing it more in ways that gave more legitimate authority to State and local governments and to the private sector than the previous administrations did. But we do not believe that it is responsible to stand up and say the Government is somehow inherently bad and if it just weren't hanging around here you would be great, because we believe that we have to have a partnership and that we have to do those things together that help us to move forward.

I'll just give you one example. In the area of research and development, we just agreed—as many of you have heard me say—we just agreed with IBM to build a joint supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your calculator at home, your hand-held calculator, in 30,000 years. Now, I think that's a good expenditure of your money, but you can't make it by yourself.

Our medical research has led to a doubling of life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in only 4 years. We had—just before Christopher Reeve gave his powerful speech at the Democratic Convention calling for more research, for the first time ever we had laboratory animals with severed spines have movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants.

I just talked to the International Association of Machinists before I came here, by satellite. A lot of them lost their jobs in the defense downsizing. But because we believe that the Defense Department ought to try to find other things for those folks to do, many of their workers have been helped by a technology research project that we have used defense technology on to try to help structure a system wherein heavily trafficked highways will be able to avoid car accidents forever by computer programming and things that will cushion against them.

So all of these things are things that none of us could do on our own but we can do together. The student loan program and scholarships and credits for people to go to college are things we have to do together.

So what I want to ask you to do is not only contribute to all of these candidates, anybody who can be here tonight is articulate enough, knowledgeable enough, and has enough conviction to influence other people. And I'm telling you this is one of the four, five, or six most important elections this country has ever had. This is a watershed election, not because of any of the individuals involved but because of the moment in time. And we will make decisions in 40 days that will affect how we live in 40 years.

If you doubt it, just think back over the history of the country. What did George Washington and his crowd have to do? They had to decide are we going to be one country or 50 States—I mean 13 States. They decided one country. If they hadn't decided one country, there never would have been 50 States, we would have been stuck at 13. And John Breaux and I and those of us who lived in the Louisiana Purchase never would have served in public life. [*Laughter*] Some of you might think that would be good—[*laughter*]—but on balance, you get the idea.

Then Abraham Lincoln had to decide, well, if the States formed the country, could the States turn around and leave it—a pretty logical argument. He decided the answer was no, and he gave a half a million lives, including his own—including his own, to uphold that answer. And then having made that decision, he had to decide, well, if we're going to be one country, can we go on being hypocrites forever? How can we say we believe all people are created equal and tolerate slavery? Can we do that? The answer to that was no. If either of those two decisions had been different, think about how your lives would be today, how much smaller your lives would be, how much less our lives would be.

Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, they had to decide, well the country is no longer a rural country dominated by small farms; it's basically an urban country dominated by big industries. Can we just rip all of the natural resources of the country up? Can we let monopolies dominate the country and oppress workers and charge whatever they want? Is it okay to let kids work 70 hours a week, some of them in coal mines? And they said no. If they hadn't made those decisions, think how different your country would be.

Now, the closer you get in time, the more you can see the implications of the decisions made in the Great Depression and World War II by President Roosevelt, the decisions made for the cold war by President Truman and upheld since then. This is that kind of time.

And this whole business about are we going to build a bridge to the future or try to hold on to the past, do we believe it takes a village where we all work together, or in this new, highly technological, entrepreneurial, fascinating world where all the barriers are coming down, would we be better off if everybody just left us alone to find our own level? These are huge decisions. And the implications of them for our children and our grandchildren are things that we cannot today fully appreciate. But deep down inside we know they are big deals.

So I say to you we have the evidence on our side now. I gave you some of it tonight. We could talk until tomorrow at dawn about the things that are better now than they were 4 years ago. But the important thing is whether we're going to keep charting the right kind of course for the future.

So I say to all my fellow Democrats, don't make a party argument for this election, make a people argument. Ask every voter to decide, what do I want this country to look like when we start the 21st century, and what do I want this country to look like when my children are my age? And when my grandchildren and their children are reading the history books, what do I want them to say about what we did at this critical point in history? If those are the questions, you know what the answer is going to be.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:58 p.m. at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to musician Don Henley and actor Christopher Reeve.

Remarks to the Community in Longview, Texas

September 27, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. Folks, I would have come all the way to Longview just to see the Rangerettes and hear the Ranger Band. Thank you very much. I thank you for coming out on a little bit of an overcast day and keeping the rain away. I feel like the Sun shines on us in Longview today, don't you? [*Applause*]

Thank you, Martha Whitehead, for being a great mayor, a great State treasurer, for keeping your campaign commitment and working yourself right out of a job. Somehow I think that people will think you're entitled to a lot more good jobs in the future. Thank you for your leadership. Thank you, county commissioner James Johnson, for being here. Thank you, Ann Richards, for your wonderful talk. I heard it in the back. Thank you, Texas Democratic Party chair and former Deputy Secretary of the Department of Energy Bill White. He did a great job for us in Washington, and he's doing a great job for the Democratic Party here in Texas. And thank you, Garry Mauro, my friend of many years, for standing up for us, sticking with us, and waiting around until we finally got to the point where we can win in the State of Texas because we've done a good job for the people of Texas.

I also want to thank Max Sandlin for being here and for speaking earlier. And I want to ask you to send him to the United States Congress. We've got some great candidates in this part of Texas running for their first terms in Congress: Max Sandlin, Jim Turner, John Pouland. I hope they will all win. I hope you will help them so they can help you build that bridge to the 21st century that we've been talking about.

Thank you, Judge Frank Maloney, for being here. And ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to take a little personal privilege here and ask your retiring Congressman, Jim Chapman, who has served you well and worked hard, just to come up here and say one word. This is the biggest crowd he'll see in Longview until he leaves office, and I want him to have a chance to say hello to you. Come on up here, Jim.

[*At this point, Representative Jim Chapman made brief remarks.*]

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, 4 years ago I had a pretty tough time here. I ran for President against two guys from Texas. [*Laughter*] It hardly seemed fair to me. I'm sure I spent more time in Texas than anybody else who had run for President recently. And you were very good to me. We had a good showing here. I've had an opportunity to come back to Texas many times in the last 4 years, and I want to thank all those who have been my friends and supporters through good times and bad.

You know, we had some tough decisions to make when I became President. But think what this country was like 4 years ago. We had high unemployment, the slowest job growth since the Great Depression, growing inequality because working people's wages were stagnant. The crime rate was going up. The welfare rolls were going up. The country was becoming more divided, and people were becoming more skeptical, even cynical, about our politics. And I believed it was because we did not have a unifying vision to take us into the 21st century.

And I have a simple, straightforward idea of what I want this country to look like in 4 years when we start a new century and a new millennium. In Longview, Texas, and every town like it all across America, I want the American dream to be alive and well for everybody who is willing to work for it, without regard to where they start out in life. I want this country to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, because our peace and our freedom and our prosperity depends upon America's ability to lead and stand up for those things in the world. And I wanted us to be a country that's coming together, not being torn apart by our differences. And I believe we can all say we're a lot better off by that standard today than we were 4 years ago. We're on the right track for the 21st century. We've done it by trying to meet our challenges and protect our values with a simple little strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community that treats everybody fairly and gives everybody a role to play.

Now, you look at the results and you think about the tough times in 1993 and 1994. When we were passing our economic plan, Mr. Morales' opponent said, "If the President's plan passes, unemployment will go up, the deficit will go up, we'll have a terrible recession." That's what he said. Well, now we know. A trained economist, they say. Four years later we have 10½ million new jobs, 900,000 here in Texas; the lowest unemployment rate in America in 7½ years; the lowest unemployment rate here in 15 years; in every single year a record number of new small businesses; the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years; 4½ million new homeowners.

And yesterday, in the annual report of the United States Census Bureau on how we're doing as a country in terms of our income, we got the following information. Last year, median—that's the people in the middle, direct middle, not the average, the people in the middle—median household income last year increased by almost $900 after inflation, the biggest increase in family income in 10 years. Family income since that economic plan passed has gone up over $1,600.

And even more important, more of us who are working are sharing in it. We had the biggest decline in the inequality of incomes and the biggest decline in the number of working Americans living in poverty in 27 years, from one year to the next. We had the biggest decline in the number of children living in poverty in 20 years. We are on the right track, and we need to stay on that track to the 21st century.

We have increased education opportunities, from more children in Head Start to a better, lower cost college loan program, to the AmeriCorps program to allow young people to work their way through college by serving in their communities. We're moving in the right direction.

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row because of those 100,000 police Ann Richards was talking about. And when they told all the hunters in east Texas that the President was trying to take their guns away when the Brady bill passed, it sounded pretty good at the time, and we took a terrible licking in a lot of places in 1994. You would have thought I was going to knock on the doors myself and take people's guns away. Well, guess what? Now we know. Now we know. Two hunting seasons have come and gone. It turns out that I was telling the truth. When we took the 19 assault weapons off the street we protected 650 kinds of hunting weapons. So 2 years later not a single hunter in Texas has lost their rifle. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill.

So the crime rate went down. The welfare rolls are down by nearly 2 million in America. Child support collections are up by almost 50 percent—nearly $4 billion a year more in child support collections. That's helping to move people off welfare and give families dignity and reinforce the responsibility of everyone to support their children. We are moving in the right direction.

And you know, when I ran for President—and I liked what Martha said. You know, she literally reinvented government. She consolidated her job. I heard our friends in the other party, they always said the Federal Government is a terrible thing. It's nothing but waste. It would mess up a one-car parade. And they made a living—they owned the White House for decades, you know, just kicking the Federal Government around. They hated it so much, but they couldn't bear to be outside of it. It kind of tickled me. But they never did anything about it. They bad-mouthed it. They said how bad the Government was. They said we Democrats were nothing but Government lovers and we would defend every program.

Well, guess what? Now we know. Our administration reduced the size of the Federal Government by 250,000. It's the size it was now when John Kennedy was President. As a percentage of our work force it's the smallest it's been since Franklin Roosevelt first took the oath of office in 1933. That's what we did to reinvent this Government. We're still serving you, but it is smaller.

We have reduced the burden of Federal regulations more. We have eliminated more unnecessary programs. We've given more authority back to State and local government. We've shared more authority with the private sector than they ever did when they had the White House. The only difference is we're doing it because we think it will help to create the conditions and give you the tools to make the most of your own lives. So we still believe we ought to balance the budget, but we don't believe we ought to wreck the Medicare program or the Medicaid program or undermine education or the environment. That's the difference.

Folks, you know, I spent the last 12 years of my life before I moved to Washington a lot closer to Longview than to Washington. And I was in Washington at a dinner last night, and Senator Dodd, the chairman of our party, said that he sort of felt sorry for me when I showed up. I'd never been in the House. I'd never been in the Senate. I'd never served in anybody's administration. I'd just been a Governor. I didn't understand how Washington worked, and it was more about talk than action.

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. You need some help? Where's my doctor? I've got my medical team. We've got somebody here who fainted. We're coming. We'll bring it right there. Somebody hold your hand up, and we'll find you. They'll be right there. Here they are. There's nothing else we can do. You all just—let's go on with the show here; they're going to take good care of him.

Now, listen, when we came there the thing that bothered me about Washington was that there was a lot of talk and very little action. Everybody spent all their time trying to get their 30 seconds on the evening news, seeing who they could blame for America's problems. And I said, we are going to change the way Washington works. We're going to stop asking, "Who is to blame" and start asking, "What are we going to do to get this country moving again and help people?"

So I tell you today, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. But we've got a lot to do. And we're going to be better off still. And I came here to ask the people of Longview and east Texas and this great State to help and join in in building that bridge to the 21st century.

Now, you know this approach is right; we are better off than we were 4 years ago. We don't need a U-turn. We need to bear down and go right on into that future. And I want to ask you to help us. I want you to help me balance that Federal budget. We've already taken the deficit down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War. They talked about it; we did something about it. But we've got to balance the budget in a way that is fair to everybody. We can protect education and the environment and research and technology, we can protect Medicare and Medicaid, and we can afford a targeted tax cut tied to childrearing and education.

I am very proud of the fact that on October 1st 10 million Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage. You may not know there is also in that bill tax cuts to help small business if they invest more, tax cuts to help

small businesses—self-employed people that have to buy their own health insurance policy. And there is also a $5,000 tax credit for any family that will adopt a child. That's pro-family, pro-work, and pro-business.

What I want to see us do now is to give the American people tax credits for childrearing. I want to see tax cuts for education. I want to see tax cuts for homebuying. I want to see tax cuts for medical care. And I want to explain in a minute how all that works, but the main thing I want to say to you is we can afford the right kind of tax cut. But we should not have a tax cut that is a big, across-the-board tax cut that goes to people like me who don't need it and that will increase the deficit again.

Now, every time I get on a plane and leave Washington, they say, "Now, Mr. President, the economy is going well now; don't go down to someplace like Longview and talk about the deficit. It bores people to death. They don't want to hear about it, and nobody cares about it except when times are tough." Well, let me tell you what it means. You go home tonight and you think about this. Because we cut the deficit by 60 percent, we're not borrowing as much money. That leaves more for you. That means interest rates are lower.

Now, last year our Republican friends put out a report that I agree with—I agreed with them last year, and I wish they hadn't changed their position—last year they said, "If we get off of this plan to balance the budget, interest rates will go up by 2 percent." Now, when you go home tonight, you think about what that would mean. If your car payment, your credit card payment, and your house payment went up by 2 percent, that would take your tax cut away right quick, wouldn't it? Think what it would mean.

Even worse, if all the little businesses up and down this street here and every other business in this country had to pay 2 percent more for a business loan, then small business would have a harder time expanding and growing and hiring new people. So I say, yes, cut taxes, but pay for every dime of it and still balance the budget. That's my plan. Help people educate their kids, help people build their families, but do it right.

The second thing I want to say is, we've got to build a bridge to the 21st century where every single person has a chance to get a world-class education. And I could keep you here until tomorrow at this time talking about the schools and education. But let me just tell you two of the things I want to do.

Number one, I want to see every classroom in this country and every library and every school in America hooked up not only with computers but hooked up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. And let me say what that means—let me tell you what that means. If you're like me and you're sort of out of the computer generation and it gives you a headache to think about all this, here's what it means in simple terms. If we can hook up every classroom in Longview to the World Wide Web, to the Internet, to all these other networks of information and we did that in New York City and we did that in the remotest place in North Dakota, for the first time in history the kids in the poorest school districts, the kids in the most remote school districts would have access to the same information at the same level of quality and the same time as the kids in the richest public and private schools in America. It has never happened before. We could revolutionize education, and we ought to do it.

The second thing we ought to do is to make a college education available to every single person who needs it of any age. And here's my plan to do that in three little ideas. Number one, let more families save in an IRA, an individual retirement account, for their retirement, but let them withdraw from it tax-free if they're using it pay for a college education, a health emergency, to buy a first home. Number two, make a community college education as universal in America in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. Make 2 years of education as universal by giving families a tax credit, dollar for dollar, off their tax bill for the cost of tuition at the typical community college in America today. Number three, give the families of this country a $10,000 deduction for the cost of any college tuition, any vocational tuition, up to $10,000 a year every year the kids are in college or their parents are in college. We ought to make this available to America, and we can pay for it and balance the budget. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where the crime rate goes down for 4 more years. If we take it down 8 years in a row it might be low enough for us to stand it. And I have some specific ideas. First of all, we've

got to finish the job of putting those 100,000 police on the street. For reasons that absolutely amaze me, the Congress—this Congress—is still trying to stop us from putting police on the street, even though it is lowering the crime rate and preventing crime and helping kids to stay out of trouble.

Number two, we ought to do more drug testing of people who are out on parole. Sixty percent of the cocaine and heroin consumed in the United States today is consumed by people who are already in the criminal justice system in some way. You should not be on parole if you go back to drugs. That will make us a safer country.

Number three, we ought to fully fund our safe and drug-free schools act. We ought to have a D.A.R.E. officer in every grade school classroom that needs it in America, out there helping these kids to stay off drugs and stay out of trouble. For reasons I do not understand, this Congress has tried to cut that program in half.

I want to do more. We have got to convince our young people not to get in trouble in the first place. We're not going to jail our way out of their problems, we've got to keep them on a good path to the future. We've got to keep them on that bridge to the 21st century. And we need to do what we can to help you folks, the parents, the religious leaders, and the people in law enforcement who are willing to go into these schools and help our kids. We need to support them in every way we can. We've got a program to do it, and I want to finish that job. And I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we have stronger families. And what's the biggest problem I hear from families all over this country? Everywhere I go they say, "We're having trouble doing our job as parents and doing our jobs. We're working harder than ever before, but our kids need us more than ever before." That's why I'm proud that the first bill I signed was the family leave law. It's given 12 million families—12 million of them—the chance to take a little time off from work if they have a baby born or a sick child or a sick parent, without losing their jobs. And we're a better country because of that. It's been good for our economy. I believe we ought to expand it and say you can get a little time off from work to go to a parent-teacher conference or a regular doctor appointment with your child, too.

We do not weaken America's economy when we make it possible for people to do right by their children. We weaken America's economy when there are millions of workers at work all over America worried sick about their kids while they're trying to do their job. I want to create a country where everybody who wants to work can work, where everybody has to work who can work, but where every worker can be a good parent, because that's our first and most important job. That is what I'm trying to do, and I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

And finally, let me say that I believe almost every American now understands that we can't build a bridge to the 21st century unless we find a way to improve our environment as we grow our economy. I'm really proud of the fact that we passed a safe drinking water law; we passed a pesticide protection act supported by all the farm groups and all the consumer groups, to improve the quality of our food; that we are working hard to clean up toxic waste dumps and we cleaned up more in 3 years than our predecessors did in 12. But I am concerned about the continuing environmental challenges we have, and I want to leave you with just one.

As you look at all these kids in the audience today, there are still 10 million American children—10 million American children—living within 4 miles of a toxic waste site. If you will give us 4 more years, we'll clean up the 500 worst sites so we can say America's children are growing up next to parks, not poison. And that's a part of our bridge to the 21st century.

Now, folks, you have a clear choice in 39 days. Are we going to build a bridge to the past or a bridge to the future? Do we really think it's better to say "you're on your own," or was my wonderful wife right, it does take a village like Longview to raise our kids and build our businesses and build our future? Are we going to build a bridge that's big enough and broad enough and strong enough for us to all walk across and that will be strong enough for our children and grandchildren to walk across?

You know, I want to ask every one of you to go out and talk to the people you know who aren't here today—it doesn't matter what their party is—and just ask them this, say, you

know, the century only changes once every 100 years, and this country is changing dramatically, the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to the rest of the world. It is changing. And ask people, what do you want America to look like when we go into that new century? What do you want America to look like when our children are our age? In 100 years what do you want people to say that we did at this moment in time with our responsibility?

If what we do is to create opportunity for everybody who is willing to work for it, if we prove that unlike all these other countries that are torn apart by their differences, we can be a country of different races, different religions, different points of view, bound together by our fidelity to the American system and American values, that we can lead the world—that's what I want the story to be. If those are the questions people ask before the election in November, 39 days from now, I believe I know what the answers will be. You go out and reach out to other citizens so that we can go forward and build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 a.m. at Tyler and Center Streets. In his remarks, he referred to Martha Whitehead, former mayor of Longview; Ann Richards, former Governor of Texas; Texas Land Commissioner Garry Mauro; State Supreme Court judicial candidate Frank Maloney; and Texas senatorial candidate Victor Morales.

Interview With Kathy Lewis of the Dallas Morning News and Nancy Mathis of the Houston Chronicle in Longview

September 27, 1996

1996 Election

Q. We'd like to talk to you about Texas politics. But if I could just ask you one sort of Texas news-of-the-day question, Mr. Morales is in some hot water over remarks he made a couple days ago. What is your assessment of that?

The President. Mike put out a statement, and that's what I agree with. I think that he said something he regretted and he apologized for it, and I think that's a good thing. You know, if you stay in this business long enough, the closer you get to the campaigns, the more you're working, the less you're sleeping, the more you're under pressure, you're going to—every now and then people say something that they wish they hadn't said. And I think the thing to do is just simply say that you wish you hadn't said it. And that's what he did. I thought it was a big thing for him to do. So that's what I think about it.

Q. Why do you think you can carry Texas?

The President. Number one, because Texas is better off than it was 4 years ago. The State of Texas has done well under our policies, both our general economic policies and the specific things I supported, like the space station and the V–22, which is made in Fort Worth, for example. Number two, my plans for the future would be better for the State of Texas than Senator Dole's program. And number three, Bill White and Garry Mauro and all these grassroots Democrats have worked hard to kind of rebuild the party at the grassroots level. And I've worked hard to try to change the relationship of the national Democratic Party, of Texas. For too long, the Democrats just sort of gave up on Texas. So they'd come to Texas and raise money and turn around and leave, and I thought that was wrong. And we've worked out an agreement—it's been in place now for some time, you know—sending a lot of the money that we raised back to Texas, try to help build the party.

And I guess, finally, because I think that last time when I ran I didn't really get a clear shot at the voters, even though I did campaign here a couple days. And I was from Arkansas and I had two opponents from Texas, and I think it sort of put me in a hole—that and then some of the things that happened early in my term. And I think that, you know, obviously now people are beginning to look at what my record is, what we've done, my ideas about the future as compared with my opponent's.

And I just think that for all those reasons we have a chance to win. If we can get people

to look at the evidence, as opposed to kind of the accumulated rhetoric of the last 20 years, I think I've got an excellent chance to win.

Q. Does your financial commitment here depend on Senator Dole pulling out of California?

The President. No. No.

Q. Because he's not running any ads here right now.

The President. No, I think that they probably think that they can't lose Texas, you know, because Kansas is close and there's—you know, a lot of the State officials, major State officials, the two Senators, the Governor are Republicans, and they probably think that they can't lose.

But my commitment here—a lot of what I try to do is to help them build the grassroots strength again, to go back into communities. When Bill White left our administration, left the Energy Department and came home here, he really wanted to build kind of a mainstream, progressive Democratic Party in Texas again at the grassroots. And I've tried to support that. And we made an agreement then—he and Truman Arnold, some others—if I raised any funds in Texas, we'd kick back a certain percentage to Texas.

And I also told them I'd—you know, I wasn't interested in coming to Texas anymore just for fundraising; I didn't believe in that. I wanted to see the people. And that's why we're here in Longview, we're going to Fort Worth, and we're going to be overnight in Houston when I go to do our event there.

You know, in the last 40 days we're going to have pretty well, for a while at least, just kind of play it by ear in terms of what else—what we do in terms of television ads because of the—we had run some, you know, in Texas already. We did some in east Texas earlier. But what we do, it depends in part on what the other competing considerations are. I don't know whether—you know, you told me something I don't know. I thought the Dole campaign was still running ads in California.

Q. No, I meant in Texas. They're not running in Texas. I guess the point I was getting at, in '92 you came within 2 or 3 percentage points of President Bush, even though your campaign spent very little money here—although you spent quite a bit of time here. And Bush spent a lot of money here and time as well. I was just wondering if you were going to make a financial commitment as well as a commitment of your time.

The President. Well, let me just say, those aren't decisions, believe it or not, that I'm personally reviewing here every day. So I can't answer that specifically. But we plan to make a major effort here. And I hope it will be helpful to the others who are running, because I think the more we get the message out, the more we get the record out, the more we get the contrast out, the more likely we are to do well here.

You look at a place like Longview and all these places all through east Texas, it's pretty much like the economy of Arkansas, which also has a 15- or 20-year low in unemployment rates. And I'm doing well there because they know me and I was their Governor and they trust me. But we haven't done as well here because the Republicans have had a big leg up and they did a pretty good job of kind of characterizing me in a way that would not be acceptable to a lot of Texas voters. And I've been trying to climb out of that for 3 or 4 years, and I think the sheer weight of the evidence is finally beginning to be felt. And I think people are fundamentally fairminded. And I have a certain affinity for this State. I spent a lot of time here—ever since the last nearly 40 years, I've been coming to Texas in one way or another. And so I just think I ought to make an effort here, and I intend to do it.

I also think it's a mistake for anybody who wants to lead the country to not make an effort in the second biggest State in America. The future of the United States is in no small part going to be the future of the State of Texas. The attitudes of the people here about immigration, about trade, about education, about health care policy, about economic policy, about what's the best way to reduce crime and welfare, all this—what happens here will have a big impact on how the rest of the country goes. And I just think it's not responsible for any President just to not be engaged in it.

Immigration Legislation

Q. Will you sign the immigration bill if it passes Congress as it's written now, or will you press for the Members to change the provisions dealing with public benefits and legal immigrants?

The President. Well, right now we are—let me say this: I don't want to dodge this question, but I have to because it is the subject of negotiations, even as we are talking here. We're try-

ing to work out a set of agreements with congressional leadership, the Republican leadership and the Democrat leadership, on a set of continuing resolutions on the unresolved budget matters that we can put into one big bill that will enable them to go home—they read them this morning—go home and at least have a month to campaign. And I understand that.

So we were successful in getting the Gallegly amendment out, which I strongly opposed. I believe Governor Bush came out against it, and I appreciate that. And there are still some things in that bill that I don't like. I think they are unfair to legal immigrants. So I would hope that we could secure some improvements. But the less I say, the better now, while they're talking it through. Anything I say might——

Press Secretary Mike McCurry. Mr. President, I'm actually calling those—we've been calling those an omnibus appropriations bill, as opposed to a continuing. It's sort of like continual, but they would actually complete the appropriations bill, as opposed to a continuing.

The President. There is a chance we can?

Press Secretary McCurry. I think what they've been working on—what Leon's—the latest report from him is that we really are—we've got the prospect of taking all six of these bills and putting them in an omnibus appropriations bill.

The President. You know, we were so close on all the bills but one. Once we got an agreed-upon education funding level, we were so close I was hoping maybe we could do it.

1996 Election

Q. Mr. President, this must seem very different to you today than '94. I mean, you basically didn't come to Texas in '94, and the general feeling was candidates didn't welcome your presence then. Do you agree with my assessment?

The President. I do agree with that.

Q. Okay. What caused you to be in such bad shape then and——

The President. Well, for one thing, I think that—two of the things I mentioned in my speech. I think that the things that candidates all over the country and Members of Congress are trumpeting, the people supporting me today, were directly out of decisions that were made in '93 and '94 that were unpopular then that have been proved right now. And the two that I mentioned specifically are the economic program and the crime bill.

You heard me say, I remember very well when Senator Gramm said, "If you pass this economic program, it's just going to be a terrible thing. It's going to have a big recession, and everybody's income will go down. It'll be awful." And of course the results are just the opposite. But I think that they were effective in attacking that.

I think the second thing is, in the crime bill, they—in a lot of rural places that had a lot of Democratic voters but were real conservative voters, like east Texas, there was an effective attack on the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban that, you know, this was somehow going to lead to the impairment of hunters' and sports men and women's rights. And of course, now we know it didn't do it, but it did help to lower the crime rate. So I think that's dramatically different.

Then, of course, we were just in the teeth—just in the immediate aftermath of the defeat of the health care bill, where a vast amount of money had been spent to try to convince people that the Government was trying to take over health care. And I think now, when we went back to a step-by-step reform process, taking various elements that were in our original bill—like the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or someone in your family gets sick, or the bill I signed yesterday, no more drive-by deliveries and a partial mental health insurance coverage included, and then the spina bifida benefits to Vietnam veterans with children—those things, they show that we're making progress on health care. Another very important provision we passed that was a part of our original bill was increasing the deductibility, tax deductibility of health insurance premiums that self-employed people have to buy.

So I think now when people see we're making progress in health care, we're going to do it step by step instead of trying to do it all at one time, so everyone can see that the Government's not trying to take over health care, we're just trying to create the conditions in which we can, if you will, enable the American people to fill in the blanks, to take these gaps, these terrible gaps and problems out of our system.

So I think the country is better off. A lot of those decisions look better in retrospect than they did in '94 because they've brought good results. And I also think that the things we've been doing in the last 2 years to build on that,

to show how this country can meet its challenges and protect its values, have been very helpful as well. So that's why I think it's changed. But it was not good here in '94. I think it's better here in '96. And the only thing I can ask the people of Texas to do is to look at the evidence, look at the record, listen to the alternatives, and make up their own mind.

Q. The CNN poll shows the race narrowing to 10 points now. Do you think Senator Dole's charges of being a liberal and the drug issue, is that having an impact or is this a natural narrowing or do you trust that poll?

The President. Well, it's hard to say. It's hard to say. I don't know. I just don't know. I'm not sure we know yet. You know, we probably have to let it simmer out another couple of days.

I think it is—I think if you look—on the drug issue, if you look at our record, if you look at the fact that I have—not only as President but as Governor—consistently opposed any legalization of drugs; consistently increased enforcement; that I passed a crime bill over the opposition of Senator Dole that had 60 death penalties in it, including capital punishment for drug kingpins; that I appointed, first, a former police chief of Houston, Lee Brown, and then the most—at the time he retired from the Army, the most decorated veteran in the American military, General Barry McCaffrey, to be our drug czar, so it's obviously important to me; and that I fought for programs that will help communities keep kids off drugs, like the safe and drug-free schools program, again over the opposition of Senator Dole and Mr. Gingrich—I think that, again, once people hear both sides of the argument, then they'll know that he can take one comment out of context and maybe make a television ad out of it. But the record shows a very different picture.

Now, I say that—all of us should be concerned about the fact that in 4 years, when cocaine use dropped by a third in America, it increased among teenagers. That should concern everybody. And everybody, including me, should be willing to assume some responsibility for that. I'm not trying to disclaim all. You know, if the efforts we're making to have good results should be credited, then we have problems; I have to take some responsibility for that. We need to—it's much more serious than it's been treated so far.

For example, there's a lot of evidence that—in Canada, for example, tobacco and drug use among juveniles is up. In some European countries it is. And it appears that there was a beginning of a shift in attitudes about 1990 about how dangerous this is and that we, the adults of this country, and in other countries as well, have not succeeded in changing those attitudes back. And so I think it's a very serious issue. But I don't think his attack on me is very persuasive once you look at the facts.

And the liberal issue I just think, you know, it falls of its own weight. I do believe that there are differences between us. He was against the student loan program, and I improved it. He was against the family and medical leave, and I supported it and got it through. He was for the Gingrich-Dole budget, and I opposed it. So that's true. But I'm the first President since before the Civil War to reduce the deficit in all 4 years of his administration. We reduced the size of the Government more than my two Republican predecessors, not just in terms of employees but in terms of regulations and programs eliminated.

So I just don't think—and you know, I've got a crime bill that's the most conservative, tough crime bill that the country ever passed. And we moved almost 2 million people off welfare through giving the States and local communities more authority before the welfare reform bill ever passed. I think—again when the debates come on and when people look at all the evidence, that welfare charge, as you often hear down here in Texas, it's pretty hard to make that dog hunt, I mean that liberal charge. It'll fall to the evidence if people listen to it.

Press Secretary McCurry. We've got to go.

Q. Thank you for the time.

The President. Glad to do it.

NOTE: The interview began at 10:20 a.m. at Armadillo Willie's restaurant. In his remarks, the President referred to Truman Arnold, chairman and chief executive officer, Truman Arnold Companies, and Gov. George W. Bush of Texas. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this interview.

Remarks in Fort Worth, Texas
September 27, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Hello, Fort Worth! Well, folks, I've got 39 more days, but the Rangers just have one more day. It is great to be here. And Mr. Mayor, thank you for welcoming me here, and thank you for your strong leadership. And I want to say on behalf of the people of our entire country, it is truly inspiring to come to Fort Worth, to stand in this gorgeous square to see the magnificent work that has been done here by your citizens—of course, the Bass brothers, but others as well—to renovate this place and make this city look beautiful and livable and attractive, a place you can be proud of. Thank you very much for what you have done.

Sundance Square is a place that any American would be proud to stand in and feel good in, and it shows you what we can do when we work together, when we change the way we do business from pointing fingers and trying to blame people to saying how can we roll up our sleeves and work together to make life better for everyone. That's what I am trying to do.

I'd like to thank Rich Connor for giving me that beautiful hat. Don't you think it looked pretty good? I thought it looked pretty good. And I'm honored to be in the long line of Presidents who have received hats from the publisher of the newspaper here. I was so impressed when I heard that President Roosevelt and President Truman and President Coolidge and Winston Churchill had gotten these hats. And then when I put mine on, I wondered, I wonder if they ever wore those cowboy hats. [*Laughter*] I'll wear mine, and I thank you for it.

I'd like to thank Art Brender and the Tarrant County Democrats who have worked so hard to help at least a fair portion of you get here today. Thank you, Speaker Jim Wright, for being here and for all your service to our country and the people of this county. Thank you, Governor Ann Richards, for all you have done for Texas and for our country.

I want to thank these fine young people in the Tarrant County President's Band. Aren't they fine looking? [*Applause*] They're going to play for us later. Thank you. Thank you, Carlton Lancaster, for the work you've done to get them together—you and Jesse and Bob Copeland. I was so impressed when I heard about this band. I couldn't wait to hear them. And they promised me now when I get off here and start shaking hands, you're going to play some more for me. You see the saxophone section raising their horns there, that's good. Thank you.

I want to thank Bill White, the Texas State Democratic chairman and the cochair of our campaign. He did a magnificent job for all of you when he was the Deputy Secretary of Energy in our administration. And now that he's home in Texas, he's doing a great job for all of us again. And thank you, Garry Mauro, the Texas State land commissioner and my longtime friend, for cochairing our campaign. Thank you, Senator Mike Moncrief and Representative Glenn Lewis.

I want to say a special word of thanks to our candidates for Congress, a man who's been a friend of mine a long time, the Fifth Congressional District candidate, John Pouland. I hope you'll help him win this election. And your former mayor, a great mayor, a man who will be a great Congressman if you will give him a chance to serve, Hugh Parmer. Thank you very much for being here today.

Thank you, Yolanda Cuevas-Chavera. Boy, what a wonderful representative she is of American free enterprise and the idea that if we give everybody an opportunity, all of us will be better off. We're better off that people like her can start a business and create jobs and make our communities and our country stronger.

I have to say that one of the things that I determined to do when I became President was to create a climate in which it would be possible for more people to start small businesses and to succeed. And in the last 4 years there are a lot more folks like Yolanda out there. And every single year we have set a record for new small-business starts. The Small Business Administration cut its budget but doubled its loan volume to provide more opportunities for small businesses to be started, including a 300 percent increase in loans to small-business women, people like Yolanda who are moving this country forward.

We made every small business in the country eligible for a tax cut if they invest more money in their business. We made it easier for small businesses to take out pensions for themselves and their employees and for the employees in small businesses to take those pensions with them, which is so important. And just a couple of days ago we increased the tax deductibility of the health insurance costs of people who are self-insured, which will help small-business people all across this country—more Yolandas, a stronger America.

Thank you, Martin Frost, for your unrelenting efforts to give the House of Representatives back to the American people and take it away from those who tried to destroy the Medicare system, take away Medicaid's guarantee of health care to families with members with disabilities, to our poorest children, to newborns, to elderly folks in nursing homes. Thank you for that. Thank you for stopping the cuts in student loans and education funding and environmental protection. And thank you, Victor Morales, for running for the Senate.

I want to tell you a little tale, folks, when you think about how you ought to make a decision. I had an interview with a couple of reporters today. I was in Longview before I came here. We had 13,000 folks in Longview this morning. It was a pretty good crowd.

I want to tell you two different stories. I had a great interview with two reporters who said, "Why are you in Texas, and do you really think you can win here, and what's your message?" And I said "Well, you know, 4 years ago I had a pretty hard hill to climb. I had to run against two guys from Texas 4 years ago." [*Laughter*] "And Texas has been voting Republican in Presidential races on a fairly regular basis for a good while now. So I said to myself, first of all, for 12 years I was the Governor of Arkansas, your neighboring State. I spent it—I'm sure, except for candidates for President from Texas, I spent more time in Texas in the last 4 years than anybody else that's running for President." [*Laughter*] "And if you look at the results of what I said we would do, what we have done, and how much better off Texas is today than it was 4 years ago, if the people are willing to give me a fair shot and look to the future, yes, I think we can carry Texas because it's right for the American people."

I ran for President, my fellow Americans, because I thought national politics had become too much rhetoric and too little action, because I got sick and tired of people calling each other names and trying to demonize their opponents and trying to scare the living daylights out of people and convince people that their opponents were no good. And if you noticed, I gave strict instructions at our Democratic National Convention I didn't want anybody to say anything bad, personally, about Senator Dole; about Congressman Kemp, a man I like; about Mr. Perot; about even Speaker Gingrich, who says some pretty harsh things about the rest of us. What I said was, let's talk about their votes, let's talk about their positions, let's talk about where we differ, and let's look at who's right and who's wrong. That's what elections ought to be about.

Now, I believe that we need a common vision for our country to take us together into the next century. And here's what I want it to be like for these children in this audience: I want us to go into the next century with the American dream of opportunity alive for every single person who's willing to work for it, without regard to their race, their gender, and what they start out with in life. If you're willing to work hard, you ought to have a chance. You ought to have a chance.

We're living in a global economy. We're living in a global society. You can move money and information and ideas and technology around the world in no time. Our diversity, our differences, the fact that we come from so many different places is a great, great source of strength for the United States if we can learn to get along together and respect each other and be fair with one another. I want us to be one American community. And I want us to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity because that's an important part of our future as well. Now, how have we done creating opportunity, insisting on responsibility, and bringing us together in a community? That's the test. And what are we going to do?

Now, Mr. Morales, he's offered himself as a candidate for the Senate. I remember in 1993 when I asked the Congress to pass our economic program, to get the deficit down, get interest rates down, get this economy moving again and keep investing in new technologies and education and the environment and protecting our obligations to our seniors, to the Medicare program, Mr. Morales' opponent said, "If the President's plan passes, the deficit will go up, unem-

ployment will go up, the economy will be in terrible shape." That's what he told you. And my opponent agreed with him.

Well, now we know. Now we know. You don't have to guess in Texas. And I'm glad we've got some folks in the back representing the other side. They're welcome.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. No, no, don't boo them. They're welcome here. This is America; everybody's welcome here. They're welcome here. I'm glad they're here. But here we are now in 1996, and here are the facts on the opportunity——

[*At this point, the audio system failed.*]

The President. You reckon they cut the microphone off? [*Laughter*] Is it on? Now? Turn this thing on. Cheer a while while we wait.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Now? Now? No? Yes. Is it on?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Can you hear in the back?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Well, here are the facts: We have 10½ million more jobs; record exports; record numbers of new small businesses; 4½ million new homeowners; a 15-year high in homeownership; a 7½-year low in unemployment—in Texas, a 15-year low in unemployment; the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 27 years. We're moving in the right direction.

Here are the facts. Yesterday we learned in the annual report put out by our Census Bureau that median incomes in America rose about $900 last year after inflation—the biggest rise in the incomes of average Americans in a decade—and $1,600 since that plan went into effect. Listen to this: Yesterday we learned from the Census Bureau that in 1995, childhood poverty reached its lowest level, had the biggest drop in 20 years—in 20 years. We learned that the number of poor people in America went down by the largest number in 20 years. We learned that all Americans, for a change, are beginning to benefit in the economic recovery. Wages are rising for the first time in a decade, and we had the biggest decline in inequality among working people in 27 years. We're going forward together. We are going forward together.

And let's look at some other scorecards. In the area of health care, we made 25 million Americans eligible to keep their health insurance by passing a bill which says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family has been sick.

Yesterday I signed a bill to stop drive-through deliveries, to stop insurance companies from throwing women and their little babies out of the hospital 24 hours after the babies are born. The bill also begins to provide some protection for health care coverage for families with mental illness, a very important thing in our country. And the bill says to Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange—many of their children have gotten spina bifida—finally, after all this long time we're going to give disability support and other help to those people who served our country. It's a good thing for America.

Look at the family scorecard: 12 million American families have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law that says you can take a little time off—if you've got a baby born or a sick parent you can take a little time off without losing your job. Now, our opponents didn't think much of that bill, either. They said it was bad for business. But 3½ years later, we've got 12 million families that are stronger and 10½ million new jobs. I think we were right and they were wrong.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. There were one million fewer victims of crime last year than there were when I took office. The welfare rolls have come down by nearly 2 million. Child support collections are up by nearly 50 percent, $3.8 billion a year, lifting families out of welfare. On October 1st, in just a few days, 10 million hard-working Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage. In that same bill we offer a $5,000 tax credit to families who will adopt children. There's a lot of kids out there that need homes. This is pro-family legislation at its best.

We have made the air cleaner, our drinking water and food safer. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than were cleaned up in the 12 years before I became President. We are moving in the right direction, building our bridge to the 21st century.

Our national security is stronger. There are no Russian missiles pointed at the children of America for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. We are tackling terrorism all

over the world. We are promoting peace. We have 200 separate trade agreements of all kinds, from NAFTA and the GATT world trade agreement to 21 agreements with Japan. If you doubt whether it works, in those 21 areas with Japan our American exports have increased by 85 percent. And we're number one in producing cars in the world again for the first time since the 1970's. And Fort Worth has made its contribution to our national security, for it is here that the V–22 Osprey is made, a very important part of America's defense future. And I thank you for that.

And our friends in the other party, they always say Government is the problem, Government is the enemy, Government is bad. But you know what? We've done more to reduce the size of Government than they ever did. It's the smallest it's been since John Kennedy was President. We got rid of more regulations, ended more unnecessary programs, gave back more authority to States and local governments to run their own affairs than our Republican predecessors did. But what we did not do is to give you a Government so weak it could not build a strong economy, invest in education, protect the environment, and take care of the people who have earned the right to a little help from the rest of us. We are going to go forward together. That is the right thing to do.

So I say to you, my friends, in the next 39 days, I hope those of you who are here at this rally will go visit with those who aren't here at this rally and say, "You know, we might ought to vote for this President. We might ought to vote for these candidates back here, because this country is on the right track, and we don't want to take a U-turn. We need to go right ahead, straight into the 21st century."

I want to ask you to help me to continue this work to build that bridge to tomorrow. The future of this country represents our best days if we do the right things. The kids in this audience, they'll be doing jobs that haven't been invented yet. A lot of the children in this audience will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet if we do the right things.

We've got to keep this economy going. That means we have to balance the budget, but we've got to do it in the right way. We can balance the budget and still protect our investments in education, in the environment, in Medicare and Medicaid. We shouldn't let them raid workers' pension funds under the guise of balancing the budget. We can have a tax cut, but it ought to be the right kind of tax cut, targeted to families that need it for childrearing, for education, for buying that first-time home, for medical care. And when you sell your home, if you got a gain on it you shouldn't have to pay taxes on it, because it's where most people's savings are. We can afford that.

And that's what we ought to do. But we ought not to have a tax cut we can't afford, even though it's popular at election time. And here's why. I tell this everywhere I go. Every time I leave town in Washington, some expert says, "Now, don't go down there again into the heartland and talk about the deficit. People are bored by the deficit. Nobody cares about balancing the budget when the economy is good." Here's why you ought to care about it.

One big reason this economy has taken off in the last 4 years is that we brought the deficit down. What does that mean? We had to borrow less money. When we borrowed less, that left more for you. That meant the interest rates went down. Our friends in the Republican Party put out a study last year that I have to tell you I agree with. I wish they still agreed with it. But they agreed with it last year. What that study said was if we're not on a plan to balancing the budget, it will add 2 percent to the interest rates that American people are charged.

Now, you just figure it out for yourselves. What would it mean to you to have to pay 2 percent more on your credit card debt, on your college loan, on your car payment, on your home payment? What would it mean to the economy of Fort Worth and Tarrant County and Texas if every businessperson had to pay 2 percent more every time they went to the bank to borrow money? It would mean fewer jobs, a weaker economy, not as many pay raises. It's not a good deal. Let's only have the tax cut we can afford. Let's pay for it, and let's target it to education, childrearing, and build a stronger America. Let's do that.

I want to build a bridge to the 21st century that says to every child in this country and every adult, education is now a lifetime endeavor and we're going to have the best education opportunities in the entire world. Forty percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read on their own. That is bad. They can't learn the rest of the things they need to learn. I want to mobilize an army of volunteers to work with parents and teachers to make sure that by the year 2000 every third

grader in America can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

I want to make sure that every—every single classroom in America and every library in every school has not only computers and educational materials and teachers trained on the computers but is hooked up to this worldwide information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. What does that mean? It means the kids in the poorest schools in America and the kids in the most remote rural schools for the first time in the history of this country can get the same information in the same time in the same way as the children in the wealthiest schools in America. And that will revolutionize educational opportunity. And we can do that. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And most important of all, I want to open the doors of a college education to every single American who is willing to go and work for it. I want to let more families save for an IRA, for their own retirement, and then withdraw from it tax-free, if they want to, to pay for education. I want to say that we can make 2 years of college as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today, by giving families a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their tax bill for the cost of a typical community college tuition in this country. And then everybody can go. Everybody can go.

And I believe that we ought to give a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year to families for the cost of any college tuition, undergraduate or graduate, medical school, veterinarian school, you name it. We can lift America if we do that. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I want you to help me build a bridge that keeps the crime rate coming down. The crime rate in Fort Worth has dropped 50 percent in the last 4 years, 50 percent in this community. If we lower it for 4 more years, it might be low enough for us to all feel safe again on our streets, in our homes, in our schools. That's very important. We've got to keep putting 100,000 police on the street. We've got to continue that fight.

And let me say one thing about that. We had a pretty rough time, our side did, in the elections of 1994, and one reason was a lot of good, God-fearing people in Texas and Arkansas and other places who loved to hunt, loved to go out in the woods and engage in sports shooting as well as hunting, were absolutely convinced when our opponents said that we were trying to take their guns away because we banned 19 kinds of assault weapons and passed the Brady bill. That's what they said, and a lot of people believed them. They were scared, and they voted against some good people in Congress.

Well, it's been 2 years, and it's kind of like the economic plan: Now we know. Now we know. Not a single Texas hunter has lost a rifle. Everybody is still hunting with the same weapon they had 2 years ago if they want to, every single soul in the country. But you know what? Sixty thousand fugitives, felons, and stalkers cannot get a handgun because of the Brady bill, and we're safer because of it. We are safer because of it. And I don't think they ought to be able to buy guns, people who beat up their spouses and their kids, either. I don't think they should. And I think we ought to extend it.

And we ought to keep going until we put 100,000 police on the street so we can prevent more crime. We ought to test people on parole for drug use, because 60 percent of the serious drugs in this country are used by people that are already in the criminal justice system. And parole is a privilege; people shouldn't be able to get out and abuse it and go back on drugs and become criminals again. Our children deserve better than that, and I hope you'll help us.

And one other thing, we can't entirely jail our way out of this problem. We've got to keep our kids out of trouble in the first place. We've got to do more to keep them off drugs in the first place. One of the things that I have fought hardest for is the safe and drug-free schools act, which gives schools all across our country the resources they need to make sure that they've got those D.A.R.E. officers coming into the classroom, they've got other people coming in to talk to these kids and be good role models and tell them that drugs can kill them and destroy their lives.

And you know, that's another thing that Mr. Morales' opponent and mine tried to cut. Now, why in the world they wanted to cut the safe and drug-free schools act and stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street is beyond me. But I think we know now we were right and they weren't. And I think we need to keep building that bridge to the 21st century. I want to ask you all to think about that.

There's more we need to do for families, more we need to do to clean up our environment. There's still 10 million American children living within 4 miles of toxic waste dumps. But if you'll give us 4 more years, we'll clean up the 500 worst dumps so we can say our kids are growing up next to parks and not poison. Every child in America deserves that. And I hope you'll help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

Ladies and gentlemen, this election is about your future and about the future of your children and your children's children. We are living in a time of phenomenal change in the way we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. If we make the right decisions, if we build the right kind of bridge, if it's big and broad enough for all of us to walk across and for our children and our children's children to walk across, the best days of this country are still ahead.

So I ask you again in the next 39 days to help us build that bridge by going out and talking to other people and saying, "What do you want our country to be like in 4 years? What do you want our country to be like as we start that new century? What do you want our country to be like when our children are our age?" If we ask the right questions, we'll give the right answers in Texas and all across America. Help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. at Sundance Square. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Kenneth L. Barr of Fort Worth; Fort Worth businessmen Ed, Bob, and Sid Bass who revitalized historic Sundance Square; Richard L. Connor, president and publisher, Fort Worth Star Telegram; Art Brender, chair, Tarrant County Democratic Party; Jim Wright, former Speaker of the House of Representatives; Carlton Lancaster, his wife, Jesse, and Bob Copeland, event coordinators; State Senator Mike Moncrief; State Representative Glenn Lewis; and Yolanda Cuevas-Chavera, chief executive officer, Cuevas Distribution Co., who introduced the President. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks Welcoming Returning Astronaut Shannon Lucid in Houston, Texas

September 27, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. I want to say first how very much I appreciate the work that is done here by all of you at NASA. Thank you, George Abbey. Thank you, Dan Goldin. Thank you, every one of you who worked for America's space program, for a job well done. This is all of your triumph here today, and America is very proud of you. Thank you very much.

Of course, like all of you, I'm here to say welcome home to Shannon Lucid. There's so many things to say about the incredible skill and stamina and dedication it takes to be in space for 6 months. Her achievements: the longest single flight by an American in space; the longest duration for any woman in space; five shuttle missions now for her. It's a monument to the human spirit. One of the wits on my airplane remarked as we were coming down, he said, "You know, Mr. President, you're always talking about bringing the deficit down for 4 years in a row; it's a good thing you haven't been giving her frequent-flier miles or we'd be in debt again." [*Laughter*] It's an amazing, amazing achievement.

And I know I speak for all Americans when I say I think we all feel at least that we've gotten to know Dr. Lucid, watching her grin and bear it as the mission was extended, hearing her eagerness to see her family, her yearning for what she called the wind and the sun. Perhaps more than she knows, she has also set a remarkable example for a new generation of young Americans and especially young girls all across this country who look up to her and now see new possibilities for themselves. And we thank her for that as well.

Let me also salute Bill Readdy and the crew of the *Atlantis*. What seems to me remarkable about their launch and return is that they make

it now seem easy, and we know it's not. But we know that their bravery and their professionalism make possible for all of us regular space travel with all of the scientific, military, and commercial benefits it brings. Now it's a part of our lives thanks to this crew and others like them.

The mission from which Dr. Lucid returns continues to cement the close and growing bonds of cooperation between the United States and the Russian space programs, something that we have worked very hard for, not only the cooperation between our Nation and Russia but between our Nation and other nations as well in the space station project.

We are committed to continuing the strong United States space program. We have to keep the space shuttle flying; work toward the international space station with all of its promise and challenges; develop the X–33, which will replace the shuttle and help to create a revolution in global communications; and continue robotic exploration of Mars and the solar system.

I was told, in preparing these remarks, that when Dr. Lucid was in the eighth grade, she wrote an essay saying she wanted to be a rocket scientist. She was told by her teacher there is no such thing as a rocket scientist and if there were, it wouldn't be a woman. Well, how lucky we are that not everyone can foresee the future.

I say that today to make this point: The children here, whether when they grow up they have anything to do with the space program or not, many of these children will be doing work that has not been invented yet. Many of these children will be doing work that has not been imagined yet. And we owe it to them, their future, and their children's future to continue in the American tradition of pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, exploring the frontiers that we don't yet understand.

Our space pioneers reflect the very best of America's spirit of exploration, our never-ending search for new horizons. And Dr. Shannon Lucid today stands tall among them all. We are grateful for her. We welcome her home.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. at Ellington Field. In his remarks, he referred to space shuttle *Atlantis* commander William Readdy.

Remarks to the Community in Houston
September 27, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. Hello, Houston! I'm glad to be here. Thank you for being here. I want to thank all those who have spoken before and all those who are here with us. I thank Congressman Gene Green and Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee—how well they have represented you. I am proud to work with them. I want to thank Nick Lampson, who's running for Congress in the Ninth District, and I hope you'll help him get elected.

Thank you, Senator Rodney Ellis, Mario Gallegos. Thank you, State Representative Al Edwards. Thank you, Texas Democratic Chairman Bill White, my longtime friend, for your service in the Energy Department in our administration and now for leading our party here. Thank you, Garry Mauro. Thank you, Victoria Baldwin. And thank you, Mayor Bob Lanier and Elyse Lanier, for your great leadership.

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Hey, folks, wait a minute, wait a minute, wait a minute. I'm glad—wait a minute, wait, wait. I'm glad we've got some people from the other camp here. They need to hear this.

And you know, when all you do—wait a minute. And you know, it's hard to hear when all you're doing is name calling. And so, I want you to do what I said at the Democratic Convention. I want us to be respectful and polite and positive and issue-oriented, because there are some things I want everybody in Texas to hear today. And I want you to help me say it.

You know, I came right here to this park almost 4 years ago, right at the end of the election. And I said that I wanted to give this

country back and its future back to ordinary Americans. I said that I wanted us to go into the 21st century with opportunity alive for everybody, with every citizen being responsible, and this country coming together, not being driven apart by our differences. We should respect our differences, build on them, and understand it's our meal ticket to the future. Just like the mayor said, if we can learn to live and work together, there is no stopping America and our best days are still ahead.

Now, 4 years ago I had a tough time in Texas. I mean the Democrats hadn't been winning the White House in a long time, and then I looked up and both my opponents were from Texas. [*Laughter*] It hardly seemed fair. And here you were, the biggest State in—the second biggest State in the country, representing so much of the future, and I know I'd spent more time in Texas than anybody else running over the last 40 years. And I had to run against two people from Texas. [*Laughter*] Well, that's not a handicap anymore, and I don't have any excuse. But neither do you.

So why don't we just think about where we've come from and where we're going? Four years ago this country had high unemployment, 20 years of stagnant wages, increasing inequality among working people. The crime rate was going up. The welfare rolls were going up. Public cynicism was going up because we despaired that we could make any difference, that what our leaders in Washington did would make any difference to people here at home, wherever home was in America.

Well, 4 years can make a lot of difference. And I appreciate what Congressman Green and Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee said. I especially appreciate what the mayor said about the work we've done together. But let me tell you what happened to me when I was in Longview this morning. We had 13,000 people in Longview this morning. It was great, unbelievable. And I ran into three people, just walking down the line like I always do. After I talked, I went down the line and shook hands with people. And I ran into three people; they weren't holding my signs or the other party's signs. They weren't holding—they were just people there. But I want to tell you who they were.

I met a man who was a Vietnam veteran, with his wife and his child. And his child has spina bifida, has had 12 operations. That man and his child at long last, because of a bill I signed yesterday, are finally going to get the medical attention and the disability support they need.

And then I went down the line a little ways, and I met a lady who said, "I'm a 34-year-old single mother of two children, and I'm a graduate of AmeriCorps. I worked for my community, and now I'm paying my way through the college here to start a better life and give my kids a better life."

And then I went on down a little more and I met a lady who was really crying. She was so—I didn't know what was the matter, she was obviously disturbed. And she said, "I'm sorry that I'm emotional, but because of the family and medical leave law, I was able to take a little time off from work when my husband was so sick with cancer, and I didn't lose my job. And it made a big difference to our life and our family."

I say this to point out that too many times over the last several years our politics in Washington have been more about hot air than concrete action to change the lives of the American people for the better. And I was determined when I went to Washington to replace the politics of finger-pointing and asking who's to blame with the politics of saying, what can we do to make this country a better place? What can we do to work together? What can we do to build a better future for our children? And I come here to tell you today we're in better shape than we were 4 years ago, and we're on the right track for the 21st century.

You know, I couldn't help but thinking about a lot of things that have been said over the last 4 years. I remember that Mr. Morales' opponent once said that if the President's economic plan passes in 1993, the deficit will go up and unemployment will go up and it will throw us into a recession. It's a terrible, terrible idea. And a lot of people believed him, and it took a while before we could tell, you know. But now we know. Now we know.

So here's the report on what they all voted against: 4 years later, 10½ million new jobs, a record number of new small businesses, record exports of America's goods and services, the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years, 4½ million new homeowners, every small business in the country eligible for a tax cut when they invest more in their business if they buy their own health insurance, easier for them to take our retirement plans.

And yesterday the census report, which comes out every year at this time, a totally nonpolitical document, tells us how we're doing. Here's what the census report of the United States said yesterday: It said that in 1995 median income—that is the families in the middle—increased on average almost $900 after inflation over '94, the biggest increase for ordinary Americans in 10 years. It said that since that economic plan passed, the increase was over $1,600 in the pockets of ordinary Americans. It said that we had the biggest decrease in child poverty in one year in 20 years in 1995. It said that we had the biggest decrease in inequality among working American families in 27 years. It said that we had the biggest reduction in the number of people living in poverty—most of them working, I might add—in 27 years. It said that we had the biggest drop recorded to the lowest levels ever—listen to this—since they have been keeping these statistics, that the poverty rate among African-Americans and American senior citizens had reached its lowest level in recorded history. We are on the right track, folks, to the 21st century. Don't let anybody kid you about that. We are moving in the right direction.

As Congressman Green said, on October 1st 10 million Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage. And let me tell you what else that bill does. It gives a $5,000 tax credit to anyone who will adopt a child. There's a lot of kids out there that need a good home, and this will help.

Thanks to the leadership of people like the mayor of Houston, the crime rate in the United States has dropped for 4 straight years in a row. And our crime bill is putting 100,000 police on the street and helping to support the decline in crime. And we ought to finish it.

Now, let me say one other thing. Mr. Lampson's opponent and a lot of other people made a lot of headway 4 years ago, going out to Texans and to people in my home State and around the country saying, "Well, that fool President's trying to take your gun away. That's what that Brady bill's all about. That's what that assault weapons ban's all about. He wants to take your gun away. He's going to interfere with your second amendment rights." And you know, no one knew in 1994, and it was pretty scary. But now we know. And you know something, it turned out we told the truth. That bill protected 650 different kinds of hunting and sporting weapons. Not a single hunter in Texas, not a one, lost a rifle. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong. And now we know. We're on the right track to the 21st century.

The welfare rolls are down almost 2 million. Child support collections are up almost 50 percent, by $3.8 billion. That's why people can get off welfare, if their children are supported by their parents. Our environment is cleaner, our water, our air, our food. We're making progress in public health and the environment. We cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than our opponents did in 12. We are moving in the right direction. And I came here to ask you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century. Will you do it? Will you do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Now, folks, I want——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

Now listen, we've got just 39 days left, 39 days for every one of you to find some time to talk to your friends and neighbors and family members, other folks who work with you and live with you in Texas, people you know beyond the State borders. And I want you to talk to them about the bridge to the 21st century we have to build. There are three or four big ideas in this election. Do you think we ought to build a bridge to the future, or can we build a bridge to the past?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do you believe that you're better off on your own, or do you think the First Lady's right, it does take a village to raise our children and to build a great city, to build a great State, to build a great Nation, all of us working together? Do you believe our best days are behind us or are our best days ahead of us?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. That is what you have to decide.

Folks, we have to—first of all, we've got to keep this economy growing. That means we have to balance the budget because that keeps interest rates down. All the experts tell me not to talk about that. They said, "You go out to a rally, you'll bore people to death if you talk about balancing the budget." But let me tell you something. Our opponents on the other side, they talk about how conservative they are.

We have reduced the deficit 4 years in a row. You know when the last time that happened was? You know when it happened? In the 1840's, before the Civil War. Don't tell me about conservative. Don't tell me about that. We reduced the size of the Government, the number of Government regulations and killed more ineffective and outdated programs than they ever did. Don't tell me about being conservative.

But I'll tell you something. I think we ought to have enough Government left to help people get an education, to protect our environment, to take care of the elderly with Medicare, and to build this country and move it forward. And I think you do too. I think you do too. So, yes, balance the budget, but do it without wrecking Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. And do it without wrecking our commitment to the future. We have to invest in research and technology.

Just before I came here, I went out to welcome Shannon Lucid back to Houston from space. And I was given a note before I welcomed her that said when she was a little girl, she told someone that she wanted to be a rocket scientist, and an adult said to her, there's no such thing, and if there were, it wouldn't be a woman.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Well, let me tell you something. My little girl and little girls all over America and not so little girls, they think Shannon Lucid's pretty great. And they think—and a lot of little boys do too. And the point is that she is doing something that we could not have imagined just a few years ago. And these kids in this audience today—and all of you who brought your children, I want to thank you and all of you young people that came on your own, I want to thank you. But our commitment to the space program is one example of the fact that we are going to solve problems, climb mountains, and push back boundaries in ways that we cannot even imagine. You young people will be doing work that hasn't been invented yet, often that hasn't been imagined yet.

Let me just give you just a couple of examples. Number one, we have more than doubled the life expectancy of people with the HIV infection in only 4 years with medical research. Number two—I'll give you another example. A lot of you were very moved by what Christopher Reeve said at our Democratic Convention about the importance of medical research. He's so brave, so powerful. Just a few days before he made that speech, it was revealed that for the first time ever in laboratory animals with severed spines had movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants to those spines. Who knows what we can do to give people their mobility back, to give people their future back? Who knows? We have to keep fighting for that. We have to keep fighting for that. Third example: The United States just issued into a joint venture with IBM to build a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second then you can do on your hand-held calculator at home in 30,000 years. That is the future, and I'm determined to see that we keep investing in that future so every one of these kids will have a place in it.

And let me say this: We can have a tax cut. But it ought to be a tax cut that is targeted to folks who need it and targeted to the purposes that will help our country most, to raising children, to getting people a college education, to paying for health care and the first home, and to making sure people don't have to pay a tax on their home when they sell it, because often that's the only savings they've got in life. That's the kind of tax cut we can afford and we ought to have the one we can afford, but we shouldn't have one we can't afford. You don't want to go back and run up this deficit again.

One thing our friends in the other party said last year that I agree with—they were absolutely right, and I hate to see them change their position—last year they said if we're not on a plan to a balanced budget, it will add 2 percent to our interest rates. Now, I want you to go home and think about this tonight. What would it mean to you if you had 2 percent on your car payment, 2 percent on your credit card payment, 2 percent on your home mortgage, 2 percent on your student loan? What would it mean to the economy of Houston and Texas if every business person had to pay 2 percent more to borrow money? It would mean fewer jobs, slower growth, fewer pay raises. It would take us right back where we were. We do not want to go back; we want to go forward, build a bridge to the 21st century.

And I want to ask you to help me build a bridge to the 21st century that will give world-class education to all of our children. And I hope you will do that. First thing I want to say is, we've got a lot of great educational oppor-

tunities in this country, but 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in America can't even read a book by themselves yet. And I want to mobilize an army of volunteers, through AmeriCorps, through senior citizens, through reading specialists, to go out and work with parents and teachers so that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in America can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." And I want you to help me do that.

I want us to connect every classroom and library and every school in America to the information superhighway. You know why? A lot of you are older like me and aren't great with computers. Let me tell you in plain language what that means. If we put the computers, the software, the teachers out there who understand it, and then we hook it up to all these information networks, what that means is, for the first time in the history of America the kids in the poorest, inner-city schools, the kids in the remotest rural schools in west Texas and North Dakota and you name it will have access to the same information at the same level of quality in the same time as the children in the richest schools, public or private, in the United States do. It will revolutionize education. We can do that if you'll help. We can do that. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Let me say this: Most of us are going to have to face the fact that education is a lifetime endeavor. More and more the average age of people going to college is higher and higher. More and more when people lose a job, they've got to go back to school and get training if they want to get a better job instead of a worse one. We have got to make the doors of college open to every single American who is willing to work hard to be a good student. That ought to be the only criterion.

And I want to do three things. Number one, I want more families to be able to save in an IRA, an individual retirement account, save for their retirement account, but take it out without any taxes if they're using the money to pay for education.

Number two, in 4 years I want at least 2 years of education after high school, a community college degree, to be as universal in America as a high school diploma is today. And it will be easy to do. This is not complicated. Nearly every American lives within driving distance of a good community college. And they work or they'd go out of business. They're great institutions. What we propose to do is to let you take off your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the tuition cost at the typical community college for 2 years, so that every American of any age can go. And we can pay for it in the balanced budget.

And finally, in this great city with great higher education facilities and great medical facilities, I believe we ought to give the American taxpayers a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the tuition cost of any education after high school at any age. And I want you to help me deliver that.

There's a lot more we have to do, folks. We need to keep supporting people like your mayor here and finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the streets. We need to keep supporting community antidrug activities and antigang activities like the safe and drug-free schools programs that I fought so hard for and that we stopped this Congress from gutting when they tried to do it. We need to keep doing that.

We've got to keep working, and I have a plan to help the cities and the private sector create a million jobs to help the new welfare reform law succeed. Let me say this: That new law says something simple and straightforward and it's controversial, but I want you to know why I believe it's the right thing to do. It says the Federal Government will continue to guarantee to poor families medical care and nutrition, and if the person takes a job, more money on child care than ever before. But we're going to give what used to be in that check to the States, and eventually to the local community workers, and they have to figure out how to turn that welfare check into a paycheck for every able-bodied person within 2 years. That means that everybody in Houston, Texas, that ever cussed the welfare system has now got an obligation to say, "What can I do to help these people go to work?" Because we want people to succeed at home and at work. That's what we want for poor families, what we want for working families. And I intend to help, and I want you to help. I want you to help.

We've got to keep working to help our families succeed at home and at work. Anywhere I go in America, the number one thing I hear from families is that every working family, whether they're modest income, middle income, even upper income working families, nearly every family I talk to with children can cite

one or two traumatic examples in their lives when they've had a real conflict between their jobs and their job at home of raising their children. I say we want to build a bridge to the 21st century where Americans can succeed with their children—their most important work—and at their jobs. And that's what this whole policy is all about.

That's why, with all respect to the folks who are here, I think we were right and they were wrong when I signed the family and medical leave law. Now, what they said was, "If you pass this family and medical leave law, it will be terrible for business." All the law said is, if your business has 50 or more employees, an employee can have a little time off when there's a baby born or a sick parent or a sick child, without being fired. That's all it said.

Now, 3 years later, now we know. Twelve million families have taken some time off, and during that time we've got 10½ million more jobs and a record number of new small businesses every year. We can protect work and family in America and build this country together.

I believe we can improve our environment, not just protect it, and grow the economy. And I want to tell you that in spite of what I said before about toxic waste sites, there are still 10 million American children living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump—10 million of them. But if you'll give us 4 more years, we'll clean up the 500 worst dumps, and our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Will you do that? [*Applause*]

Let me make one last comment. A big part of building our bridge is how we relate to the rest of the world and how we relate to each other. I'm proud of the fact that this country is a safer country than it was. The nuclear threat has been diminished. We have been a force for peace. We have strengthened our efforts against terrorism. We have dramatically expanded trade. But we have to face the fact that we are going to live in a global society where no matter where you live, we can transfer ideas, information, money, technology, across the borders of nations in a split second.

Now, if you think about that kind of world, there is no nation as well-positioned as the United States to do well. Why? Well, look around this crowd today—because we all come from somewhere else. Everybody but the Native Americans all come from somewhere else—everybody. When I welcomed the Olympic teams to Atlanta, there were teams from 197 different national groups. The largest county in America, Los Angeles County, has people from 150 of those places in one of our counties. When I looked at the American Olympic team it occurred to me that if they took their uniforms off we wouldn't know where they're from. [*Laughter*] They could be from China; they could be from Japan; they could be from India; they could be from Pakistan; they could be from the Middle East; they could be from the Nordic countries; they could be from Europe; they could be from Latin America; they could be from anywhere. That's America.

This is not a country based on race, ethnicity, or specific religious convictions. This is a country which has said for over 200 years, if you believe in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution of this country, you're our kind of person. All you've got to do is show up tomorrow and behave, and we'll build a bridge you can walk across into the 21st century. Now, you have to ask yourself, do you believe that?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you help us build that kind of bridge?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Do you believe our best days are still ahead?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Then for 39 days go out and tell it to other people, and we'll have a great victory in Texas and in America.

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:42 p.m. at Sam Houston Park. In his remarks, he referred to State Senators Rodney Ellis and Mario Gallegos; and Victoria Baldwin, principal, Fulmore Elementary School in Austin, TX.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Cyprus
September 27, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95–384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I submit this report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. The previous submission covered progress through May 31, 1996. The current submission covers the period June 1, 1996, through July 31, 1996.

I was pleased to welcome President Clerides to the White House on June 17. His visit capped a series of personal consultations on Cyprus I have had with regional leaders, beginning with Turkish President Demirel this March. During the reporting period, I dispatched U.N. Ambassador Albright and my Cyprus emissary, Richard Beattie, to the region to explore opportunities for progress toward a comprehensive solution. Following their trip, Ambassador Albright and Mr. Beattie confirmed to me that, notwithstanding the many disagreements between the parties, the United States should stay actively engaged on Cyprus. I remain committed to doing all we can to support the parties' efforts to bring about a settlement.

Based on consultations with the U.N. force commander in Cyprus, Ambassador Albright and Mr. Beattie proposed during their trip that the military commanders on the island meet to discuss implementation of practical measures to reduce tensions along the U.N. Buffer Zone. We hope that the parties will overcome their disagreement over whom should participate in the meeting, which has prevented it from taking place. We believe the tragic events of August underscore the urgent need to move immediately to reduce the potential for violence along the Buffer Zone.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jesse Helms, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Railroad Retirement Board
September 27, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board for Fiscal Year 1995, pursuant to the provisions of section 7(b)(6) of the Railroad Retirement Act and section 12(1) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 27, 1996.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Federal Labor Relations Authority
September 27, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 701 of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (Public Law 95–454; 5 U.S.C. 7104(e)), I have the pleasure of transmitting to you the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for Fiscal Year 1995.

The report includes information on the cases heard and decisions rendered by the Federal Labor Relations Authority, the General Counsel of the Authority, and the Federal Service Impasses Panel.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 27, 1996.

The President's Radio Address
September 28, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk to you about a new executive action I'm taking to crack down on deadbeat parents who won't pay the child support they owe.

During my time as President, I've had a straightforward strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and coming together in a stronger American community. That's America's basic bargain.

We've worked hard to offer every American opportunity, the chance to make the most of his or her own life. We've got 10½ million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 7½ years, the deficit has been cut by 60 percent. And just this week, we received more news that our strategy is working and America is on the right track. According to the U.S. census, the income of a typical family went up $1,600 over inflation over the past 2 years. In just the last year the increase was almost $900, the biggest increase in a decade. The number of people living in poverty and the rate of income inequality in our country dropped faster than at any time since 1968. Our economy clearly is on the right track to the 21st century.

As we offer opportunity, we must also demand responsibility. The problems of our society will only be solved if there is an upsurge of personal responsibility, if individuals take it upon themselves to meet their obligations, do the right thing, and give something back to those around them.

No area cries out for greater personal responsibility than the quiet crisis of child support. No one should be able to escape responsibility for bringing a child into the world. That is our first and most fundamental duty. But today, too many fathers have tried to walk away from that obligation. When a father leaves the home it can throw a mother and children into poverty. In fact, one of the main reasons people go on welfare is because the father has failed to meet his obligations of child support. If all the parents in this country paid the child support they owe, we could move 800,000 women and children off the welfare rolls tomorrow.

So our administration has waged an unprecedented and sustained campaign to collect child support and make deadbeat parents pay up. We required States to set up programs at hospitals to find out the identity of fathers at the time a baby is born. Two hundred thousand fathers have been identified through this program. We're requiring mothers who receive welfare to tell us the name of the father of the child. We set up a national data base of delinquent parents and linked up the data bases from 17 States. And I'm pleased to report that in its first few months this system has identified over 60,000 delinquent fathers. Over half owed money to mothers on welfare.

And the landmark welfare reform legislation I signed last month institutes the most dramatic crackdown yet on child support enforcement. It says to deadbeat parents, pay up or we'll track you down, garnish your wages, and make you pay what you owe. Under the new welfare law, States will suspend driver's licenses of deadbeats who don't pay and the National Government will take away passports. This year, at my direction, the IRS will collect $1 billion in child support by withholding part of tax refunds. The U.S. Postal Service has begun work with the States to post lists of parents who owe support. And we're using the new information technologies to catch delinquent parents, linking the web pages of 20 States to post the identities of deadbeat parents on the Internet.

We now have new evidence of how effective this crackdown has been. In 4 years, child sup-

port collections in our country have risen from $8 billion to $11.8 billion, a nearly 50 percent increase in child support collections. And nearly 800,000 paternities were identified. That's an increase of 50 percent over 1992.

We've made a real difference. But we can do more, and we must do more. This past week, the Justice Department proposed legislation making it a felony and increasing penalties for crossing State lines to avoid paying child support or to refuse to pay support for a child in another State.

Last year I issued an Executive order requiring all employees of the Federal Government to pay the child support they owed. Today I'm issuing a new Executive order designed to crack down even harder on those who refuse to pay their child support.

First, I'm ordering Federal agencies to take necessary and legal steps to deny Government loans, such as small business loans, farm loans, home loans, to deadbeat parents.

Second, the Government will do more to collect child support itself. We'll create a streamlined computer system that can find out which people who receive Federal payments still owe child support. We'll deduct child support debts from these fees paid to Government consultants and vendors and the benefits paid to retired Federal employees. The Treasury Department estimates that some $800 million in payments go to these deadbeat parents. These funds can then be paid to the mother and the children.

The Executive order says simply if you owe child support, you shouldn't get the support of the National Government. You can't make money off the taxpayers if you're refusing to support your own children. It says we mean business, and we intend to make responsibility a way of life.

We know that when we do take responsibility we can meet the difficult challenges like crime, welfare, and poverty. We're already making real and dramatic progress on child support collections. And I am confident that we can make even more progress. But ultimately, we will only meet this challenge if we recognize that governments don't raise children, parents do. We need everyone to take responsibility to give our children the love and support they need and deserve, to show them by our own actions the meaning of right and wrong. If we do this, then I have great confidence in our country, our children, and our future.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7 p.m. on September 27 at a private residence in Houston, TX, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on September 28. The Executive order of September 28 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks in Providence, Rhode Island

September 28, 1996

Good morning, Rhode Island! Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you for being here in such large numbers and with such great good spirits. You deserve these good spirits because our country is on the right track to the 21st century.

Mayor Cianci, thank you for that wonderful welcome and for your exuberant leadership. Under that leadership, as I saw when I drove into town today, Providence has become once again not only a truly historic city but a wonderfully beautiful one. It's an honor for me to be here in this great place.

Thank you, Secretary of State James Longevin, for being here, for being on this platform with me, and for serving well and for embodying the proposition that every person in this country ought to have a chance to live up to his or her God-given capacities. Thank you for serving.

I want to thank the legislative leaders, Governor Sundlun, the other distinguished citizens of Rhode Island who are here. I want to say a special word of thanks to the people who provided our music, the Cranston High School West Marching Band, the Easterly High School—Westerly High School Jazz Band, and the Holy Cross Cathedral Church Gospel Choir. Thank you.

Thank you very, very much, Dawn Fayerwether. Thank you for standing up here as a living symbol of what our common efforts are all about: to build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across.

Thank you, Lieutenant Governor Bob Weygand, for running for Congress. We'll sure need you there as you saw over the last 2 years. And thank you, Patrick Kennedy, for serving with such energy and determination. You know, I thought I had energy until I met Patrick Kennedy. [*Laughter*] I don't know if he ever sleeps, but he certainly never stops working for the people of Rhode Island. And I thank him for what he has done.

Thank you, Senator Claiborne Pell and Mrs. Pell, for a lifetime of service to this State and to our Nation. Thank you not only for your dedication to education but also for your work for the cause of world peace and for all you have done to advance it. And finally, Senator, after so many years in which our national politics have become too mean, too personal, too divisive, and too full of hot air, it was a real honor for me to stand up here and watch you once again in positive, graceful, constructive tones set out what is best about our country, best about our Constitution, and best about public service. We wish you well, we love you, and we thank you.

And thank you, Jack Reed, also for a lifetime of service, beginning with your career at West Point, culminating now in your soon-to-be ascendance to the United States Senate, for representing the American dream. It's alive and well, and unlike some, you want it to be alive and well for everyone else as well. And we thank you for that. Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am especially glad to be here in Rhode Island today and with Senator Pell to bring you some exciting news that occurred late last night. Last night we reached a broad bipartisan agreement on the budget for the Government next year. It is good for America because it continues to move us toward a balanced budget while protecting, not violating, our values. It is especially exciting for me because the budget adopts my program to continue our advances in education. And it is a fitting tribute to Senator Claiborne Pell's last session of Congress because—and I don't think he knows this yet—the budget we agreed to last night contains the biggest increase in Pell grant scholarships in 20 years.

The budget will put 40,000 more young children in Head Start. The budget fully funds our commitment to the technological literacy initiative which will connect every classroom in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. It protects our environment by funding clean air, clean water, and safe food. It recognizes that we are both a nation of immigrants and a nation of laws. It builds on our approach to combat illegal immigration at the borders, in the workplace, and in the criminal justice system, but it does so without hurting innocent children or punishing legal immigrants. Thank goodness we have turned that around.

It restores the antidrug funding I asked Congress to pass, including full funding of the safe and drug-free schools program, to give our children something to say yes to early in life so they don't get in trouble in the first place. I hope we have ended the ill-advised attempt to move away from that. Safe and drug-free schools, the D.A.R.E. program, people going into our schools, working with our kids: that's the way to go. And I'm proud that the Congress agreed last night.

It enacts the terrorism proposal I made last month—antiterrorism proposal—and puts into effect Vice President Gore's commission's recommendation on increased airport security measures, making air travel safer for all Americans and those who come here. It ends—and I hope for good—the attempts of Congress to stop our commitment to putting 100,000 more police officers on our streets. It continues the program until we finish the job of putting those 100,000 police out and making all of the streets of America safer for our children and their families to walk.

And in a marked departure from the congressional efforts of just several months ago, it not only reflects an abandonment of their attempts to repeal the ban on assault weapons, but it accepted my recommendation that we expand the Brady bill to say that now that we've taken guns away or prevented guns from going to 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers because of the Brady bill, it's time to extend that and say you shouldn't get a handgun if you beat up your spouse or your child either. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

In the last 3 months, as the American people have made it clear that they have no intention of seeing our country torn apart and divided

over a radical agenda, we have restored a measure of bipartisanship and working together in Washington. Look what happens when you abandon extremism in favor of working together:

The Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill, making 25 million Americans eligible to keep their health insurance when they change jobs and say they can't be denied it if someone in their family gets sick.

A welfare reform bill that says we will continue our national commitment to health care and nutrition for poor families, we will spend more money on child care when people on welfare take jobs, but we will develop now a community-based system of dealing with poor families so that every community in this country can and must take responsibility for moving people from welfare checks to paychecks. It is a good thing for this country.

On October 1st, just a few days away, 10 million Americans will get an increase in their minimum wage because of the minimum wage increase. And we have made every small business in the country eligible for a greater tax cut if they spend more money in their business. And in the same legislation, we made it easier for people in small businesses to take out pensions for themselves and their employees and for the employees of small businesses to take those pensions with them when they go from job to job. And in the same piece of legislation, there is a $5,000 tax credit for people who adopt children. There are so many children out there that need a home; I hope this will help them to find it.

And just a couple of days ago, I passed a piece of legislation which protects mothers and newborns from being thrown out of the hospital within a day after the children are born.

Ladies and gentlemen, the budget agreement we reached last night—make no mistake about it—yes, it reflects my priorities, but it was reached because it reflects your priorities. And you have been speaking loud and clear about what kind of America you want to go into the 21st century. It's a victory for your values. It's a victory for our country. Thank you so much for making yourselves heard.

This agreement proves that if we work together instead of pointing our fingers at one another, we can do what we need to do. We can balance the budget, invest in our people, keep our streets safe, stay on the right track. We can produce results for the American people.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are a lot of things that are said in every election. But you know, when you get right down to it, the real issue is whether, after all is said and done, America produces more people like Dawn Fayerwether or not. The real issue is whether we are working together to create the conditions and give ourselves the tools to make the most of our own lives, to build good work lives and good families and strong communities and a strong nation.

I heard Dawn telling her story. Right before I saw Dawn I met a person from Providence that I hope I've helped to make a little famous. Her name is Marilyn Concepcion, and she's standing over there. Stand up, Marilyn.

Marilyn spoke at the Democratic Convention to tell her story, but I hope I've helped to make her a little famous. I'm going to do this because I saw Senator Dole doing this the other day; I think it's all right. [*Laughter*] I wrote a book about what I thought was at stake in this country, in this election and going into the 21st century, called "Between Hope And History." And I started the section on opportunity with Marilyn's story, from Providence, Rhode Island.

An immigrant from Puerto Rico, a high school dropout, a person who worked many jobs, a person who got involved in one of our AmeriCorps programs, City Year, one of the best programs in the country—and Rhode Island has just voted to go statewide with City Year—where young people are given a chance to work in their communities to solve problems, to help people, and in the process earn money to go back to school. And this young immigrant lady, an AmeriCorps graduate, a public servant in City Year, a high school dropout, is about to start—or just started her second year at Brown University, one of the finest institutions of higher education in America.

I believe we did the right thing to resist those efforts to cut the Pell grant program and instead expanded it. That means more Dawn Fayerwethers. And I believe we did the right thing to start AmeriCorps and then to stop them from doing away with it. It means more Marilyn Concepcions. That's what this election is all about. That's what this country is all about. That's what our future is all about.

This is not an accident, and this is not confined to a few people. Yesterday I was in the great and the very big State of Texas. And I was in Longview, Texas, a town of about 70,000 people, in the morning for a rally like this. There were lots of people there. After the rally I did as I customarily do, I walked down along the line there and shook hands with people. And within the course of 5 minutes I met the following people. I met a young 34-year-old woman, a single mother of two children, who went back later than most young people do and served in AmeriCorps and was using her money to go to the local junior college to start a life again so she could support her children.

And then I met a woman who was very emotional, who said to me, "Mr. President, I'm so grateful that the family leave law was passed because my husband had cancer and I could spend some time with my husband and not lose my job." I think America's better because of that. I think we were right to pass the family leave law, and those who opposed it were not.

And then I met a man in a camouflage jacket, a military jacket, who was there with his wife and daughter in a wheelchair, who served our country with honor in Vietnam, who was exposed to Agent Orange, and as has happened too many times, his child had spina bifida, and she had had 12 operations. And in that bill which ended drive-by pregnancies, we also said at long last and too late, we're finally going to give some help to those people. They're qualifying for disability. They're qualifying for medical support. Their sacrifice should not be visited on their children, and if it is, we'll do our best to make it right. That's what this country is all about. That's what this country's all about, and that's what this choice is all about.

We have to decide some big questions. We all know how much the world is changing. Think how much the way we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world has changed in the last few years. And think how much it will change in the future. We know that it's going to change. The young people in this audience today, they'll be doing jobs, many of them, that haven't even been invented yet. Some of them will be doing work that has not been imagined yet.

Yesterday I had the great honor of welcoming home to Houston to the space program there, the Johnson Space Center, Shannon Lucid after her long, miraculous stay in space. When she was a young girl, she told someone she wanted to be a rocket scientist, and the adult said, there is no such thing, and if there were, it wouldn't be a woman. [*Laughter*] Well, today there are a lot of rocket scientists and a lot of them are women. And a lot of young girls were thrilled to see Shannon Lucid staying in space for 6 months.

And I can tell you that every time we go into space, we gain new knowledge that helps us here at home in preserving the environment and advancing the frontiers of medical science. Every time we do that, we push back the frontiers of human knowledge and create new opportunities for our people to make a living in ways that make the most of their God-given capacities. So I say I think we were right. President Kennedy was right to support the space program, and those who opposed it then were not right. I'm glad President Kennedy did that. And I'm proud to still be supporting the frontiers of America's exploration at home and in the heavens.

When you come down to it, there are a few big questions that we have to ask. And this is a truly historic period in our history. You have seen from the debates of the last 4 years two starkly different views of our future and what we should do as a people. And you have to decide, do we want to build a bridge to the future, or do we really believe we can build one to the past? I believe we have to build a bridge to the future; it is America's historic mission to always go into the future.

Do we really believe that our money is wasted when we give a small portion of it to give Dawn Fayerwether a chance to get an education or Marilyn Concepcion a chance to work in City Year? Is our money wasted if we give a small portion of it to the Pell grants, to the Head Starts, to the preservation of our shared environment? Do we really believe you'd be better off if you were on your own, or don't you think the First Lady is right, it does take a village to raise a child and to build a country?

Folks, 4 years ago the people of Rhode Island were very good to me. But I asked you to take me on faith. You didn't really know. After all, I'd never been in Congress or the Senate, never worked in an administrative capacity in the Federal Government. I was just a Governor of a small State; you can identify with that. [*Laughter*] Some said a Governor of a small State had no business being President. But one thing you

learn in a small place is that hot air doesn't get you very far, because people find you out. [*Laughter*] And it seemed to me that it was time to stop the finger-pointing in Washington and start asking what can we do to roll up our sleeves and make this country a better place; how can we work together; how can we move forward.

Now you don't have to take it on faith. You've got some evidence. And I want to ask you in the next 38 days to talk to your friends and neighbors in this State and beyond the borders of this State about the evidence and the stakes for the future, because there's no guesswork now. I said I wanted to take this country into the next century with the American dream alive for every person who was responsible enough to work for it. I said I wanted our country to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I said that I believed we had to go into the 21st century as a stronger American community, respecting our diversity, not being torn apart by it as so many other places in this old troubled world are, and that if we did those things—opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community in which all have a place—our best days were still ahead. The evidence is in. We are on the right track. Now you have to go out and convince the rest of the American people that that is exactly the case.

You know, compared to 4 years ago—just listen to this—we have 10½ million more jobs, the lowest unemployment in 7½ years. The unemployment rate in Rhode Island is exactly half what it was when I became the President of the United States. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. The deficit has been cut by 60 percent and has gone down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War, in the 1840's. We are moving in the right direction.

A couple of days ago we got some news that really warmed the hearts of those of us who belong to our political party, because it showed that our prosperity—after 20 years of stagnant wages and 20 years of increasing inequality in our country among hard-working people, that things are starting to change. Last year after inflation the typical family's income went up by $900, the biggest increase in a decade. Last year we had the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years. Last year we had the biggest drop in the number of poor people in 27 years. And we had the biggest decrease—decrease—in the inequality of incomes of working families in 27 years. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

As the previous speakers have said, we have expanded educational opportunities. As the mayor noted, we have done what we could to work with local communities to bring the crime rate down. And the crime rate in America has gone down for 4 years in a row. There are almost 2 million fewer people on welfare. Child support collections have gone up almost 50 percent, by $3.8 billion. And that's one of the reasons people are moving off welfare, because parents are being required to assume responsibility for their children again.

The Family and Medical Leave Act not only helped that lady in Longview, Texas, who talked to me yesterday; 12 million times American families have been able to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a child or a parent was sick without losing their jobs. And it's been good for our economy. I'd like to see it expanded so that families can take some time off to go to regular parent-teacher conferences and regular doctor's appointments with their children or their parents.

I want to see a country where people can succeed at home and at work. One of the biggest challenges facing us today is that the American people are working harder than ever before and almost every parent of any income group can cite a few examples in life when they were afraid that the demands of their work took away from the responsibilities of their parenthood. There is no more important job than raising our children. We have to keep a strong economy. That's what things like the Family and Medical Leave Act are for. We have a more productive economy when people are not worried sick about their children while they're at work. That is the kind of America I am trying to build.

Now, I think we also have to face the fact that we've got to build on—we have to build on the pioneering work of Claiborne Pell to keep America's educational opportunities and standards and performance up to the finest in the world. And there are two things I'd like to emphasize in particular. Forty percent of the children in this country who are in the third grade still can't read a book on their own. It's going to be very hard for them to master the demands of the information age if that's so. I want to mobilize an army of AmeriCorps volun-

teers, reading specialists, senior citizens to go in and work with parents and work with schools to make sure that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in this country can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

When we finish the work of hooking up all of our classrooms to the information superhighway—for those of you who aren't computer geniuses like our children are, but I'm not, let me explain in plain language what that means. It means not only computers and educational materials and the computers and teachers trained to work so that they're not letting the kids get ahead of them on the computers, it means something else. When you hook all these computers into the Internet, into the World Wide Web, into these other information networks, what that means is that for the first time in the entire history of the United States the children in the poorest inner-city schools, the children in the most remote rural schools will have access to the same information at the same level of quality in the same time as the children in the wealthiest and best public and private schools in the United States. It has never happened before. We can do it now, and we must do it now.

And I want, finally, to make sure that we have literally opened the doors of college education to every person in this America who is willing to work for that, without regard to their income. And I have three specific proposals to add to what we're doing.

Number one, I think more Americans should be able to save in an IRA, but withdraw from that retirement account without tax consequences if they're going to pay for a college education, a health care emergency, buying a home.

Number two, I believe that we should give people like Dawn literally the cost of at least a community college education so that we can say by the year 2000, we have made 2 years of education after high school just as universal as a high school diploma is today. And it will be easy to do. It would be easy to do. I propose a tax credit which would let people take from their income taxes, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition in America. It will be a wonderful thing. We can overnight say the community college system is accessible to all of you. And it will pay us back, and we can pay for it.

And finally, I think we ought to make up to $10,000 a year of college tuition deductible for any kind of higher education, 4-year colleges, medical school, veterinary school, you name it. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We need to build a bridge to the 21st century that continues our work to prove that we can clean up our environment and grow our economy. There are still some people who don't believe that. But let me tell you, there are still 10 million children growing up within 4 miles of toxic waste dumps. If you'll give us 4 more years, we'll clean up the 500 worst dumps so that we can say our children, they're growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Finally, let me say we've got to keep this economy going, growing, and strong. That means we do need to balance the budget, because that keeps interest rates down, that keeps your home mortgage, your car payments, your student loan payments, your credit card payments down. It keeps the interest rates on business loans down so more people can borrow money to grow new businesses and hire new people.

But we cannot do it in a way that violates our values and tears us apart as a country. We do not need to destroy the Medicare program in order to save it and balance the budget, and I don't intend to let it happen. We do not need to revoke our historic guarantee of health care coverage to poor mothers and their little children, to the elderly who are in nursing homes, whose children are often middle class workers who would be poor if it weren't for Medicare helping their parents. And we must not do it to families who have family members who have disabilities. That keeps them in the middle class and gives their family members the dignity of decent health care without driving the families into poverty.

We cannot do it by cutting back on education or the environment or on research. Here we are celebrating the space program. You clapped for that. There's more on the way. We have doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV in just 4 years because of medical research and the rapid movement of drugs into the marketplace.

Many of you were very moved by Christopher Reeve's speech at the Democratic Convention

calling for more research dealing with spinal cord injuries and other medical problems. Let me tell you, just a few days before he gave that speech, for the first time ever, a laboratory animal with a completely severed spine showed movement in its lower limbs because of nerve transplants into that spine. No telling what we can do if we keep pushing back the frontiers of knowledge. We cannot walk away from the future.

So there it is. You have the evidence. You have 4 years of proof that we're on the right track; that saying we're building a bridge to the future, saying it takes a village, saying that community and opportunity and responsibility are the right way to go. You have a world of evidence around the world, where countries are being torn apart when they don't get along with each other, when they discriminate against people based on their race or their gender or their ethnicity or their tribal group or their religious convictions. This country is in the best shape of any nation in the world to go into that next century, and our best days are still ahead if we vote on November 5th to build a bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. at Station Park. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Vincent A. Cianci, Jr., of Providence; Bruce Sundlun, former Governor of Rhode Island; Dawn Fayerwether, student, Community College of Rhode Island; Senator Claiborne Pell's wife, Nuala; and Rhode Island senatorial candidate Jack Reed.

Remarks in Fall River, Massachusetts
September 28, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Hello, Fall River! Mr. Mayor, thank you for making me feel so welcome. Senator Kennedy pointed out I have been all over the world. This is my first trip here. If I had know what I was missing, I'd have been here sooner, I can tell you that. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Are there any Portuguese-Americans here? [*Applause*] *Obrigado* [*Thank you*], Fall River. I'm glad to be here. I'm delighted to be here with all of you. I thank Joan Menard for starting us off and for the good work she has done. I want to thank Jim McGovern for presenting himself as a candidate for Congress, and I hope you'll make him a Congressman. He'd be a good one. I want to thank my good friend Congressman Barney Frank who's here, who used to represent you in the legislature. Thank you, Barney. And I want to thank his sister, Ann Lewis, who is the spokesperson for my Presidential campaign. You may have seen her on television taking up for me. She's going to wind up getting her name recognition up as high as her brother's, and that's a pretty good thing. And I want to thank their proud mother, Elsie Frank, who is here somewhere today. I saw her. Thank you, dear.

I am delighted to be here with all of you. But I want to say a special word of thanks, as an old musician, to Our Lady of Light Band and the Mike Moran Band. Thank you both for providing the music for us.

Thank you, Senator Ted Kennedy. And Vicki, thank you for being here. You know, I wish I had as much energy as Ted Kennedy does. I just left Providence, where I was with Congressman Patrick Kennedy, and he was the bounciest person on that stage. Ladies and gentlemen, you cannot imagine the phenomenal impact that Ted Kennedy had on this Congress. After they passed their radical budget and I vetoed it and you made clear—you and people like you all across America, in all 50 States, Democrats, Republicans, and independents, too—that you basically agreed with me and us and not them, it was just amazing what Ted Kennedy was able to do in this Congress.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill will make 25 million Americans eligible to keep their health insurance when they change jobs and say they can't lose it if somebody in their family gets sick—25 million. And this Congress, which just a year ago was out there trying

to raise income taxes on the lowest income working American families, trying to lower the income of the working people with the lowest incomes in the country—thanks to the leadership of Ted Kennedy, on October 1st, which I think is Tuesday, 10 million Americans will get a pay raise when their minimum wage goes up. Thank you, Senator, thank you.

And I might add that bill will also make it easier for people in small businesses to take out retirement plans and for employees in small businesses to keep those retirement plans when they move from business to business. So it's good for workers and good for business. It also has a $5,000 tax credit for families who adopt children who need a home, and I hope more of them will get a home now. Thank you for that bill. It's a good bill for America.

I'm delighted to be here with my friend Senator John Kerry and with Teresa. And I want to tell you, folks, I know that John Kerry has a vigorous and spirited race. But every one of you here in Fall River knows what's really at stake. We're going through a period of great change in this country in how we work, how we live, how we relate to the rest of the world, what it will take for us to see that every American lives up to the fullest of his or her God-given potential.

When I put forward my economic plan in 1993, the other side said it would cause a recession and increase unemployment and increase the deficit. Well, now we know. We've got 10½ million jobs, and the deficit has gone down 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War. John Kerry was right. He's on the right side of history.

When we tried to get past 6 years of talking tough on crime but nothing happening—rhetoric and rhetoric and rhetoric and no action—to put 100,000 police on the street, to ban deadly assault weapons, to pass the Brady bill, the other side, they led the fight against it. But John Kerry helped us pass the toughest, smartest, best crime bill this country has seen in many a day, and the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. John Kerry was on the right side of history, and Massachusetts should stay with him.

And when we were expanding Head Start and passing that school-to-work program Senator Kennedy talked about to help young people who don't go to 4-year colleges get good training and good jobs, when we improved the college loan program by cutting the cost and improving the repayment terms, when we did these things, the other guys, they tried to stop us. But John Kerry helped us pass it. He's on the right side of history. And he's on the right side of history in making college available to all Americans. We'll do it if you give us 4 more years and if you give us John Kerry back to the United States Senate.

And finally, let me thank Sheila Levesque. Could every one of you get up here and do what she did?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. A single mom, a nurse, worked all night long on her shift, hadn't had any sleep—I said, "Sheila, did you get any sleep last night?" She said maybe an hour or two since she got off work—stood up here in front of this vast crowd and told you the story of her life. The reason we wanted her to do that is that this election is not about the politicians on this stage. This election is about whether the decisions we make connect and improve and advance the lives and the values of people like Sheila Levesque all over this country. That's what this election is about. That's what it's about.

When I was in Providence, I was introduced by a woman who got a Pell grant to go back to the community college to try to do right by her family. And there was another young woman there in Providence that I featured in my book and that spoke at the Democratic Convention, a Puerto Rican immigrant girl, a high school dropout, worked several jobs, joined AmeriCorps, our national service program, and then got herself—after dropping out of high school and becoming a leader in AmeriCorps—got herself into Brown University, where she just started her second year. That's what this is all about, helping people to make the most of their own lives.

Yesterday I was in the great State of Texas. And people tell me, "Well, that's a Republican State; what did you go down there for?" I'll tell you why I went. There were 13,000 people in the small town of Longview, Texas, at about 8:30 yesterday morning. And after I spoke, as is my custom, I went out into the crowd and I started shaking hands. I met the following three people in 5 minutes. I met a 34-year-old single mother with two kids who joined AmeriCorps and had gotten herself some money

helping the local community and was going back to the junior college there.

Then I met a woman who said, "Mr. President, if it hadn't been for the Family and Medical Leave Act, I don't know what I would have done. My husband had cancer, but I got to take some time off and be with him when he was so desperately ill without losing my job and wrecking our family." You know, the other side, their leaders fought against the family and medical leave law. But John Kerry and Barney Frank and Ted Kennedy, they were on the right side of history, helping people succeed at home and at work. It was the right thing to do.

And then I met a man who had a camouflage jacket on, obviously a veteran. He was a Vietnam veteran standing there with his wife. His little daughter was in a wheelchair. She'd had 12 operations because her father served our country in Vietnam, was exposed to Agent Orange, and like far too many children of veterans, his child got spina bifida. But finally last week in a bill that I signed, we finally at long last gave help in the form of disability payments and extra medical support to the children of Vietnam veterans born with spina bifida—who were exposed—and it's high time. That's what this election is all about. That's what this is all about.

My fellow Americans, you were very good to me in 1992, but you took me on faith and the word of others. When I said to you that we could create an America in the 21st century with opportunity for everyone responsible enough to work for it, where we were coming together and respecting our diversity instead of being torn apart by it, where we were still leading the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity, you took me on faith. But after 4 years of working for opportunity, responsibility, and a stronger community, you don't have to do that anymore. The evidence is in, and now we know. Now we know.

With 10½ million more jobs, a record number of new small businesses, and the census report last week telling us—I almost wept when I read it. Who ever heard of crying over a dry Government report? But every year they tell us how we did the year before. So the census report for 1995 said, compared to the year before, that typical American families had $900 more after inflation; that we had the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years; the biggest drop in poverty in female households in 30 years, female-headed households; the biggest drop in the number of people living in poverty in 27 years; and the biggest drop in the inequality of working families in 27 years. We are on the right track to the 21st century, and we need to keep going. We need to keep going.

We have more to do. We have more to do to build that bridge to the 21st century. Yes, we made a lot of progress these last 3 months because you made your voices heard. But you have to say again on election day, what is the direction of this country? And in all candor, friends, I'm tired of the meanness and the personal attacks that have dominated our politics for too long. There are honest differences between us. We can share them with respect.

And the ideas here at issue that will determine whether we're on the right side of the future are the following: Do you believe that we have to build a bridge to the 21st century big enough for all of us to go across, or can we try to reach back and build a bridge to the past? You know we have to build a bridge to the future.

Do you believe, as my opponent said in all honesty in his speech to the Republican Convention—he was being absolutely honest and candid, and he said, frankly, he did not agree with the First Lady that it took a village; he thought families and individuals would be better off being left alone, that they could do better on their own. You know something? I think Hillary was right. I think it does take a village to raise our children and build our communities and build our future. But you have to decide. You have to decide.

I'm glad that a little of my—a precious little of my income as a tax-paying citizen went to help to give Sheila Levesque a chance to be a better mother, a more productive citizen, and build a better future. And you know what? I think I'm better off because of that, and I think you are, too.

For every young person in this audience, I believe it is a good thing for us to enact the educational program for the 21st century that Senator Kerry outlined. Why shouldn't we say we're going to make 2 years of community college education as universal as a high school diploma is in the next 4 years? We need to do it. Why shouldn't we do it? Let people take the money off their taxes for the cost of a typical tuition. Why shouldn't we give people a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of tuition after high

school, any kind of college tuition, people of any age? Why shouldn't we do it? We can pay for it. I'm for that.

And I'm for balancing the budget, too, because that will lower your interest rates on your student loans, your car payments, your house payments, on your credit card payments. It will lower your interest rates. It will keep interest rates down for business loans so that we can keep creating new jobs and build on the economic record of the last 4 years. But I am not for doing it and using that as an excuse to wreck Medicaid, which has given our commitment, our solemn commitment of health care to poor children, to the elderly in nursing homes, most of them themselves the parents of middle class families. I don't want to see us walk away from middle class working families who because of Medicaid have had family members with disabilities who could live in dignity without driving their families into poverty. We don't have to do that to balance the budget, and I won't do it.

We don't have to cut back on education or environmental protection. And we have to continue investing in research and technology. Yesterday, folks, I was in Houston, and I welcomed home that magnificent astronaut Shannon Lucid when she came home after 6 months. A lot of you saw her come home. When she was a little girl, she told an adult she wanted to be a rocket scientist when she grew up. And she was told, there is no such thing, and if there were it wouldn't be a girl. [*Laughter*] Well, guess what? There are a lot of them now, and a lot of them are women. And the young girls of America and the young women liked seeing Shannon Lucid up there.

What is the point of that? President Kennedy believed we could go into space and make a success of the space program, and he fought for it. I'm glad he did. I'm glad he supported it. I'm glad I have supported it. And I'm glad we've still got it. And I think those who thought it shouldn't be done were wrong. We have to continue to invest in research to build a better future. I want the young people here to be able to do those jobs of the future. We are today building a supercomputer with IBM that will do more calculations in one second than you can do on a hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. And we have to do that.

We are today seeing experiments with laboratory animals whose spines have been severed, who have movement in their lower limbs again because of nerve transplants. We have doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in only 4 years. We have to keep going and investing, and we're better off when we do that, building a better future, being on the right side of history, building that bridge.

So here's what I want to know from you. For 38 days, for 38 days, will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Will you talk to your friends and your neighbors, your coworkers, people in Massachusetts and your friends beyond in other States and say, we have got to keep building that bridge to the 21st century, and we've got to go across it together? We cannot be divided by race, by gender, by religion, by ethnic group. We are a great, great country, and our best days are still ahead if we are committed to going across that bridge together. Will you do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Then we'll prevail. Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:04 p.m. at Kennedy Park. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Edward Lambart, Jr., of Fall River; State Representative Joan Menard; Senator Edward Kennedy's wife, Vicki; Senator John Kerry's wife, Teresa Heinz; and Sheila Levesque, who introduced the President.

Remarks on the Omnibus Budget Agreement and an Exchange With Reporters in Boston, Massachusetts

September 28, 1996

The President. Good evening. Early this morning we reached an important agreement with Congress to continue balancing the budget while we invest in education, protect the environment,

and keep our streets safe. This budget agreement was a victory for our values and a victory for the American people. It was also, in particular, a victory for the people of Massachusetts.

I want to talk briefly about three things in particular that are important to this State. First, the budget agreement includes $50 million that can be used for shipyard reactivation. Today I have instructed Secretary Pena to complete negotiations for a binding letter of commitment to revitalize the Quincy Shipyard, which we just flew over, and to do it within 30 days after I sign the budget.

I especially want to thank Senator Kerry, Senator Kennedy, and Congressman Studds for their hard work to include this provision in the budget agreement. Their work will help to create a world-class shipbuilding operation to bring new jobs, new technology, and new opportunity to the people of Quincy.

Second, the budget includes important funds to continue the cleanup of Boston Harbor. Last year Senator Kerry and Senator Kennedy joined us to stop congressional efforts to walk away from that commitment. And because of their work this year we are going to keep moving forward to make the Boston Harbor safe, clean, and healthy.

Finally, I want to say a word about our ongoing effort to streamline our Government. We're working hard to overhaul Defense Department management while maintaining an unwavering commitment to the best equipped, trained Armed Forces in the world. We've closed 228 of the Defense Department's more than 300 finance and accounting facilities, while working hard to improve training for Defense Department financial managers. Today I'm pleased to announce that the budget agreement also includes funds to establish a financial management education center at Southbridge, Massachusetts. The Pentagon will release $5 million for the center's development next week, and classes will begin on March 1, 1997, 18 months ahead of schedule. The Southbridge center would not be happening today without the leadership of Senator Kerry, Senator Kennedy, and Congressman Neal.

This budget agreement shows what we can do when we work hard on things that really matter to the American people. It creates opportunity by working to revitalize the shipbuilding industry, takes responsibility by working to reform our Government in a responsible way while providing the best training to our Armed Forces. It strengthens our community by continuing our efforts to clean up our environment here at the Boston Harbor. We are on the right track to the 21st century, and I am very pleased about it.

Now I'd like to ask the Senators each to say a word.

[*At this point, Senator John F. Kerry and Senator Edward M. Kennedy made brief remarks.*]

Q. Mr. President, aren't these programs—[*inaudible*]—election-year pork?

The President. Well, for one reason, I've been working on these things for far more than one year. The Southbridge project is a big project, goes back several years. The Boston Harbor project was going on before I got here. The Quincy project developed when they had a person interested in going there.

So we've been working very hard on it, and I think if they didn't have independent merit, it would have been difficult for us to get them in these times, which have been particularly contentious. So I think, you know, every one of these things will stand on its own merit. But the people in Boston have paid an enormous amount out of their own pockets to clean up the Boston Harbor, and it would have been unconscionable for us to walk away from our continuing commitment to that. These other two projects we've been working on, waiting for, for a very long time. It's not something that just came up overnight tied to the election cycle. This is a multiyear effort, and I want to congratulate all the community leaders who are here. They're the ones that ultimately deserve the credit for bringing this day to bear.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. at Logan Airport.

Remarks at a Campaign Concert for Senator John F. Kerry in Boston
September 28, 1996

Thank you. You know, I just was looking at Senator Kerry giving his speech. He gives me a beanpot. [*Laughter*] Whoever said he didn't have a sense of humor? Do you believe that Governor Weld would have the guts to stand up here and say he couldn't believe that we had all those people from the sixties playing and everybody kept their clothes on? [*Laughter*] Next thing you know John Kerry will be doing the macarena with Al Gore.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the warm and wonderful reception you have given me tonight. Thank you for being here. Thank you for being here for John Kerry, who richly deserves your support for reelection because he has been fighting for your future, for the future of Massachusetts and the future of the United States for a very long time. And he has consistently been on the right side of that future.

You know, I remember in 1993, when we had a stagnant economy and high unemployment and the country was dividing economically and socially and people were becoming more and more cynical, and I put an economic plan forward to the Congress and not a single person in the other party voted for it. And they all tried to terrify our side and say, "Oh, this is a terrible plan. It will raise the deficit; it will increase unemployment; it will bankrupt the country." Well, John Kerry and Senator Ted Kennedy stood with the President. And now we know; 10½ million jobs later, we know that John Kerry was right and they were wrong.

I remember in 1994, after crime had bedeviled so many of our communities and people in Washington had talked about the need for a crime bill for 6 years and I had run on the promise of putting 100,000 more police officers on our streets to prevent crime, to make our streets, our schools, our neighborhoods safer—I remember that the leaders of the other party said, "Oh, this is a terrible thing." And they won a lot of their elections in '94 by convincing hunters in places like my home State they'd lose their guns. But John Kerry stood firm, and we got that 100,000 police. We got the Brady bill. We got the assault weapons ban. And this is a safer country with 4 years of declining crime. Thank you, John Kerry, for being on the right side of history.

When Christopher Reeve spoke tonight, it reminded me so clearly of everything he said at a time when we were faced last year with the budget—"take it or leave it or we'll shut the Government down"—it cut education, cut the environment, cut our investments in research and technology, weakened our commitments to Medicare and Medicaid. I said no, and so did Senator Kennedy and so did John Kerry. And we did get more for medical research because he asked for more for medical research in the spinal cord area. And let me tell you, folks, lest you think that's a pipedream, just a few days before Christopher Reeve spoke at the Democratic National Convention, for the first time ever a laboratory animal with its spine completely severed got movement back in its lower limbs because of a nerve transplant to the spine. We are going to solve that problem and many others if we keep people like John Kerry who are on the right side of history. He deserves your support.

And I can't let this moment go without saying, after all the fights we had over the budget over the last 2 years, it was a wonderful thing to see in the last few weeks, after the American people made their voices heard, Senator Kennedy taking the lead in passing a health care reform bill he's worked on for years that says you can't be denied insurance anymore if you change jobs or if someone in your family has been sick. Twenty-five million Americans will be better off because of that, and that's on the right side of history.

Tuesday, October 1st, 10 million Americans will get a pay raise when the minimum wage goes into effect because Senator Kennedy worked and Senator Kerry helped him and we got a minimum wage increase. It was the right thing to do.

Well, we've been here a long time, and I know you want to go home. And I don't want to take a lot of your time, but I want to say something especially to the young people here tonight. I want to tell you something about being on the right side of history, and I want you to think about it seriously just for a minute.

Once in a generation or so our people in our long march of democracy have been confronted with a set of decisions that are so profound that they will affect how we live and how we relate to each other and the rest of the world for a very long time. This is that sort of time. We are being asked, basically because of the differences between ourselves and our opponents, to decide two fundamental questions about what we're going to be like when we go roaring into the 21st century. No matter what happens, those of us that are well-prepared, especially our young people, will have more chances to live out our dreams than any generation of Americans has ever had.

But the two great questions we have to face that will shape what we are as a country and what we look like 50 years from now are, number one, do we believe that we have to build a bridge to the future that every American is given the ability to walk across? I think the answer to that is yes, but not everybody does. Whether you believe that or not determines how you answer questions like whether you're for the Family and Medical Leave Act, whether you believe it should be preserved and expanded so that people can succeed at home and at work. Whether you believe that or not depends upon whether you think we should be providing an opportunity for every person who wants to go to college to go, through tax credits and tax deductions and savings programs. I believe we should, and John Kerry believes we should. And that is the right side of history.

The other great question we have to face is whether this incredible mosaic of diversity that is America, all the differences that you can see here just by looking around this great hall tonight, will be a source of strength and sustenance to us that will add to our prosperity and more to the richness and quality of our lives or whether we will be bedeviled, divided, and weakened by the differences among us.

Look all around the world today. How much of your time as President do I have to spend—from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, to Bosnia, to Rwanda and Burundi, to so many other places around the world—how much time trying to get people to stop defining their lives in terms of who they can hate, whom they can look down upon because they are different because of race or religion or region or gender or tribe? It is wrong. It is wrong. And we have to decide whether we're going to beat the odds. These are the two great questions.

I don't like bumper stickers much, but the truth is it's pretty good to say the question is, are we going to build a bridge to the future or try to reach back to the past? I think you know the answer to that. You can also say, as my opponent did in all candor and completely honestly when he spoke at the Republican Convention—he said he really thought that the First Lady was wrong, that we were better off being left to ourselves and our families to make our way. But I think she was right. I believe it takes a village to make the most of all of our lives. And I believe that you think that, too.

And so I ask you—I ask those of you, especially those of you who are young—some of you may have indulged all of us who were singing our old songs here tonight; some of you now know them as well as we do and love them as well. But all of you, I ask you to think about this. This great choice is going to affect how you live. Those of you who have most of your tomorrows in front of you, this choice will affect them, because of the profound changes going on in our country and in our world.

Whether we decide to build that bridge to the future that enables everyone to make the most of their own lives, whether we decide to stay with the idea that we are a village and we have to respect one another and bond together and be stronger and richer because of our differences, these things will determine what America looks like when we cross the bridge to the 21st century, when our children are our age and in 100 years when people write back their histories about what we did in our time.

And do not underestimate the weight of this decision. This is a huge decision. These are big questions. They will define the United States of America for a long time to come. This is a decision that comes along once in a generation, maybe once every 50 years. Think how different the world would have been when the Founding Fathers in Massachusetts and the other 12 States had made the other decision they were asked to make: Don't make this one country, make this a club of 13 different States, just sort of a social organization; you can come and go as you please. I wouldn't be here because there would never have been a Louisiana Purchase and I wouldn't be an American.

Think how different this country would be if Abraham Lincoln had not been President

when the States said, "Well, hey, we formed this country; we've got the right to get out." And Abraham Lincoln said, "I don't think so. I don't think so." [*Laughter*] And he was willing to give a half a million lives, including his own life, to keep this country together, and then to face the next question: "Well, if we're going to stay together, don't we have to quit lying about who we are? How can we have a Constitution that says all of us are created equal and keep slavery? So we've got to get rid of that." Think how different this country would be if we hadn't made that decision 130-odd years ago. Think how different. Would all the other immigrants be here today? Would this place look like it does today? I don't think so.

Think how different this country would have been when Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson had to manage our transition from being a rural country of small farmers to an urban country of great cities like this one, which Mayor Menino leads so well today. Think how different it would have been if they had answered these questions differently. They had to say, okay, now we're an industrial country. Are we going to let a few monopolies run out all the small-business people, or are we going to preserve free enterprise? They voted for free enterprise. Are we going to let these big companies destroy our natural heritage, or are we going to preserve things like the Grand Canyon and other national parks and keep something for all generations to come? Are we going to let our children work 70 hours a week in coal mines and sweatshops as they were doing then, or are we going to stop that and give our children their childhoods back and their education? Think how different America would be if we had answered those questions differently.

These are the questions that are being asked of you and your generation. These are the kinds of questions that we are facing. When you ask which budget do you want, it's really about what kind of people are we. Are we going together, respecting our differences, building a bridge? Or are we going to say, "It's every person for himself; I wish you well"?

I believe I know the answer. And I ask those of you who are young—you have 38 days. John Kerry has earned the right to be reelected Senator from Massachusetts, because he has been on the side of your future—on the side of your future.

You do not have to believe one bad thing personally about his opponent. You do not have to make this a negative race at all. All you have to do is to look at the fundamental choices before you. And for those of you who are young especially, I say, imagine in your mind what you want this country to be like in 4 years when we go roaring into a new century and a new millennium, what you want our country to be like when your own children are your age. What do you want the history of America to be 100 years from now? What will they say about what we did now? I hope they'll say America decided it takes a village, and we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century that we can all walk across.

Thank you. God bless you. Bear down and bring home a victory for us. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:11 p.m. at the Fleet Center. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. William F. Weld of Massachusetts, actor Christopher Reeve, and Mayor Thomas Menino of Boston.

Remarks Announcing the White House Middle East Summit and an Exchange With Reporters

September 29, 1996

The President. Good morning. The loss of life and the tragedy of the violence in the Middle East this week have been a terrible development for the Israeli and the Palestinian people, a blow to all those who work for a lasting peace, an encouragement to those who oppose a lasting peace.

Earlier this week I called on Israelis and Palestinians to end the cycle of violence, to restore calm, to recommit themselves to the hard work of building peace through negotiations. There

has been some progress since then toward ending the confrontation but not enough. Therefore, after consulting with Secretary Christopher, who has literally been working around the clock with the regional leaders to resolve this problem, I have invited Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat to come to Washington as soon as possible. They have accepted my invitation, as has King Hussein of Jordan. I've also invited President Mubarak of Egypt; he is seeing whether it is possible for him to attend. I expect the meetings to take place early this week.

The United States has often played a pivotal role in bringing Arabs and Israelis together to work out their differences in peace. It is our responsibility to do whatever we can to protect the peace process and to help move it forward. This is such a moment.

The events of this week are all the more shocking because the Israelis and the Palestinians have taken so many giant steps toward peace in the last couple of years. They have shown the world that they want peace. They know they must make hard choices to achieve that goal.

I'm prepared to do everything in my power to help the Israelis and the Palestinians end the violence and begin the peace process again in earnest. We have to return to the path of peace along which they have already traveled so far.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that Israel is ready to abide by its promise to keep previous peace agreements made by other governments?

The President. Well, President—excuse me—Prime Minister Netanyahu says that he will abide by all previous agreements and that is an understanding that he has reached with Chairman Arafat. We will be discussing the relevant issues here to the recent violence and what can be done to really get the peace process back on track when they come here.

Q. What do you think made them decide to come to Washington? They seem so adamantly opposed before.

The President. I believe that—I think they're both concerned about the way events spun out of control, about the loss of life, the injury, the eruption of old tensions and bitterness. And I believe they want to try to get beyond that and go back to moving toward the path of peace. I don't think they would be coming here if they didn't.

Q. What would you ask them to do?

The President. Well, I firmly believe that one of the reasons for the success we have had in the last 3 years is that the United States has not presumed to speak publicly for either one of them and we have been very careful about what we say, particularly in advance of these meetings. I'm going to do everything I can to facilitate a resolution of this, and I don't want to say anything before they get here that would complicate that.

Q. Thank you.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel, Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority, King Hussein I of Jordan, and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

Statement on House of Representatives Action on Omnibus Parks Legislation

September 29, 1996

I am pleased that the House voted last night to approve legislation that would improve our management of the national parks and other Federal lands. The bill represents a victory for all Americans who treasure and want to preserve our natural resources.

This bill includes my top priorities for parks legislation. That is, it includes provisions to improve the management of the Presidio in San Francisco, help acquire the Sterling Forest in the New York/New Jersey Highlands Region, and establish the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve in Kansas.

At the same time, the bill deletes almost all of the provisions of the earlier conference agreement that the administration had found objec-

tionable. These provisions include those that would have adversely affected the Shenandoah National Park and Richmond Battlefield National Park in Virginia, the Sequoia National Park in California, the Tongass National Forest, and other national parks and Federal lands.

To be sure, this is not a perfect bill. I continue to have concerns about certain provisions. But on the whole, it represents a vast and good-faith improvement over the earlier conference agreement. Again, I applaud the House for approving this legislation last night, and I hope the Senate will do the same before it adjourns for the year.

Statement on Welfare Reform Initiatives

September 30, 1996

Today I am pleased to announce two important steps my administration is taking to continue our progress in making work and responsibility the law of the land.

First, today we have given the green light to the first two States to submit their State plans under the new law—Wisconsin and Michigan. Both States will receive funding under the new welfare block grant for FY 1997 as well as part of FY 1996, and will now come under all the requirements of the new welfare law, including the work requirements and the 5-year lifetime limit on welfare receipt. Both States no longer need an AFDC waiver to carry out their welfare reform plans.

I am especially pleased by this action, because as I have said before, Wisconsin's plan to replace the broken AFDC system with a system based on work is one of the boldest, most revolutionary welfare reform plans in the country. I am delighted to see it move forward. Michigan is also embarking on an innovative plan to reward and require work and demand responsibility. I congratulate both States for recognizing what all Americans agree on: Welfare reform is first and foremost about work.

Second, tomorrow we will release the first allotment of child care funds to the States. I fought hard for the increased child care funding in the new law, because I believe that child care is essential to move people from welfare to work. Under the provisions we fought for, funding in the new child care block grant for States will increase this year from $1.3 billion to $1.9 billion. That means States will receive $600 million more for child care this year than they would have received without the new law.

These steps build on the progress we have already made over the last 4 years to reform welfare and crack down on child support enforcement. Since I took office, the welfare rolls have dropped by 1.9 million; child support collections have increased by nearly 50 percent to a record $11.8 billion; and last year's decline in the number of Americans in poverty was the largest one-year drop in 27 years. I am determined to keep working to make sure these trends continue moving in the right direction.

Statement on Signing the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997

September 30, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3675, the "Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997."

The Act provides $35.5 billion in funding for the Department of Transportation and several smaller agencies, including the National Transportation Safety Board. The bill is consistent with my request in most key areas.

I am pleased that the Congress fully funded my request for the Federal Aviation Administration's (FAA) safety programs. This bill, together with the FY 1997 omnibus appropriations bill

that I have also signed, provides an increase of $286 million over fiscal 1996 for FAA operations. The FAA manages the world's largest and safest aviation system.

To address the recent tragic aviation incidents, I asked Vice President Gore to chair a Commission on Aviation Security and report back with recommendations for improving aviation security. I am pleased that in the omnibus appropriations bill, the Congress fully funds my request of $201 million for the Department of Transportation to implement the Vice President's September 9 recommendations.

The Act includes $150 million to capitalize my proposed new State Infrastructure Banks (SIBs). It also lifts the limit on the number of banks, allowing all States to apply. SIBs are an innovative use of private sector financing ideas that will permit States to leverage infrastructure investment.

I am particularly pleased that the Congress, in the omnibus appropriations bill, fully funded my request for the Alameda Corridor project, which connects the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach, California. This intermodal project will speed the transportation of goods from these ports throughout the country and will also help sustain our Nation's competitive edge in Pacific Rim trade.

The Act provides funding for most of the Department's high-priority programs. I commend the Congress for not including any new earmarked highway projects. States can better determine how to use these funds to meet their transportation infrastructure priorities.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 30, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3675, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 104–205. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Statement on Signing the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1997

September 30, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3816, the "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1997."

The Act provides $20 billion in discretionary budget authority for programs of the Department of Energy (DOE), portions of the Interior and Defense Departments, the Army Corps of Engineers (Corps), and several smaller agencies.

The Act provides $11.4 billion for atomic energy defense programs, $0.3 billion above my request. I am disappointed that the Congress has funded unrequested increases for nuclear weapons management and related programs, while curtailing investments in important civilian activities. Nevertheless, I am pleased that the Act will provide for a significantly enhanced Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship and Management program that will continue DOE's strong commitment to ensuring the safety and reliability of the nuclear weapons stockpile. This Act will also enable the Defense Environmental Restoration and Waste Management program to aggressively address the environmental legacy of previous weapons activities.

I am pleased that the Congress dropped a provision that would have made funding for the nuclear waste management program contingent upon congressional passage of a subsequent authorization bill. This language could have led to the immediate suspension of ongoing work at the Yucca Mountain site.

I am also pleased that the Congress provided $45 million to the International Nuclear Safety program, which assists nations of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in improving the safety of Soviet-designed nuclear reactors.

I am disappointed that the Act cuts $93 million from my request for solar and renewable energy research programs. Investments in the development of advanced renewable energy technologies, which have a large potential export market, will create new jobs and reduce pollution, thereby addressing climate change and protecting human health and the environment. I am also concerned by the cuts in funding for

DOE departmental administration and program direction in civilian research and defense programs that may jeopardize the Department's ability to perform its missions and maintain its financial management responsibilities.

I am disappointed that the Act includes over $210 million in unrequested funds for Corps' construction, studies, and operation and maintenance programs. The Congress should have used these funds to restore reductions it made to other priority DOE and Corps programs, such as the Corps' wetlands regulatory program.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 30, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3816, approved September 30, was assigned Public No. 104–206. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Statement on Signing Legislation Waiving Certain Enrollment Requirements

September 30, 1996

Today I have signed into law House Joint Resolution 197, which waives the printing requirements of sections 106 and 107 of Title 1 of the United States Code with respect to any appropriations measure of the 104th Congress that is presented to me after the enactment of H.J. Res. 197. I have done so to avoid any confusion as to my ability to act on any form of legislation presented to me after certification by the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives that the form is a true enrollment.

In signing this joint resolution, I express no view as to whether it is necessary to waive the provisions of Title 1 before I exercise my prerogatives under Article I, section 7 of the Constitution where the Congress has presented to me any form of bill or resolution it considers to be a true enrollment.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 30, 1996.

NOTE: H.J. Res. 197, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 104–207. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Statement on Signing the Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act, 1997

September 30, 1996

I have signed into law H.R. 3610, the fiscal year 1997 omnibus appropriations and immigration reform bill.

This bill is good for America, and I am pleased that my Administration could fashion it with the Congress on a bipartisan basis. It moves us further down the road toward our goal of a balanced budget while protecting, not violating, the values we share as Americans—opportunity, responsibility, and community.

Specifically, the legislation restores needed funds for education and training, the environment, science and technology, and law enforcement; fully funds my anti-drug and counter-terrorism initiatives; extends the Brady Bill so that those who commit domestic violence cannot buy handguns; provides needed resources to respond to fires in the western part of the Nation and to the devastation brought by Hurricanes Fran and Hortense; and includes landmark immigration reform legislation that cracks down on illegal immigration without punishing legal immigrants.

The bill restores substantial sums for education and training, furthering my agenda of lifelong education to help Americans acquire the

skills they need to get good jobs in the new global economy.

It provides the funds through which Head Start can serve an additional 50,000 disadvantaged young children; fulfills my request for the Goals 2000 education reform program, enabling States to more quickly raise their academic standards and implement innovative reform; increases funding for the Safe and Drug-Free Schools program, helping States reduce violence and drug abuse in schools; provides most of my request for the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund to help States leverage technology funds; fulfills my request for Title 1, education for the disadvantaged; and provides the funds to enable well over a half-million young people to participate in the Summer Jobs program.

For college students, I am pleased that the bill fulfills my request for the largest Pell Grant college scholarship awards in history and expands the number of middle- and low-income students who receive aid by 126,000—to 3.8 million. I am also pleased that the bill fully funds my Direct Lending program, enabling more students to take advantage of cheaper and more efficient loans.

For the environment, the bill provides funds to support the Environmental Protection Agency's early implementation of two major new environmental laws that I signed this summer—the Safe Drinking Water Act, and the Pesticide and Food Safety Law. In addition, the bill provides additional funds for energy conservation and to help finish the cleanup of Boston Harbor and help prevent beach closures.

At the same time, the bill does not contain any of the riders that would have affected management of the Tongass National Forest in Alaska, national Native American tribal rights, the Interior Department's management of subsistence fishing in Alaska, long-term management of the Elwha Dam in Washington State, and the issuance of emergency-efficiency standards for appliances. I am, however, disappointed the Congress did not adopt my proposal to repeal the 1995 salvage timber rider and restore the application of environmental laws to salvage logging on Federal lands.

For research and technology, the bill promotes economic growth by continuing needed Federal support for advanced technology. It restores funding for the Commerce Department's Advanced Technology Program, providing resources for new grants to support innovative technology companies across the Nation.

It also provides a sizeable increase for the National Institutes of Health, which will enable NIH to expand its critical research into new ways to treat breast cancer, AIDS, and other diseases. I am also pleased that the bill provides nearly $1 billion for Ryan White AIDS treatment grants, including funds to help States purchase a new class of AIDS drugs called "protease inhibitors" and other life-extending medications. And the Congress also fully funded my request for the Department of Housing and Urban Development's program that provides housing assistance for people with AIDS.

For law enforcement, the bill provides $1.4 billion to ensure that my program to put 100,000 more police on the streets of America's communities by the year 2000 proceeds on schedule; with this bill, we will have provided funding for 64,000 of the 100,000 that I called for at the start of my Administration. The bill also increases funds for Justice Department law enforcement programs, for the FBI's crime-fighting efforts, and for new Federal prisons. As I had urged, the bill also extends the Brady Bill to ensure that those who commit domestic violence cannot purchase guns. Finally, I am pleased that the Congress provided a modest increase for the Legal Services Corporation, which ensures that those who lack the means still have access to our legal system.

I am also pleased that the bill provides a $1.4 billion increase in funding for anti-drug programs. It doubles funding for Drug Courts, increases funds for drug interdiction efforts by the Defense, Transportation, and Treasury Departments, and provides the resources to expand the Drug Enforcement Administration's domestic efforts along the Southwest border and elsewhere. The bill also includes strong language about drug testing that my Administration had proposed, requiring that localities have drug-testing programs in place for their prisoners and parolees in order to qualify for State and local prison grants. And it includes funding for the drug testing of Federal, State, and local arrestees.

For counterterrorism, the bill funds my request for over $1.1 billion to fight terrorism and to improve aviation security and safety. It enables the Justice and Treasury Departments to better investigate and prosecute terrorist acts, and it provides funds to implement the rec-

ommendations of Vice President Gore's Commission on Aviation Safety and Security and the Federal Aviation Administration's recent 90-day safety review. These funds will enable us to hire 300 more aviation security personnel, deploy new explosive detection teams, and buy high-technology bomb detection equipment to screen luggage. The bill also gives my Administration the authority to study the use of taggants in black and smokeless powder; taggant technology holds the promise of allowing the detection and identification of explosives material.

I hereby designate as an emergency requirement, as the Congress has already done, the $122.6 million in fiscal 1996 funds and the $230.68 million in fiscal 1997 funds for the Defense Department for antiterrorism, counterterrorism, and security enhancement programs in this Act, pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(D)(I) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended.

This bill also funds the Nation's defense program for another year; it fully funds my defense antiterrorism and counter-narcotics efforts as well as the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, and at my insistence it provides a substantial amount of the funding for my dual-use technology program. But it also provides about $9 billion more than I proposed for defense, including a substantial amount for weapons that are not even in the Defense Department's future plans and were not requested by the service chiefs. This bill is part of a plan by the majority in the Congress that adds funds for investments now and reduces them in the future. I continue to believe that my long-range plan is more rational. It provides sufficient funds now while increasing them at the turn of the century when new technologies will become available.

I am pleased that the Congress has provided the minimum acceptable levels for certain key international affairs programs, such as the U.S. contribution to the International Development Association and the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization and for international peacekeeping operations and arrears. I also commend the Congress for providing at least a modest increase in funding international family planning programs and for dropping misguided Mexico City restrictions, and for funding bilateral economic assistance without rescinding prior-year appropriations. In addition, the Congress has facilitated the Middle East peace process by authorizing U.S. participation in the Middle East Development Bank. Nevertheless, I must note that the overall funding level for international affairs programs is well below what we need to assure that we can achieve our foreign policy objectives.

This bill, however, does more than fund major portions of the Government for the next fiscal year. It also includes landmark immigration reform legislation that builds on our progress of the last 3 years. It strengthens the rule of law by cracking down on illegal immigration at the border, in the workplace, and in the criminal justice system—without punishing those living in the United States legally.

Specifically, the bill requires the sponsors of legal immigrants to take added responsibility for their well-being. And it does not include the so-called Gallegly amendment, which I strongly opposed and which would have allowed States to refuse to educate the children of illegal immigrants. At my insistence the bill does not include the proposed onerous provisions against legal immigrants, which would have gone beyond the welfare reform law.

I am pleased that the Congress provided 7 additional months of food assistance for needy immigrants, including benefits for many elderly and children. This step will provide some help to individuals and States in preparing for the dramatic restriction of access to benefits that legal immigrants will face under the welfare reform bill.

I am, however, extremely concerned about a provision in this bill that could lead to the Federal Government waiving the Endangered Species Act and the National Environmental Policy Act in order to expeditiously construct physical barriers and roads on the U.S. border. I know the Attorney General shares my commitment to those important environmental laws and will make every effort, in consultation with environmental agencies, to implement the immigration law in compliance with those environmental laws. I am also concerned about a provision that imposes a new "intent requirement" in unfair immigration-related employment cases that could place hardships on some U.S. citizens and permanent residents. I have asked the Attorney General to take steps to alleviate any potential discrimination that this provision causes against U.S. citizens and authorized workers—particularly Hispanics and Asian-Americans who, by their appearance or accent, may appear to be

foreign. Finally, I will seek to correct provisions in this bill that are inconsistent with international principles of refugee protection, including the imposition of rigid deadlines for asylum applications.

The bill also makes important changes in the Nation's banking laws. It assures the continued soundness of the bank and thrift deposit insurance system, and it includes significant regulatory relief for financial institutions. At my insistence, the bill does not erode the protection of consumers and communities.

I commend Senators Baucus and Bingaman for raising the awareness of the issue of the proper accounting of highway trust fund receipts. In next year's reauthorization of the Intermodal Surface Transportation and Efficiency Act, my Administration will rely on a baseline that treats all States fairly and equitably.

The bill includes a Government-wide program to enable agencies to offer buyouts, through December 31, 1997, of up to $25,000 to employees eligible for early or regular retirement. Many of these workers stay on for years after they can retire, so buyouts will serve as an incentive for them to leave. Buyouts are an important tool to help Federal managers downsize their agencies as we continue to move toward a balanced budget—without relying solely on reductions-in-force (RIFs).

I am disappointed that one of my priorities—a ban on physician "gag rules"—was not included. Several States have passed similar legislation to ensure that doctors have the freedom to inform their patients of the full range of medical treatment options, and I am disappointed that the Congress was not able to reach agreement on this measure.

Nevertheless, this bill is good for America. As I have said, it moves us down the path toward a balanced budget while protecting our values. It provides the needed resources to fight domestic and international terrorism. And it cracks down on illegal immigration while protecting legal immigrants.

I am pleased to sign it.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 30, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3610, approved September 30, was assigned Public Law No. 104–208. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Inter-American Convention on Serving Criminal Sentences Abroad

September 30, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Inter-American Convention on Serving Criminal Sentences Abroad, drawn up by the Committee on Juridical and Political Affairs within the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States (OAS) and composed of representatives of the Member States. The Convention was adopted and opened for signature at the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly meeting in Managua, Nicaragua, on June 9, 1993, and signed on behalf of the United States at the OAS Headquarters in Washington on January 10, 1995. The provisions of the Convention are explained in the report of the Department of State that accompanies this message.

Although the United States is already a party to the multilateral Council of Europe Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Persons, which entered into force for the United States, following Senate advice and consent to ratification, on July 1, 1985, only two other OAS Member States have become parties to that Convention. Ratification of the Inter-American Convention on Serving Criminal Sentences Abroad would help fill a void by providing a mechanism for the reciprocal transfer of persons incarcerated in prisons in OAS Member States, to permit those individuals to serve their sentences in their home countries. A multilateral prisoner transfer convention for the Americas would also

reduce, if not eliminate, the need for the United States to negotiate additional bilateral prisoner transfer treaties with countries in the hemisphere.

I recommend that the Senate promptly give its advice and consent to the ratification of this Convention, subject to an understanding and a reservation that are described in the accompanying State Department report.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
September 30, 1996.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 1.

Remarks During the White House Middle East Summit and an Exchange With Reporters

October 1, 1996

The President. Wait, wait. Relax, everybody. We came here to end the violence, not aggravate it. [*Laughter*] Let's get everybody in. Is everyone in?

Let me say first that I am delighted to have King Hussein, Prime Minister Netanyahu, and Chairman Arafat here. I thank them for coming. We have had some good conversations already. This is our first meeting, all four of us, together. But I think, with their presence here, it clearly symbolizes our commitment to end the violence and to get the peace process going again. We've come a long way in the last 3 years. No one wants to turn back. And I'm personally quite gratified by this opportunity to have the chance to visit with them, and I thank them for coming.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, are you ready to abide by your previous promise to abide by the peace agreements already made by Israel?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. Absolutely. And our commitment to peace is also evident in the fact that we took up the President's kind offer, important offer, to come here and to try to put the peace process back on track. This is what we're doing together.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, is there any prospect at all of your accepting some sort of international commission of experts, archaeologists, religious leaders, to take a look at what you've done by opening up this tunnel, to simply reassure everyone that there is no potential violation of Muslim holy places?

Prime Minister Netanyahu. You know our position, and I don't think it would be wise to open up a discussion here. But I have a question for you: Don't you have questions for the other——

Q. Yes. Mr. President——

The President. We don't want to do a whole press conference here, we're just trying to——

Q. Mr. President, have you had a chance to consider the King's suggestion of an independent commission to look at this problem and possibly cool tempers that way and come up with some sort of a bridging proposal?

The President. Let me say again, this is our first opportunity to all meet together, and one of the things that I have learned over the last several years is that anything any of us say publicly could undermine our ability to make progress, which is the ultimate objective of this meeting. So I don't want to make any premature comments here until we have a chance to visit with each other and do some more work. We're going to work today, we're going to work tomorrow, and then I'll be glad to answer any questions that you may have.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

The President. Let's get everyone in. Is everyone in? Let me begin by saying that I am delighted to have His Majesty King Hussein, Prime Minister Netanyahu, Chairman Arafat here. I thank them for coming to Washington on short notice. I think it shows a common commitment to end the violence and get the peace process back on track. We are committed to that.

We have been working this morning, but this is our first opportunity to be together, the four of us. And we'll be working the rest of the day and tomorrow, and then we'll have a statement to make and questions to answer. But I'm very gratified that they have come here, and we are all committed to moving forward now.

Q. Mr. President, with your permission I'm going to ask a question in Arabic.

[*Following the question, Chairman Arafat answered in Arabic, and a translation was not provided.*]

Q. Mr. President, do you agree with His Majesty's proposal, which—that establishing an international committee for Jerusalem?

The President. Well, His Majesty and I had a chance to speak about this very briefly, and we will be talking about it more. But as a matter of policy, I think I should not comment on anything relating to what we might be discussing today and tomorrow until we have finished, because I don't want to say anything that, even by accident, might make our task more difficult. I want to make our task easier.

The United States here—after all, our role is to try to help people get together and to move forward. The substantive decisions are decisions which have to be made by the people who live in the Middle East and who will share its future.

Q. Mr. President, how do you assess the first round?

[*One group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Q. Mr. President——

The President. Let everyone get in. Tell me when everyone is here.

Let me begin by saying that I am very pleased and honored to have His Majesty King Hussein and Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat here. I compliment them all for coming. I think it's evidence of their shared commitment to end violence, restore order, and invigorate the peace process and keep moving in the right direction.

We have been working this morning, but this is our first chance, all four of us, to be together. And I look forward to the rest of today and to tomorrow and to making some real progress here. I thank them for coming, and we're going to do our very best.

Q. Mr. President, Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich are calling you not to pressure Prime Minister Netanyahu. Is pressure really needed today for you to move these leaders ahead in the track of peace?

The President. What the United States has done since I have been President is not to pressure anyone but to get the parties together and to explore alternatives and to see what could be done to find common interests and shared values. And I think our approach has been reasonably successful, although ultimately all the credit for the progress that has been made goes to the people who are living in the region; it is their future. Our role is to try to help bring people together and create the conditions in which a successful resolution of these matters can occur. And that is what we will try to do.

Q. Mr. President, are you expecting from this meeting a schedule for the implementation of the interim agreement, including, of course, the redeployment in Hebron?

The President. First of all, as a matter of policy I do not comment on meetings before they occur. We are going to work together. I don't want to say anything. I don't want anyone in our administration to say anything that will make our difficult task even harder. So what we're going to do is go to work, see how far we can go, see what we can produce, and then we'll make a comment tomorrow and then answer questions about it. But I don't want to comment about it now. Nothing I say could do anything to help move forward what we're trying to do.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, prior to a meeting with King Hussein I of Jordan, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel, and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on Signing Legislation on Witness Retaliation, Witness Tampering, and Jury Tampering

October 1, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign H.R. 3120, legislation to protect the integrity of our legal system and ensure the safety of our families.

The United States is a nation of laws. We have always been committed to making our legal system the best, the most effective, and the fairest in the world.

In the last 3½ years, we have worked hard to live up to that fundamental obligation—putting more police on the street; getting gangs and guns and drugs off the street; introducing tougher penalties for a wide range of crimes; appointing more judges with the American Bar Association's top rating than any administration in 20 years.

Today we take an important new step. This legislation dramatically increases the punishment for those who would influence, tamper with, or retaliate against witnesses, jurors, and court officers in Federal criminal cases.

Let me be very clear: The integrity of our legal system depends on the integrity of our courts. And the integrity of our courts depends on individual citizens serving as impartial jurors—free from intimidation or temptation. We must see to it that juries decide cases based only on evidence presented in the courtroom. Our prosecutors must have a fair chance to make their case. Our fight against crime is too important, our system of justice too sacred, the security of our people too vital, for justice to be denied because a jury has been tampered with.

With this legislation, we send a simple message to those who would abuse our system of justice: When the integrity of our laws and the safety our people are at stake, we will take no chances.

NOTE: H.R. 3120, approved October 1, was assigned Public Law No. 104–214.

Statement on Signing the Carjacking Correction Act of 1996

October 1, 1996

Today I am proud to sign the Carjacking Correction Act of 1996. This legislation will increase the security of all Americans—particularly women.

Carjacking is a terrible crime. It is punishable under Federal law. In cases where carjackers have inflicted "serious bodily injury" on their victims, this tough law gets even tougher—the maximum sentence may be increased from 15 to 25 years.

Unfortunately, in a May 21, 1996, decision, in the case of *United States* v. *Rivera*, a panel on the First Circuit Court of Appeals held that a rape that took place during a carjacking did not constitute a "serious bodily injury."

That's plain wrong, and the legislation I am signing today will prevent this mistake from ever happening again. This legislation says clearly: Sexual assault causes serious bodily injury. Carjackers who rape their victims will meet with nothing less than the full force of the law.

This legislation builds on the work we have already done to make America safer for women. For too long, the threat of violence to women was not taken seriously enough. As American women were forced to look over their shoulders, society looked the other way.

So we took action. We passed the Violence Against Women Act, established a national registry of sex offenders, created a national 24-hour domestic violence hotline, and made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land. We passed Megan's Law—and now States must tell communities whether a dangerous sexual predator is in their midst. We gave America the Brady bill—keeping guns out of the hands of 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers.

Last week I signed into law a strong, new Federal law to stop stalkers. Yesterday I signed

legislation to extend the Brady bill to keep guns away from people with a history of domestic violence.

I want to thank Representative Conyers for his hard work on this bill. And I want to add that this legislation is proof of the progress we can make for the American people when we put politics aside and join with each other in common cause. Together, with this bill, we have done much to give our families the safety and security they deserve.

NOTE: H.R. 3676, approved October 1, was assigned Public Law No. 104–217.

Statement on Signing Legislation Conferring Honorary United States Citizenship on Mother Teresa

October 1, 1996

Today I am delighted to sign a resolution conferring honorary United States citizenship on Mother Teresa.

In 1950, Mother Teresa founded the Missionaries of Charity. Since then, she has brought hope and love into the lives of millions of orphaned and abandoned children the world over. She has nursed the sick, cared for the poor, and shown us, through concrete actions, how we can make real our dreams for a just and good society.

To be an American citizen is to share certain fundamental values: That we have a duty to help others live up to their God-given promise, that we have a responsibility to build up and reinforce the bonds of community, that we have an obligation to extend our hands to those who cannot always help themselves.

By this measure, Mother Teresa is already an American citizen. I am proud to make it official.

NOTE: H.J. Res. 191, approved October 1, was assigned Public Law No. 104–218.

Message to the Senate Transmitting Amendments to the Convention on the International Maritime Organization

October 1, 1996

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to acceptance, amendments to the Convention on the International Maritime Organization, signed at Geneva, March 6, 1948 (the IMO Convention). The amendments were adopted on November 7, 1991, and November 4, 1993, by the Assembly of the International Maritime Organization (IMO) at its seventeenth and eighteenth sessions. I also transmit, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State describing the amendments, their purpose and effect.

The United States is the world's largest user of international shipping. These amendments strengthen the International Maritime Organization's capability to facilitate international maritime traffic and to carry out its activities in developing strong maritime safety and environmental protection standards and regulations. The IMO's policies and maritime standards largely reflect our own. The United States pays less than 5 percent of the assessed contributions to the IMO.

The 1991 amendments institutionalize the Facilitation Committee as one of the IMO's standing committees. The Facilitation Committee was created to streamline the procedures for the arrival, stay and departure of ships, cargo and persons in international ports. This committee effectively contributes to greater efficiencies and profits for the U.S. maritime sector, while assisting U.S. law enforcement agencies' efforts to

combat narcotics trafficking and the threat of maritime terrorism.

The 1993 amendments increase the size of the IMO governing Council from 32 to 40 members. The United States has always been a member of the IMO governing Council. Increasing the Council from 32 to 40 Member States will ensure a more adequate representation of the interests of the more than 150 Member States in vital IMO maritime safety and environment protection efforts worldwide.

The 1991 amendments institutionalize the Facilitation Committee as one of the IMO's main committees. The 1993 amendments increase the size of the Council from 32 to 40 members, thereby affording a broader representation of the increased membership in the IMO's continuing administrative body.

Support for these amendments will contribute to the demonstrated interest of the United States in facilitating cooperation among maritime nations. To that end, I urge that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to these amendments and give its advice and consent to their acceptance.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 1, 1996.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery

October 1, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby submit the Second Report to the Congress on the Operation of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act. This report is prepared pursuant to the requirements of section 214 of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Expansion Act of 1990 (19 U.S.C. 2702(f)).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 1, 1996.

Statement on Signing the Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act

October 1, 1996

Today, I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 2428, a bill that will facilitate the donation of food and grocery products to needy individuals. The bill, known as the "Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act," exempts those who recover or donate apparently fit food and groceries from criminal or civil liability arising from those activities.

Through food recovery and donation, Americans can share with the hungry a portion of our country's immense food resources that would otherwise be wasted. The Department of Agriculture has supported the recovery and donation of packaged food for years. Moreover, during this Administration, the Department has undertaken a national initiative to help Americans "rescue" food of a highly perishable, but nutritious nature. Most of this food is prepared in restaurants, hotels, cafeterias, and other institutional settings and would otherwise have been thrown away. Through this important effort, thousands of hungry people have been fed at no cost to the Federal taxpayer.

In working with various private sector donors and food banks, however, it has come to light that liability concerns are often an impediment to food recovery and donation efforts. Although many States have enacted their own "Good Samaritan" laws to support food recovery and donation efforts, many businesses have advised that these varying State statutes hinder food donations.

This legislation will end the confusion regarding liability for food recovery and donation operations through uniform definitions in one national law. This will encourage the charitable and well-intentioned donation of food to the needy, while preserving governmental authority to protect health and food safety. For these reasons, I am pleased to sign this bill into law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,

October 1, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 2428, approved October 1, was assigned Public Law No. 104–210. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 2.

The President's News Conference With Middle Eastern Leaders
October 2, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. Please be seated. The four of us have agreed that I will speak about our 2 days of meetings and then do my best to faithfully answer questions that you have about it. And of course, the other three leaders will have a chance to be heard after the press conference.

I'd like to begin by thanking King Hussein, Prime Minister Netanyahu, and Chairman Arafat for coming here to Washington at this critical and very difficult moment for the Middle East peace process. Their journey reflects a true commitment to peace and an understanding that there is no alternative to the path of peace their people have traveled so far along in the last few years.

I invited them here with three urgent goals in mind: first, to seek to curb the terrible violence and death that we saw last week; second, to get the Israelis and Palestinians talking again at the highest levels; and third, to help both parties return to the hard work of building peace through negotiations. Today I can report progress on these goals.

First, the Israelis and Palestinians clearly are talking again at the highest levels. I believe the calm, constructive, face-to-face meetings Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat have had here will help to build trust between them and promote progress on the issues that still divide them. The Prime Minister and the Chairman agree that they are partners in peace, understand that it is vital to take into account each other's needs and concerns, and realize the importance of removing the frictions between them.

Second, the Prime Minister and Chairman Arafat have recommitted themselves to a nonviolent future, to renouncing violence in the resolution of their disputes.

Third, they are ready to renew and intensify negotiations on implementing the Interim Agreement, with Hebron as the first priority. They are committed to engaging immediately in talks and to achieving tangible progress quickly. To assist them in this effort I am sending Dennis Ross, our Special Middle East Coordinator, to the region now. The very first meeting will take place on Sunday morning at Erez. They want to resolve the problem of Israeli redeployment from Hebron, and they want to achieve this as soon as possible. I might point out that these talks will be occurring continuously, and these will be the first continuous peace talks that have been held since the Prime Minister assumed office with the Palestinians.

Finally, the leaders also understand the need to make arrangements between their security forces so that cooperation is more reliable and the situation on the ground is stabilized. They are prepared to do what is needed to achieve that as well.

All of us should put the meetings we have had over the last 2 days into the proper perspective. The peace process did not start today, and it will not be finished tomorrow. For 3 years now the Israelis and the Palestinians have been moving forward along the path to a lasting peace. Every step is hard. It requires both sides to make difficult decisions and to keep their eyes fixed on the prize of lasting peace. But the progress they have made has proved to the world that progress is possible and peace is pos-

sible. Both sides know there is no turning back. Just as there can be no peace without security, there can be no true security without peace.

I believe Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat understand the choice they face every day. It is the choice between cooperation and conflict, between progress and regression, between hope and fear. The Israeli and Palestinian people have chosen to strive for cooperation, progress, and hope. Now it falls to their leaders to guide them toward those goals, to help them stay true to their choice, and ultimately, to succeed.

In this effort, we are all profoundly privileged to have a partner in King Hussein. He has shown the world equal parts of courage and wisdom, and he has especially shown that here this week. I thank him for being here. I rely on his counsel. The peace process has no better friend.

Most of all, let me again thank Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat, who came here at very difficult times, with tensions high. I am convinced they both want a more peaceful, prosperous future for their people. I am convinced they both want a more secure future for their people. And I believe they are both prepared to do the hard work that is necessary to achieve their goals.

For our part, the United States will always be there to help. We remain committed to our common goal, a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. We recognize our special responsibility to protect the peace process at moments of extreme difficulty, to help move it forward. We have embraced this responsibility because those who take risks for peace must be able to count on the United States.

Mr. Hunt [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, after these marathon negotiations—we're told they went nonstop through the night—was there any narrowing of differences on the fundamental disputes? You mentioned Hebron, as well as the tunnel in East Jerusalem. Or are the problems that exploded last week in violence still festering?

The President. I would say that the problems that exploded last week in violence—that the problems are still there; the differences are still there. But I believe there is a higher level of understanding and a higher level of trust than existed before these talks began. They were not able to resolve their differences here. But to be fair, when we came together, there were no advance guarantees that there would be large-scale substantive negotiations. We knew we only had about a day and a half to work here. And they got the most out of it. I think that a lot of people on both sides have hardly slept.

And frankly, the agreement that was made here to immediately restart these negotiations and to do them on a full-time basis until agreement is reached on the critical issues, including Hebron, is encouraging to me. And I think that it comes out of the different feeling that they have about dealing with one another—I hope it does—and also a sense of urgency, given what has happened in the region in the last several days.

Yes, sir, in the back.

Q. Mr. President, is there a target date for ending the negotiations on the question of Hebron and also on other outstanding questions between Israel and the Palestinian Authority? Or is it negotiations without a target date?

The President. There was no specific date set, but I think it's important to point out that what they did agree to do was to start immediately on a full-time basis with a priority on speed and a priority on Hebron. This is not—this is the first negotiations that these parties have undertaken since Mr. Netanyahu became Prime Minister that have been on a full-time, in effect, permanent basis. And I am convinced that both sides want as quick as possible resolution.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, you said one of your goals was to end the cycle of violence in the Middle East. But today Israeli troops shot to death one Palestinian and wounded five others, and the negotiations that will take place are on issues that were supposedly settled a year ago here in Washington. Have you even—you spoke about progress, but it would seem you're back at square one.

The President. Well, I wouldn't say that. There's been a clear commitment not to renegotiate agreements by which both sides are bound but instead to talk about the implementation steps necessary to implement those agreements. And I think that there is a clear distinction there first.

Second, the level of violence at least, thank God, has declined in the last several days, and they are committed to taking it down as close to zero as they can. I believe you will see progress on that as they go back home. When we compare where we are today with where

we were a week ago, are we in better shape? Yes. Are we where I'd like to be? No. But we will get there, I think, if we keep working.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, would you please tell us if Mr. Netanyahu has pledged to remove the tanks and the soldiers inside Palestinian territory which has been liberated, if you will, and it is now the Palestinian Authority, as well? Because the Palestinians are choked to death financially, economically. And if there is quiet now, will you, Mr. Netanyahu, remove, through your offices, these tanks and these soldiers and create a harmonious, self-confidence-building measures to facilitate for the Palestinians to live like the rest of human beings around the world?

The President. Let me say that that and many other issues were discussed. Every issue that you would like to know was discussed, was discussed in the last 2 days. But I believe that anything that was not in my statement, I feel bound to let the leaders speak for themselves on. And I ask you and I ask the people of the Middle East, I ask the Palestinians and others, to give us a few more days to let this thing unfold. Give us a few more days to see whether these negotiations start, whether they're proceeding in good faith, whether progress can be made.

I guess the message I want to send out across the Middle East is, I'm convinced that this process and that these parties are in better shape in their relation to one another than they were 2 days ago. And please, please give us a chance to make this thing work in the days ahead.

Go ahead, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News].

Q. Mr. President, as Gene [Gene Gibbons, Reuters] mentioned earlier, some of these things were thought to have been agreed upon before. And I'm wondering whether you think it is fair to say not that the process has broken down but that there has been a major setback here from which you have not yet at least fully recovered.

The President. Well, what I think has happened is that we have not made as much progress as I wish we had. But the Israeli Government has made it very clear that they have no intention of renegotiating the Oslo Agreements, the Interim Agreement. Everything that the Government is bound by by previous action they intend to honor. But we are now in a stage which we would have been in anyway, talking about how to implement this. And then there are the security questions which have been raised, which the parties have agreed to talk about to try to resolve between the two of them as a result of the events of the last several days.

But I do not expect there to be an effort to undermine the agreements which have been made. The question is, can we get the negotiations on a track so that they can be implemented in a hurry. That is the issue.

Yes, ma'am.

Q. Mr. President, you mention in your statement about the issue of Jerusalem and the tunnel that started the whole situation. Has there been any talk or any agreement that Israel will not do anything to change the status of Jerusalem before the final status negotiations start? Thank you.

The President. Well, there might be a—let me say, first of all, the tunnel was discussed at some length by the parties and all the aspects of it, all the various elements of the controversy, were discussed. No agreement was reached between them about that issue, and that's why it is not in my statement. But I think there were some significant discussions held. And again, the other question you asked me I think is part of the terms of the agreement by which all parties are bound; that is, to not to do anything to upset the balance of issues that have to be part of the final status negotiations.

Yes, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Q. Mr. President, you're showing a lot of trust in the word of Israel to keep these commitments in terms of the status of Jerusalem, pulling troops out of Hebron; they were supposed to be done last March. What has restored your trust? And haven't you really struck out in getting any kind of firm commitment on anything?

The President. Well, we never agreed—there was never an agreement when these parties came here to have substantive negotiations. Nothing would make me happier if we had—I wish we had resolved everything in 2 days, but I didn't expect to do it. What I'm trying to do was to get people together and say, "We'll stop the violence. We will immediately begin to talk—immediately—about Hebron and the other issues. We will immediately begin to try to resolve these disputes over the security matters which are preventing more rapid progress."

I am very pleased by the agreement that was reached, actually today before we came out, to

start the negotiations on Sunday morning and to do it on a full-time continuous basis, with a mutual commitment to resolve these things as quickly as possible.

I'm not asking any of you to trust anybody about anything. I'm saying give us some time now to let the thing cool down and to let these full-time negotiations get underway, and look at what results are produced, and make your judgments based on what actually happens. Let's don't overreact now. We're in better shape than we were 2 days ago. We still have a huge amount of work to do, but the parties have to resolve that between themselves, and I think they have committed themselves to a process which makes that possible.

Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. President, you called the parties here because there was a crisis. Do you really feel and assess that this crisis is over and the two parties that came here did the best they could to avoid further bloodshed in the region? Are you satisfied with their effort?

The President. Well, I am satisfied that—I don't know that the crisis is over. What I am satisfied is, is that the level of—I hope the level of violence has been brought lower and can be maintained lower, at a lower level, while all the people in the Middle East watch as these talks unfold.

Keep in mind—keep in mind—let me ask you this. When you try to evaluate whether we did the right thing or not, or whether this has been worth doing, imagine what we would be reading in the press or seeing on the news if Chairman Arafat and King Hussein and Prime Minister Netanyahu had not come here and if everyone had withdrawn sort of to their respective positions and the turbulence that we were seeing in the region kept welling up. Imagine where we would be then. And keep in mind, too, that everybody who is here made a good-faith effort to address every single issue in the interim agreement, all the issues that they are bound to resolve, and to full-time negotiations beginning Sunday morning.

So I'm just saying I think that they worked very hard—and their teams hardly slept at all, and they didn't sleep much—they worked very hard to put all these issues out, to see where they were, to identify the points of difference. I think when they start these full-time negotiations, they'd know a great deal about where they are now. And they should be given a little bit of time here to see if they can't produce some results. That's the only thing I'm saying. And I think they have all earned the right to that by coming here and proceeding in a good-faith manner.

Yes, Rita [Rita Braver, CBS News].

Q. Mr. President, in the past when you have had the leaders here, just about any leaders from any countries, we have always heard from them in the White House, even if they go off and have their own news conferences later. Why can't we hear from them here today? And doesn't it seem to send a message that things really have broken down, the fact that they're not going to be able to speak within the auspices of the White House?

The President. They're certainly free to speak. It was my understanding that they thought it would be better if I spoke and answered the questions, and I'll tell you why. Keep in mind—consider the commitment they have made. They have come here after a period of days when the entire peace process could have been wrecked; when many, many people, innocent people, died; when there was no communications. And they have agreed to restore the peace, to commit themselves to a nonviolent future and a way of resolving their differences and to begin immediate talks on a full-time basis to deal with these issues. That's what they've agreed to do.

Now, think of all the questions you're asking me here today about all the things we didn't do. We didn't do them. Think of the questions you asked—all the things we didn't agree to. Then you can ask them all the things we didn't do. And if one of us talks instead of four, the chances that we will say something that will make our work harder Sunday morning are less than if all four of us answer all these hard questions about what hasn't been done yet. Let's don't kid around. What we're trying to do is to avoid saying anything that will make our progress more difficult. We want to enhance the chances that we'll actually get something done.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied with the level of good faith on both sides, and there are any American assurances to both sides about the involvement of the United States and the good faith of the other side?

The President. I can only tell you how I feel, first of all. All these things are matters of feeling

and trust, which is why you shouldn't minimize the hours that these leaders have spent with each other. I personally feel that the prospects for progress are more likely than I did 2 days ago. And I have told both parties that the United States will do whatever we can to support the peace process and to support the parties, and to make it a profitable thing to move forward in a constructive way, and to minimize the risks of peace. This is a risky business. And so, yes, I think I've made that clear, and I'll do my best to be there every step of the way.

Yes, Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, CNN]. Last question.

Q. Mr. President, with all due respect, can I follow up on Rita Braver's question? When we see the three leaders sitting here behind you, you say you want to urge everyone in the Middle East to be reassured, to calm down, to take this process seriously, but this news conference is being seen in the Middle East, all over the world, and when we don't hear your guests describe their feelings, we can only assume that they so disagree on these fundamental issues that these 2 days of negotiations have been a failure.

The President. Well, I'll tell you what I'll do——

Q. So why not let them speak?

The President. I'll tell you what I'll do. I'm telling you, the only reason that they asked me to do this is because you've asked me some very interesting and difficult questions, some of which would be even more difficult for them to answer than for me. So they wanted me to answer it so we wouldn't, any of us, say anything that would wreck what we're trying to do Sunday morning. But if they would like to come up—and since I've answered my last question, if they would—if any of them would like to come up and make a brief statement, or all of them would, I would be happy to have them make a brief statement.

Your Majesty, would you like to start? Anybody want to go?

So, now this is a miracle. [*Laughter*] I didn't part the waters, but I have silenced the voices. [*Laughter*]

Thank you very much. Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 129th news conference began at 2:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. Present at the news conference were King Hussein I of Jordan, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel, and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority.

Statement on Signing the Antarctic Science, Tourism, and Conservation Act of 1996

October 2, 1996

I have today signed into law H.R. 3060, the "Antarctic Science, Tourism, and Conservation Act of 1996."

Almost 40 years ago, the United States proposed a treaty among the nations carrying out scientific research in Antarctica. The resulting Antarctic Treaty establishes this fascinating and remote region of our planet as a zone of peace, reserved exclusively for peaceful uses, and guarantees freedom of scientific research there.

The Antarctic Treaty has proven a uniquely successful agreement and has spawned an innovative system of supplementary agreements to protect the Antarctic environment and conserve its living resources. For these reasons, it gives me particular pleasure to sign into law legislation that will provide authority for the United States to ratify the most recent extension of that system: the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty. The Protocol sets forth mandatory rules for the protection of the environment of Antarctica and the promotion of scientific research there.

The bill that I have signed today implements the provisions of the Environmental Protocol. The Senate has already given its advice and consent to ratification of the Protocol.

Enactment of this legislation reaffirms United States leadership in Antarctic affairs. Our leadership is expressed in our world class research program on the ice, which is helping to answer basic questions about the earth. The United States has also provided leadership in the innovative diplomacy that has made Antarctica a

shining example of constructive international cooperation.

I would like to pay particular tribute to those who made this legislation possible: the U.S. negotiators who crafted the Protocol and the legislators who have provided for its implementation. Congressional passage of this legislation reflected the bipartisan partnership that has been the hallmark of our Antarctic policy. I would like to pay tribute to the House Science Committee and the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee, which took the initiative to move this bill. In particular, I commend Senator John Kerry for his continued interest and support for implementation of the Protocol and Chairman Bob Walker and Representative George Brown for their initiative in moving this important legislation in this Congress. Finally, I would like to recognize the leadership of the Vice President on this issue, dating back to his days in the Senate.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 2, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3060, approved October 2, was assigned Public Law No. 104–227.

Statement on Signing the Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996

October 2, 1996

I am pleased to sign into law today H.R. 3802, the "Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996."

This bill represents the culmination of several years of leadership by Senator Patrick Leahy to bring this important law up to date. Enacted in 1966, the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) was the first law to establish an effective legal right of access to government information, underscoring the crucial need in a democracy for open access to government information by citizens. In the last 30 years, citizens, scholars, and reporters have used FOIA to obtain vital and valuable government information.

Since 1966, the world has changed a great deal. Records are no longer principally maintained in paper format. Now, they are maintained in a variety of technologies, including CD ROM and computer tapes and diskettes, making it easier to put more information on-line.

My Administration has launched numerous initiatives to bring more government information to the public. We have established World Wide Web pages, which identify and link information resources throughout the Federal Government. An enormous range of documents and data, including the Federal budget, is now available on-line or in electronic format, making government more accessible than ever. And in the last year, we have declassified unprecedented amounts of national security material, including information on nuclear testing.

The legislation I sign today brings FOIA into the information and electronic age by clarifying that it applies to records maintained in electronic format. This law also broadens public access to government information by placing more material on-line and expanding the role of the agency reading room. As the Government actively disseminates more information, I hope that there will be less need to use FOIA to obtain government information.

This legislation not only affirms the importance, but also the challenge of maintaining openness in government. In a period of government downsizing, the numbers of requests continue to rise. In addition, growing numbers of requests are for information that must be reviewed for declassification, or in which there is a proprietary interest or a privacy concern. The result in many agencies is huge backlogs of requests.

In this Act, the Congress recognized that with today's limited resources, it is frequently difficult to respond to a FOIA request within the 10 days formerly required in the law. This legislation extends the legal response period to 20 days.

More importantly, it recognizes that many FOIA requests are so broad and complex that they cannot possibly be completed even within

this longer period, and the time spent processing them only delays other requests. Accordingly, H.R. 3802 establishes procedures for an agency to discuss with requesters ways of tailoring large requests to improve responsiveness. This approach explicitly recognizes that FOIA works best when agencies and requesters work together.

Our country was founded on democratic principles of openness and accountability, and for 30 years, FOIA has supported these principles. Today, the "Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996" reforges an important link between the United States Government and the American people.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 2, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3802, approved October 2, was assigned Public Law No. 104–231.

Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval Fish and Wildlife Refuge Eminent Domain Prevention Legislation

October 2, 1996

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 2909, the "Silvio O. Conte National Fish and Wildlife Refuge Eminent Domain Prevention Act."

This bill would prohibit the use of eminent domain authority for the protection of the public's fish and wildlife resources at portions of the Silvio O. Conte National Fish and Wildlife Refuge in the States of New Hampshire and Vermont. Because it is unnecessary and would undermine important governmental interests, I cannot support it.

First, the Conte Refuge poses no threat to property owners. Located along the Connecticut River in the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont, it represents an entirely new kind of national wildlife refuge. Rather than relying on the traditional approach of acquiring large tracts of land, the comprehensive plan for the Conte Refuge provides that only small amounts will come into Federal ownership—a total of only 1,200 acres in New Hampshire and Vermont, along with conservation easements for an additional 760 acres. Instead of Federal land acquisition, the main emphasis for the Refuge will be on restoring the Connecticut River watershed through voluntary partnerships, cooperative agreements, and environmental education. The Fish and Wildlife Service has no intention of using its eminent domain authority.

Second, this bill would undermine a constitutionally bestowed authority of the Federal Government by prohibiting the use of eminent domain for fish and wildlife conservation. The truth is that the Fish and Wildlife Service almost never uses eminent domain for wildlife conservation purposes—on a nationwide basis, since 1989, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service has only used its eminent domain power with the consent of the owner to settle price or title differences. Still, eminent domain remains an important tool of last resort, to protect the public's interest in fish and wildlife resources should unforeseen circumstances arise.

Private property is a fundamental American right and value. But this bill is unnecessary and would erode a constitutional authority that has served the public interest for over 200 years. As stated during debate on the bill in the House of Representatives, H.R. 2909 is a solution in search of a problem.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 2, 1996.

Remarks on Signing the Comprehensive Methamphetamine Control Act of 1996

October 3, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Attorney General Reno; Secretary Rubin; Secretary Shalala; General McCaffrey; OMB Director Frank Raines; Under Secretary Kelly; our ATF Director, John Magaw; Bonnie Campbell; Bob Scully and the board members of NAPO; to the families who are here represented that were mentioned by the Attorney General who have paid such a great price to serve our country in law enforcement. To the Members of Congress who are here who supported this action in a completely bipartisan way, I thank you for being here: Senator Biden, Senator Graham, Senator Feinstein, Senator John Kerry, Senator Reid, Senator Specter, Senator Wellstone, Congressman Conyers, Congressman Fazio, Congressman Fox, Congressman Frost, Congressman Luther, Congressman Studds. I thank you all for your active support of these initiatives and for your presence here today.

I would like to begin by saluting the brave men and women who are in law enforcement in the United States. Before this ceremony, I had the honor of meeting and presenting the annual Top Cop award to 25 law enforcement officials from around the country who have displayed heroism, devotion to duty, and service to their communities that is truly extraordinary. That service is also on display in every community every day. Our police are at the center of our strategy as a nation for fighting crime, and today I think every American should give them thanks. So I would like to ask all of you to recognize those who have been awarded the Top Cop award behind us. [*Applause*]

I would also like to say again a special word of thanks to Richard Hagerman and Donna Whitson, to the O'Hara and Alu families, and to Karen Degan and her family for their remarkable work to prove that representative government can still represent, can still actually respond to the legitimate needs and concerns of the citizens of this country.

This is a good day for America because we have seen a change in the attitudes of our people, the actions of communities, and the work in Washington on the problem of crime. Today, after years and years of talking about the crime problem, we can actually see that we can say with a clear heart and a clear mind and absolute conviction to the American people, "There is something you can do about crime." We are getting results, and today we mark the passage of three more laws that further advance our anticrime strategy.

Four years ago, we put in place an anticrime strategy that was both tough and smart. It was eventually embodied in the 1994 crime bill. It has been behind all of our actions over the last 3½ years. We are on track to putting 100,000 new community police officers on the street, people who work with their neighbors to catch criminals, close crack houses, who work with citizens groups, which we have also supported, to prevent crime before it happens.

I am pleased that the budget bill I signed on Monday evening will keep moving forward on our promise to finish putting 100,000 police on the street. We have toughened penalties, made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land, expanded the death penalty, said to drug dealers who prey on public housing, "One criminal conviction and you are out of public housing." We have said to sexual predators, "The law will follow you wherever you go," and we are working to establish a national registry for sexual predators to make absolutely sure that that is exactly what happens. We are taking guns off the street, banning 19 deadly assault weapons, passing the Brady bill.

And we are giving our young people some things to say yes to as well: expanded antidrug programs in our schools, encouragement to communities to enforce truancy laws, impose community curfews, introduce policies like school uniforms. All of these things will work to give our children a stronger sense of right and wrong and a greater capacity to do what is right.

This strategy, of course, is not ours alone. In fact, I would say to all those here—especially to you, Senator Biden, who helped us write the crime bill of 1994—what we have done in Washington is a reflection of what we have heard from the energy, the determination, and the activities of thousands and thousands of citizens

and law enforcement officials all across this country where our police are taking back their streets, enlisting the active support of community watch groups, of parents, of businesses.

For 4 years in a row now, crime has come down in America. Murders are down; rapes are down; robberies are down; drug use is down. The rising tide of juvenile violence, which seemed poised to upend our progress, has finally begun to recede. There are one million fewer crime victims today than there were a year ago. Now we must press on. We must build on this strategy of putting more police on the street and taking criminals, drugs, and guns off the street. That is what these measures we mark today do.

First, earlier this week, Congress answered my call to expand on the proven success of the Brady bill. When our police officers and crime victims were advocating the passage of the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban, those who opposed them told the Nation's hunters that Congress would take their guns away. Well, now we know. After 2 years, not a single hunter has been denied a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have been denied guns because of the Brady bill. It was plainly the right thing to do. It has worked.

Until now, the Brady bill has worked to bar felons from buying guns, handguns. Thousands of people, however, who are wifebeaters or child abusers, even those who have wielded weapons in their assaults, could still buy handguns with potentially deadly consequences. There is no more harmful type of violence than this.

In August, I asked Congress to pass an extension of the Brady bill to deny handguns to anyone convicted of domestic violence. I am pleased that the Congress enacted this important domestic violence law as part of the budget bill. It is a very fitting way to begin Domestic Violence Awareness Month, which I am proclaiming today. Now, with a strong voice, America says: If you are convicted of a felony you should not have a gun. If you are a fugitive from the law, you should not have a gun. If you are stalking or harassing women or children, you should not have a gun. And if you raise—and commit an act of violence against your spouse or your child, you should not have a gun. That is now the law of the land.

Second, I am very pleased that in the budget bill Congress passed, more was done to help break the cycle of crime and drugs. Drug dealers with guns and criminals on drugs are central to our crime problem. Up to two-thirds of the adults arrested for felonies today have substance abuse problems. When criminals go on parole and then they go back on drugs, chances are very high that they will commit new crimes. Now, listen to this—I couldn't believe it when I learned this—60 percent—60 percent—of the heroin and cocaine sold in our country is purchased by people on bail, on probation, or on parole. Seventy-five percent of the prisoners with a history of heroin or cocaine use are released without treatment, to go back on drugs within 3 months and back to the cycle of crime and drugs.

Today, States often do not do much to drug test prisoners or parolees or take action to break them of their habit. Last month, I proposed legislation to do something about that. It requires States receiving Federal prison funds to develop comprehensive drug testing and treatment programs for prisoners and parolees. And I am very, very pleased that the Congress passed this legislation. We say to inmates, if you stay on drugs, you have to stay in jail. We say to parolees, if you go back on drugs, then you have to go back to jail. If you want to stay on the street, stay off drugs.

I have asked the Attorney General to issue preliminary guidelines for the States to help them comply with this new law by the end of this year. I am pleased we are not wasting any time.

And again let me thank the Congress for their prompt action on this problem. This has the potential to make a huge difference in the crime problem in America, as well as to liberate a lot of people from a drug abuse habit and enable them to go back to being responsible citizens instead of just being in a revolving door, in and out of prison all their lives.

Finally, I'm pleased that Congress has passed important antidrug legislation that I submitted last spring to deal with methamphetamine. Methamphetamine is a deadly drug that unfortunately is gaining popularity. In 2 years, deaths from this drug have doubled. Currently isolated in geographic pockets, its use now threatens to spread nationwide.

With this legislation we increase penalties for trafficking in meth, toughen the penalties for trafficking in those chemicals used to produce meth, and give the Justice Department authority to regulate and seize those chemicals. I am par-

ticularly pleased that we are acting before this epidemic spreads. And I thank General McCaffrey and Attorney General Reno for their urgency in this matter. We have to stop meth before it becomes the crack of the 1990's, and this legislation gives us a chance to do it.

Again, let me say to General McCaffrey a thank-you for your work and for holding two national forums on methamphetamine, one with Senator Feinstein in southern California and one with Senator Kerrey in Nebraska, over the next few months.

All of these new laws will help us fight crime, but we must recognize that more police and tougher penalties cannot fight crime alone. Parents have to teach their children to stay away from drugs and out of gangs and violence. Clergy, business people, educators, all must do their part. We need more citizens out there patrolling the streets, and we are trying to generate another million volunteers to help because we know that these citizen patrols have dramatically reduced crime when they are working with police officers. And all of our young people must decide to assume more personal responsibility to stay off drugs, out of gangs, and away from jail and within the law.

As of today, if you commit an act of violence against your spouse or child, you can't purchase a gun. If you violate your parole and use drugs, you must go back to jail. If you traffic in meth, you must pay a stiff penalty. We are safer because of these actions.

Again, I thank the Congress. And I'm pleased to sign the legislation, and I'd like to ask the Members who are here and the law enforcement officers to come up and be with me.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:23 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Bonnie Campbell, Director, Office of Violence Against Women, Department of Justice; Robert T. Scully, executive director, National Association of Police Organizations; and anticrime legislation advocates Richard Hagerman, Donna Whitson, Joseph Alu, Jr., Jim O'Hara, and Karen Degan. S. 1965, approved October 3, was assigned Public Law No. 104–237. Earlier in the day, the President signed the following additional anticrime legislation: the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Amendments of 1996 (S. 919, Public Law No. 104–235); the Pam Lychner Sexual Offender Tracking and Identification Act of 1996 (S. 1675, Public Law No. 104–236); and the Federal Law Enforcement Dependents Assistance Act of 1996 (S. 2101, Public Law No. 104–238). The National Domestic Violence Awareness Month proclamation is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks in Buffalo, New York

October 3, 1996

The President. Thank you. Wow! Thank you. Thank you. Hello, Buffalo! Hello, Erie County! You know, Congressman LaFalce, I am on my way to Chautauqua to prepare for the debate. And I was listening to you go through these steps, and it occurred to me that I ought to take you with me. I need to remember—I hope I can remember all those things you just said Sunday night in the debate.

I am glad to be back here in Buffalo. I thank you all for being here. I want to say thank you, Mayor Masiello. Thank you, Erie County Executive Dennis Gorski. I want to thank the leaders of the State Democratic Party, the Deputy Speaker, Arthur Eve, and Mrs. Eve. Now they have two sons working for me. Thank you very much. We have Mayor Galie from Niagara Falls here. And we have two other candidates for Congress here. I'd like to ask them to come forward and wave: Tom Fricano, the congressional candidate from the 2d District, and Fran Pordum from the 30th District. There you are. Thank you, gentlemen.

And I want to thank the high school band for playing for us. Let's give them a big hand. [*Applause*] The colder it gets the harder it is to play one of those instruments, I know. But in Buffalo, this is a heat wave, right? [*Laughter*]

Let me tell you, I am delighted to be back here in your county, in your city. I'm glad to be back in western New York. You know, 4 years ago when I came here and asked you

to help me rebuild the American dream, our country was drifting toward the 21st century. We had high unemployment, stagnant wages, the slowest job growth since the Great Depression, rising crime, increasing inequality among working families, and increasing tensions in our society. We were drifting toward the 21st century. And 4 years later, we're on the right track, roaring toward the 21st century. And I thank you for your support of our efforts.

We have worked hard to create a country in which the American dream is alive and well for all of our people, a country that is coming together instead of being driven apart by our diversity, a country that is leading the world to peace and freedom and prosperity. And compared to 4 years ago, there's a lot of good news: 10½ million more jobs; average family income is up $1,600 after inflation since we passed the economic plan that our opponents said would drive the country into the ditch. They were wrong, and we were right.

We have record numbers of new businesses. Ten million people got an increase in their minimum wage the day before yesterday, on October 1st, when the minimum wage increase went into effect. And we learned last week that economic benefits are finally going to all of our working people. We had the biggest decline in inequality among wage earners in growing incomes in 27 years; the biggest drop in the number of people in poverty in 27 years; the lowest poverty rate among senior citizens ever recorded; the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years. This country is on the right track for the 21st century.

When I became President our deficit was $290 billion and headed higher. We'd quadrupled the debt in 4 years. It is now going down 4 years in a row, the first time that's happened in any Presidential administration since the 1840's, before the Civil War. We are moving in the right direction.

Our deficit would not exist today, we would have a surplus today—a surplus today—we would have even lower interest rates, we could cut taxes more, we could grow the economy faster if we had a surplus today, which we would have if it weren't for the debt run up in the 12 years before I became President with the same economic program that our opponents are advocating today: Never mind, just cut taxes across the board; blow it off; who cares about the deficit. You should care. Why? Because if the Government has to borrow money, we're competing with you for borrowing money. That means your interest rates go up.

And that's one thing I want to say: When you think about the 21st century, you have to decide. We need a targeted tax cut that is targeted to education, to childrearing, to buying that first home, to medical emergencies. And it needs to be paid for, dollar for dollar, dime for dime. We do not need a huge, explosive, across-the-board tax break that goes to people that don't need it, like me, and increases your deficit, your interest rates, which means higher car payments, higher college loan payments, higher home loan payments, higher credit card payments, and higher interest rates for the businesses in Erie County who are trying to borrow money to grow their businesses and hire people and get this country moving even stronger. I say let's have the right kind of tax cut, but let's do it in a way that grows the economy and builds all American families and makes us a stronger country. I hope you will support that approach.

Let me say there are also 12 million families that have been able to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs when a baby's born, when a parent's sick, when a child's sick because of the Family and Medical Leave Act. And I want to see it expanded to let families go to those parent-teacher conferences and take their children and their parents to the doctor without losing their job. It's the right thing to do.

We have made every small business in America eligible for a tax cut if they invest more in their own businesses to grow the economy and make their businesses and our country stronger. We've made it easier for small businesses to take out pensions and for their employees to take those pensions from job to job. And that's very important. Only about half the American people now have a retirement plan at work. More and more of our businesses are smaller business. More and more of our people are working there. This is a very important thing, making it easier for small-business people to have retirement plans for themselves and their employees.

And we have made it easier for people who are self-employed to take out health insurance because they can now deduct more of that health insurance premium from their tax bill. We are moving in the right direction.

We have made 25 million Americans more eligible for health care by passing the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill because it says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you change jobs or someone in your family has been sick. We are moving in the right direction to the 21st century.

And in the closing days of this session of Congress, as the American people—I don't want to take credit for this; I want to give you credit for this—in the closing days of this session of Congress—what a difference a year makes. As you heard John LaFalce say, a year ago they shut the Government down. But in the closing days of this session, they passed legislation that I asked for ending drive-by deliveries, saying you couldn't kick mothers and newborn babies out of the hospital within 24 hours anymore. The doctors and the mothers should make that decision based on what's best for the health of the mother and the baby.

They gave some coverage in the health insurance policies for mental health, which is a very important thing to families all across America. They covered for the first time—and thank goodness we have finally done it—with extra health and disability benefits, children of Vietnam era veterans who have spina bifida because their parents were exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam. This is a better country now. We are moving forward. We are doing things that are consistent with our values.

And I'll tell you something else. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row; there are one million fewer crime victims now than there were. The crime rate's not low enough, but you think about it: If we could bring the crime down 8 years in a row with a strategy that's working, this country may have safe streets, safe schools, safe neighborhoods, and the American people may feel genuinely secure again in their homes and at work and when their children go off in the daytime. That is the America that I'm working for in the 21st century.

Here in this county, you have benefited from our commitment to put 100,000 more police officers on our streets. In 1994, Congress passed that commitment. And in only 2 years, we have already funded 44,000 of those police officers. Now in this budget we're going to keep going until we finish the job, more police working to prevent crime as well as catch criminals, working with neighbors, working with children, working with school groups, working with church groups. This will work. This will work.

Just before I came here today I met with the police officers who have been named the Top Cops of the year by the National Association of Police Officers, and we celebrated the work done just in the closing days of Congress for safer streets. The Brady bill—not very long ago this Congress, the majority, was telling people that the Brady bill was going to take guns away from folks. Well, it didn't take any guns away from hunters, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns because of the Brady bill. And the Congress in this budget actually answered my call to expand the Brady bill in a very limited way to say if you've got a felony record, you shouldn't get a handgun. That's what the bill says now. Now it says if you have beaten up your spouse or your child, you shouldn't be eligible to get a gun either. And that is the law of the land, and that's a good thing for America. That's a good thing for America.

And finally, the Congress did something that I really strongly agree with and have asked for. They said that if States want to get money from the Federal Government to build penal facilities, they have to drug test people in prison and on parole. Sixty percent of the heroin and cocaine bought in this country is purchased by people who are involved in the criminal justice system: they're on bail; they're on probation; they're on parole. We ought to test those people. They ought to be treated. And we ought to say, look, parole is a privilege, not a right. And if you do drugs, you're going back to jail. If you want to stay out of jail, stay off drugs. It will make us a safer country, and we're moving in the right direction with that.

And just before I left I signed a bill which stiffens the penalty for trafficking in methamphetamine. That's hard to say; "meth" is the shorthand. You may not even know what it is, but in some parts of our country it is in danger of becoming what crack was in the 1980's. And we are determined to stop it before it becomes an epidemic.

That's what I'm trying to do, folks, in all of our problems. I'm trying to identify them, get ahead of the curve, and keep America growing and going together.

Let me just say one last thing. I know all of you looked in the last 2 days as I worked as hard as I could to get the peace process

in the Middle East back on track and to stop the resumption of violence between the Israelis and the Palestinians. I want to ask you to think just for a moment, as I close, about how many places in the world people are fighting each other because they're of a different religion, a different race, a different ethnic group, a different tribe: in Africa, Rwanda and Burundi; and Northern Ireland, where I've worked as hard as I could to restore the peace process; in Bosnia, where the United States and allies from all over the world are working to get people to live in peace, where there is literally no ethnic difference, even though they say they're different ethnic groups, they're in different religious groups, almost by accident of history.

You see, the whole world today—now that the cold war is over, we have reduced the threat of nuclear war; there are no nuclear weapons pointed at the children of the United States for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. But all over the world, we see terrorism; we see weapons of mass destruction; we see all of this violence rooted in people's desire to hurt other people because they're different from them.

And that's the last thing I want to leave you with. We can go into the 21st century as the strongest country in the world, with our best days ahead, because America is not about looking down on somebody because they're different from you. All you've got to do to be an American is to believe in the principles of the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and show up tomorrow and be a law-abiding citizen. You can walk across our bridge to the 21st century. And I want you to commit to keep building that kind of American community where we grow and go together because our best days are still ahead.

Stay with us, and help us build that bridge to the 21st century. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you.

[*At this point, Representative John LaFalce made brief remarks.*]

The President. I neglected to say this when I was speaking, but I do believe the biggest Buffalo Bills fan in the entire United States, outside of Erie County, was my late mother and her husband, my stepfather. They're pulling for you every week. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at the Greater Buffalo International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Anthony M. Masiello of Buffalo and Mayor James Galie of Niagara Falls, NY. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Statement on Congressional Action on Federal Aviation Reauthorization Legislation

October 3, 1996

In passing the Federal Aviation Authorization Act today, Congress has responded to my request to act quickly on the recommendations of the Gore commission and approved an important piece of legislation that will improve the security of our airports and airlines.

Because of this legislation, criminal background checks can now be conducted on airport personnel, new explosives detection technology can be deployed, baggage will be checked more thoroughly, passenger profiling will be instituted, and families who lose a loved one in an accident will be able to get the help that they need.

I congratulate the Congress and I thank the Vice President, as well as Secretary Pena and his team, for making this important legislation a reality which I look forward to signing into law.

Statement on the Bipartisan Agreement on Omnibus Parks Legislation
October 3, 1996

I am gratified tonight that we could reach a bipartisan agreement on an omnibus parks bill that protects some of this Nation's most precious treasures. This legislation will improve the management of our Nation's parks and public lands, and protect some of our most valued resources.

This bill encompasses my top priorities for parks legislation, including measures to improve management of the Presidio, acquire the Sterling Forest, and establish the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve. It also deletes almost all of the provisions that I had found objectionable, including those that would have adversely affected the Shenandoah National Park and Richmond Battlefield National Park in Virginia, the Sequoia National Park in California, the Tongass National Forest, and other national parks and Federal lands.

Though not perfect, this bill represents a great victory for the American people and proves what we can accomplish if we work together.

Memorandum on Guidelines to States for Implementing the Family Violence Provisions of Welfare Reform Legislation
October 3, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Attorney General

Subject: Guidelines to States for Implementing the Family Violence Provisions

Domestic violence has a devastating impact on families and communities. Each year, hundreds of thousands of Americans are subject to assault, rape, or murder at the hands of an intimate family member. Our children's futures are severely threatened by the fact that they live in homes with domestic violence. We know that children who grow up with such violence are more likely to become victims or batterers themselves. The violence in our homes is self-perpetuating and eventually it spills into our schools, our communities, and our workplaces.

Domestic violence can be particularly damaging to women and children in low-income families. The profound mental and physical effects of domestic violence can often interfere with victims' efforts to pursue education or employment—to become self-sufficient and independent. Moreover, it is often the case that the abusers themselves fight to keep their victims from becoming independent.

As we reform our Nation's welfare system, we must make sure that welfare-to-work programs across the country have the tools, the training, and the flexibility necessary to help battered women move successfully into the work force and became self-sufficient.

For these reasons, I strongly encourage States to implement the Wellstone/Murray Family Violence provisions of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 (Public Law 104–193, section 402(a)(7)). These provisions invite States to increase services for battered women through welfare programs and help these women move successfully and permanently into the workplace. The Family Violence provisions are critical in responding to the unique needs faced by women and families subjected to domestic violence.

As we move forward on our historical mission to reform the welfare system, this Administration is committed to offering States assistance in their efforts to implement the Family Violence provisions.

Accordingly, I direct the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services and the Attorney General to develop guidance for States to assist and facilitate the implementation of the Family Violence provisions. In crafting this guidance, the Departments of Health and Human Services and Justice should work with States, domestic violence experts, victims' services programs, law enforcement, medical professionals, and others involved in fighting domestic violence. These agencies should recommend

standards and procedures that will help make transitional assistance programs fully responsive to the needs of battered women.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services is further directed to provide States with technical assistance as they work to implement the Family Violence provisions.

Finally, to more accurately study the scope of the problem, we should examine statutory rape, domestic violence, and sexual assault as threats to safety and barriers to self-sufficiency. I therefore direct the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services to make it a priority to understand the incidence of statutory rape, domestic violence, and sexual assault in the lives of poor families, and to recommend the best assessment, referral, and delivery models to improve safety and self-sufficiency for poor families who are victims of domestic violence.

I ask the Secretary of Health and Human Services and the Attorney General to report to me in writing 90 days from the date of this memorandum on the specific progress that has been made toward these goals.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

Message to the Congress Transmitting Transportation Department Reports
October 3, 1996

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the 1995 calendar year reports as prepared by the Department of Transportation on activities under the Highway Safety Act, the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, and the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act of 1972, as amended.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 3, 1996.

Exchange With Reporters in Chautauqua, New York
October 4, 1996

Middle East Peace Process

The President. Good morning, everyone.

Q. Is Christopher going to the Middle East this weekend, Mr. President?

The President. It's entirely possible. We discussed it, and I think he's probably finalized his plans by now. I told him that I wanted him to go there for the beginning of the talks, which start, as you know, on Sunday morning. And he's supposed to go to Africa, and I asked him not to cancel the trip to Africa but to go to the Middle East first. So I'm assuming that those plans were made and that he'll be there in the beginning.

Presidential Debate

Q. Mr. President, how's the debate training going, sir? And what makes you think you need much training after all the speeches you make and the news conferences you've been through over the last 4 years?

The President. Debates are different, because it's not just answering tough questions. You—basically, there's the person you're debating, the other candidate, plus the interlocutor, plus the time constraints, so that really I'm—Senator Mitchell won last night. [*Laughter*] I am badly out of shape on this, but I'm trying to get better. And I woke up this morning and sort of massaged my bruises, and I'm ready to go at it again. [*Laughter*]

Presidential Pardons

Q. When Mr. Dole asks you whether you're going to give Whitewater pardons and why your administration has been clouded by ethical problems, what will your response be?

The President. Well, tune in tomorrow. I'm going to answer the same thing I have already.

There aren't any under consideration, and I haven't given any thought to giving any. That's not the issue. I just said I think that nobody should be singled out for special treatment one way or the other, including discrimination against them or discrimination in favor of them. There's a procedure for that that everyone follows, and there is absolutely no consideration being given to that.

Presidential Debate

Q. Sir, they tell us they are going to——

Q. Mr. President, do you expect Senator Dole to go on the attack? Do you expect Senator——

Q. ——tell us that they're going to help you, in that sense, control your temper if you should get some of these. Is that a problem for you, do you think?

The President. No, but I think—what we do often is I give the answer I'd like to give, and then I go back and give the answer I should give if somebody takes a real broadside at me. [*Laughter*] No, we're—I think the most important thing is to remember that this debate is as much about the American people and their lives and their future as it is about Senator Dole and me. And so what I want to be able to do—and my objectives are fairly straightforward and basically quite simple—I want to make sure that the voters know what the record is, they know what the contrasts are between Senator Dole and me, and most important of all, that they know what I intend to do for the next 4 years. And then they can make up their own minds.

I think my goal here is to make sure that the people actually get something out of this debate other than just sort of an exercise in who does a better job in outwitting someone else. That's—I think it ought to be something that's genuinely informative, and I'm going to try to make it that way.

Press Secretary Mike McCurry. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Mr. President, the polls being the way they are, a lot of people are wondering how much importance this debate really is. What do you think?

The President. Oh, I think it's quite important. I think the American people care a lot about their country. I think they know we're going through a period of real, profound change, and that these decisions we're going to make in the next couple of years will affect our country well into the 21st century.

1996 Election

Q. Do you think you're going to carry western New York, Chautauqua country, if you will?

The President. I hope so. I've met some awful nice people here who say they're working for us up here and trying to help us win here. It's unusual, as you know, for a Democrat to carry here, but I'm hoping we will, and I feel pretty good about it.

Presidential Debate

Q. Senator, is the President low-balling us when he tells us you beat him yesterday?

Former Senator George J. Mitchell. Well, I'll say——

The President. Tell the truth, George. You beat me like a drum. [*Laughter*] You kicked me all over the place last night. Tell the truth.

Senator Mitchell. Well, let me say this: I served as majority leader in the Senate for 6 years while Senator Dole was minority leader, so I debated him probably more than any other person, and I know just how effective he is. Senator Dole is a highly skilled debater, and I think he's going to be tough in this debate coming up on Sunday. But the President, I think, will do all right.

Q. Mr. President, what do you remember most from the debates 4 years ago? What sticks out in your mind—the last time you went through this?

The President. Oh, no question about it, the townhall debate, the citizens debate, and the richness and variety and the relevance of the questions that the citizens asked, and how little they were into politics and positioning and how much they were into the substance of their own lives and the future. I was very, very impressed by the questions that the American people asked who were part of that debate. That's the thing I will always remember.

NOTE: The exchange began at 10:30 a.m. outside the Hotel Athenaeum. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's Radio Address
October 5, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk about some good news about our Nation's social fabric, just the latest good news we've had about the direction of our country.

For the past 4 years we've worked hard to expand opportunity, demand responsibility, and build a stronger sense of community. Look what we've achieved together: 10½ million new jobs, unemployment at its lowest level in 7½ years, the deficit down 60 percent. And last week we learned that incomes have risen by $1,600 after inflation since the passage of my economic plan. We've had the biggest one-year decline in poverty in 27 years. Clearly, America is on the right track.

This strategy has not only been good for our economy, it has also helped us begin to mend our social fabric. We've worked hard together to strengthen families and to give all Americans the tools to make the most of their own lives. That includes sending a strong message to young people that they must take responsibility for their own actions. That's why we've adopted a stand of zero tolerance for guns and drugs in our schools and why we've supported school uniforms, strong truancy law enforcement, and community curfews to reduce crime and promote discipline. That's why I ordered tobacco companies to stop marketing cigarettes to our children, the strongest action ever taken to protect our children against this deadly threat. And we're working to make sure young people get a clear message at school and at home: Drugs are wrong, drugs are illegal, and drugs can kill you.

But we all know that so many of our other social problems have their roots in the breakdown of our families. For decades we have seen a stunning and simultaneous erosion of the institutions that give our lives structure and keep us strong: work, family, and neighborhood. There is no more troubling outgrowth of this social breakdown than the increase in teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births in recent decades. We know that children who are born into homes where there is no marriage are more likely to drop out of school, get involved in crime and drugs, and end up in poverty. That's why I've worked so hard to demand responsibility from young people and reduce teen pregnancies. Earlier this year I took executive action to require young mothers to stay in school or lose welfare payments. We mounted an unprecedented crackdown on child support enforcement, and now child support collections are up nearly 50 percent compared to 4 years ago.

We are saying to young men and young women alike, it is wrong to get pregnant or father a child until you are married and ready to take on the responsibilities of parenthood. And all across America, in our religious institutions, our schools, our neighborhoods, our workplaces, our people are banding together, teaching young people right from wrong and helping steer them on the right path. We are supporting many school and community-based efforts, especially those that promote abstinence to reduce teen pregnancy.

Today I'm pleased to report that together we're making progress. I'm announcing the new release of a report by the Centers for Disease Control showing that last year the teen birth rate went down for the 4th year in a row. And even more encouraging, the out-of-wedlock birth rate declined for the first time in 20 years. This is occurring across all racial and cultural lines. If we're going to save the American family, it is absolutely critical that we keep moving in this direction. There are still far too many children being born outside of marriage, but we are now finally seeing that it is possible for us to move in the right direction.

For far too long too many Americans believed there was nothing we could do about our most vexing social problems. They always seemed to be there, and they always seemed to be growing worse. But now it's different. Crime is down 4 years in a row, one million fewer victims. Poverty is down, the largest drop in 27 years. Nearly 2 million people have moved from welfare to work. And now this good news on teen birth rates and out-of-wedlock pregnancies.

When the teen birth rate drops for 4 years in a row and out-of-wedlock births decline for the first time in a generation, that is news we can all be proud of. Americans are standing up for our values. The American family is getting stronger, and we are making responsibility

a way of life. Our economy and our society are on the right track. If we continue to pull together to meet our challenges and protect our values, our best days are still ahead.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 10 a.m. on October 4 at the Chautauqua Institute in Chautauqua, NY, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 5.

Exchange With Reporters Following Debate Preparation With Former Senator George J. Mitchell in Chautauqua

October 5, 1996

The President. Hi.

Q. Good morning.

The President. "X" marks the spot? [*Laughter*]

Presidential Debate

Q. Are you ready for some kind of a surprise from Mr. Dole? Everybody is talking about he may have a surprise.

The President. I expect he will.

Q. Do you?

Q. How high are the stakes here?

Q. Do you have one?

The President. No. No, I'm just—I did better yesterday. I had a—I was better in the golf in the beginning and better in the debate at the end.

Q. Did you finally beat George Mitchell?

The President. Well, I don't know. Maybe I got him to a draw, anyway. He's hard to beat.

Q. A lot of people think these things are not ever won on the substance but on people's memories of a defining moment. Are you looking for a defining moment?

The President. Not especially. I think the most important thing is—my belief is that people would like it if it were genuinely enlightening and if we were talking more to them in terms of answering the questions. And I'll do my best to try to make it helpful to the people who watch. And that's kind of what I'm focused on, making sure that when it's over they have a really clear idea of what I want to do, how it relates to what we have done in the last 4 years, how much better off the country is today than it was 4 years ago, and what we still have to do. That's the kind of thing I want to talk about. I want it to be essentially a positive thing. There will be, obviously, some clear contrast between Senator Dole and me, but my belief is that people want us to try to talk about building the future, and that's what I'm going to try to do.

Q. Mr. President, does the memo from Mr. Freeh say that there's no——

Q. Mr. President, how high are the stakes for these debates? It's kind of stopped the campaign momentum for a moment. It's got you focused. How high are the stakes for you and for Senator Dole?

The President. Oh, I think it's a very important debate because if a lot of people watch it, you know, it could affect their views. But I think the main thing for both of us is to go be ourselves and do the best we can and let the people draw their own conclusions. And if you start calculating all the other things, I think you just—it throws you off. You've just got to show up and do your best.

Press Secretary Mike McCurry. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Sir, there's another—the FBI——

Q. Mr. Freeh's memo—does it say there's no clear leadership in the drug policy, sir?

Q. [*Inaudible*]—the buildup leading up to it, though.

The President. Oh, well, it's inevitable, isn't it? I mean, you know, it's inevitable. It's a moment in which the American people have a chance to see us both, and that's a good thing.

FBI Files of White House Passholders

Q. Sir, what can you tell us about this FBI file story?

The President. I don't know anything about it other than what I saw in the paper today. I know nothing——

FBI Report on Narcotics and Law Enforcement

Q. How about the Freeh memo? Does it really say that the administration has shown no leadership in the drug war?

The President. No, the Freeh memo, as I said, it was a memo by Mr.—Louis Freeh to me arguing that the country had never organized—the Federal Government had never been properly organized in terms of who had jurisdiction to do what in the drug war. And that's basically what it's about. And he argues for a reallocation of—he argued for a reallocation of authority, and I thought argued quite persuasively that we needed a way to coordinate this. The Vice President reviewed this as part of our reinventing Government review, particularly as it related to the drug czar.

And one of the reasons I wanted a general who had worked on drug interdiction in as drug czar is to try to—to create a greater sense of coordination between what the domestic law enforcement agencies, the military, and all the people involved on the prevention and treatment side do together. And this is a problem that's been noted for—the first evidence we had goes back to President Johnson. And we're doing—we're trying to get all the people involved in it now to work together more closely than ever before. And I think General McCaffrey is in a unique position to get that done because of his—what he was doing before he became the drug czar. He was the head of the Southern Command, which meant he had responsibility for working with all these countries' military to try to stop drugs from coming into our country in the first place.

But this has been—this issue has been debated literally going back to the Johnson administration. I've seen documents on it going back to then. And I believe what we're doing now will get us better results than we've had before. And I think that we have to try to do this in a way that recognizes that all these agencies have other legitimate and conflicting interests. So it's very difficult to have, for example, all the domestic and all the foreign issues related to drugs under one particular agency, but it is important to have them all coordinating and working together instead of at cross purposes, which is something people have complained about from the inside of this, literally going, I know, back to the Johnson administration. So we're trying to work it out, and we've tried to respond appropriately.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Plaza at the Chautauqua Institution. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks at a Rally in Hartford, Connecticut

October 6, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Folks, let me begin by saying a special word of thanks to the people who played before I came here, the Steve and Mary Davis Band, and let's give a big hand again to the Lila Wallace Youth Jazz Orchestra. They did a great job. [*Applause*]

I want to thank Congresswoman Barbara Kennelly for meeting Hillary and me at the airport and for being such a great leader for Connecticut and for our country. And I also want to tell you that I thought it was interesting at the last Democratic Convention and the convention our friends had in San Diego—they were running away from their platform; they were claiming they hadn't read their platform. Barbara Kennelly wrote our platform. I'm proud of it, I'm running on it, and it's a great document. I wish every American would read it. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I want to thank Chris Dodd for being a powerful, effective, wonderful chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a voice for people all over this country.

Audience member. We love you, Bill. We love you. [*Laughter*]

The President. Thank you.

Now, somebody told me—I can't see, but someone told me that one of Connecticut's greatest athletes ever, Rebecca Lobo, is in this crowd today somewhere. Where is she? And someone told me—hi, Rebecca. She was great in the Olympics, wasn't she? Someone told me it's your birthday. Is that true? Let's sing "Happy Birthday." One, two, three.

[*At this point, the President and audience members sang "Happy Birthday."*]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, tonight is a great night for America. Tonight we celebrate our democracy. Tonight we are reminded that the people of this country run the show and that we've been around for 220 years as a great and free country because almost all the time the people have made the right decision. Tonight I am going to have a chance to tell the American people what you know: We are better off than we were 4 years ago. We are on the right track to the 21st century. Tonight we'll have a chance to talk about what we have to do, in the only 4 years that are remaining before we start that new century, to make sure every child in this audience, every child in this State, every child in our country has a chance to live out his or her dreams; to make sure that we go forward together; to say that we think Hillary's right, it does take a village to raise a child and build a country and make our future.

And for all of you who have supported me and supported Al Gore and supported our administration, for every one of you that is working hard to build a bridge to the future that we can all walk across together, let me say that it's hard for me to imagine that it's been, well, more than 25 years since I first met my wife in New Haven, Connecticut. It's hard for me to imagine that it's been way more than 20 years now since I left Connecticut after I finished law school. It's hard for me to imagine that it's been almost 4 years since the people of Connecticut gave me their votes in the race for President in 1992. But these last 4 years have been something I will never forget.

I thank you for giving me the chance to serve. I thank you for supporting the tough decisions we made to move our country forward. And I ask you to be there tonight rooting for me but also rooting for you, your families, and the future of this country, because the best days of this country are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. outside the Hastings Hotel.

Presidential Debate in Hartford
October 6, 1996

Jim Lehrer. Good evening from the Bushnell Theater in Hartford, Connecticut. I'm Jim Lehrer, of the "NewsHour" on PBS. Welcome to the first of the 1996 Presidential debates between President Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, and Senator Bob Dole, the Republican nominee.

This event is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. It will last 90 minutes, following a format and rules worked out by the two campaigns. There will be 2-minute opening and closing statements; in between, a series of questions, each having three parts: a 90-second answer, a 60-second rebuttal, and a 30-second response. I will assist the candidates in adhering to those time limits, with the help of a series of lights visible to both. Under their rules, the candidates are not allowed to question each other directly. I will ask the questions. There are no limitations on the subjects. The order for everything tonight was determined by coin toss.

Now to the opening statements and to President Clinton.

Mr. President.

Opening Statements

The President. Thank you, Jim, and thank you to the people of Hartford, our hosts. I want to begin by saying again how much I respect Senator Dole and his record of public service, and how hard I will try to make this campaign and this debate one of ideas, not insults.

Four years ago I ran for President at a time of high unemployment and rising frustration. I wanted to turn this country around with a program of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community where everybody has a role to play. I wanted a Government that was smaller and less bureaucratic to help people have the tools to make the most of their

own lives. Four years ago you took me on faith. Now there's a record: 10½ million more jobs, rising incomes, falling crime rates and welfare rolls, a strong America at peace. We are better off than we were 4 years ago. Let's keep it going.

We cut the deficit by 60 percent. Now let's balance the budget and protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. We cut taxes for 15 million working Americans. Now let's pass the tax cuts for education and childrearing, help with medical emergencies, and buying a home. We passed family and medical leave. Now let's expand it so more people can succeed as parents and in the work force. We passed the 100,000 police, the assault weapons ban, the Brady bill. Now let's keep going by finishing the work of putting the police on the street and tackling juvenile gangs. We passed welfare reform. Now let's move a million people from welfare to work. And most important, let's make education our highest priority so that every 8-year-old will be able to read, every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet, every 18-year-old can go to college.

We can build that bridge to the 21st century, and I look forward to discussing exactly how we're going to do it.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, 2 minutes.

Senator Bob Dole. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words. And I thank the people of Hartford, the commission, and all those out here who may be listening or watching. It's a great honor for me to be here, standing here as the Republican nominee. I'm very proud to be the Republican nominee, reaching out to Democrats and independents.

I have three very special people with me: my wife, Elizabeth, my daughter, Robin, who have never let me down; and a fellow named Frank Carafa from New York, who along with Ollie Manninen helped me out in the mountains of Italy a few years back. I've learned from them that people do have tough times and sometimes you can't go it alone. And that's what America's all about.

I remember getting my future back from doctors and nurses and a doctor in Chicago named Dr. Kelikian, and ever since that time I've tried to give something back to my country, to the people who are watching us tonight.

America is the greatest place on the face of the Earth. And I know millions of you still have anxieties. You work harder and harder to make ends meet and put food on the table. You worry about the quality and the safety of your children and the quality of education. But even more importantly, you worry about the future and will they have the same opportunities that you and I have had. And Jack Kemp and I want to share with you some ideas tonight. Jack Kemp is my running mate, doing an outstanding job.

Now, I'm a plain-speaking man, and I learned long ago that your word was your bond. And I promise you tonight that I'll try to address your concerns and not try to exploit them. It's a tall order, but I've been running against the odds for a long time. And again, I'm honored to be here this evening.

Federal Government's Role

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, first question: There's a major difference in your view of the role of the Federal Government and that of Senator Dole. How would you define the difference?

The President. Well, Jim, I believe that the Federal Government should give people the tools and try to establish the conditions in which they can make the most of their own lives. That, to me, is the key. And that leads me to some different conclusions from Senator Dole.

For example, we have reduced the size of the Federal Government to its smallest size in 30 years. We've reduced more regulations, eliminated more programs than my two Republican predecessors. But I have worked hard for things like the family and medical leave law, the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, the program to put 100,000 police on the street. All of these are programs that Senator Dole opposed, that I supported because I felt they were a legitimate effort to help people make the most of their own lives.

I've worked hard to help families impart values to their own children. I supported the V-chip so that parents would be able to control what their kids watch on television when they're young, along with the ratings system for television and educational television. I supported strong action against the tobacco companies to stop the marketing, advertising, and sale of tobacco to young people. I supported a big increase in the safe and drug-free schools program.

These were areas on which Senator Dole and I differed, but I believed that they were the

right areas for America to be acting together as one country to help individuals and families make the most of their own lives and raise their kids with good values and a good future.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, one minute.

Senator Dole. I think the basic difference is—and I have had some experience in this—I think the basic difference—I trust the people; the President trusts the Government.

If you go back and look at the health care plan that he wanted to impose on the American people—one-seventh the total economy, 17 new taxes, price controls, 35 to 50 new bureaucracies, a cost of $1.5 trillion. Don't forget that; that happened in 1993. A tax increase that taxed everybody in America, not just the rich. If you made $25,000—that's the original proposal—you got your Social Security taxes increased. We had a BTU tax that turned into a $35 billion gas tax, a $265 billion tax increase.

I guess I rely more on the individual. I carry a little card around in my pocket called the 10th amendment. Where possible, I want to give power back to the States and back to the people. That's my difference for the present, and we'll have specific differences later. He noted a few, but there are others.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, 30 seconds.

The President. I trust the people. We've done a lot to give the people more powers to make their own decisions over their own lives. But I do think we are right when we try to, for example, give mothers and newborns 48 hours before they can be kicked out of the hospital, ending these drive-by deliveries. I think we were right to pass the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, which states you can't lose your health insurance just because you change jobs or because someone in your family has been sick.

Our Government is smaller and less bureaucratic and has given more authority to the States than its two predecessors under Republican Presidents. But I do believe we have to help our people get ready to succeed in the 21st century.

State of the Nation

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, the President said in his opening statement, we are better off today than we were 4 years ago. Do you agree?

Senator Dole. Well, he's better off than he was 4 years ago. [*Laughter*]

The President. I agree with that. That's right.

Senator Dole. And I may be better off 4 years from now. But—[*laughter*]—I don't know, I look at the slowest growth in a century. He inherited a growth of 4.7, 4.8 percent; now it's down to about 2.4 percent. We're going to pass a million bankruptcies this year for the first time in history. We've got stagnant wages; in fact, women's wages have dropped 2.2 percent. Men's wages haven't gone up, gone down. So we have stagnation.

We have the highest foreign debt in history. And it seems to me that if you take a look—are you better off? Well, I guess some may be better off. Saddam Hussein is probably better off than he was 4 years ago. Rene Preval is probably better off than he was 4 years ago. But are the American people? They're working harder and harder and paying more taxes. For the first time in history, you pay about 40 percent of what you earn, more than you spend for food, clothing, and shelter combined, for taxes under this administration.

So some may be better off. They talk about family income being up. That's not true in Connecticut; family income is down. And it's up in some cases because both parents are working; one works for the family, and one works to pay taxes for the Government. We're going to give them a tax cut so they can spend more time with their children, maybe even take a vacation. That's what America is all about.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, one minute.

The President. Well, let me say, first of all, in February, Senator Dole acknowledged that the American economy was in the best shape it's been in in 30 years. We have 10½ million more jobs, a faster job growth rate than under any Republican administration since the 1920's. Wages are going up for the first time in a decade. We have record number of new small businesses. We had the biggest drop in the number of people in poverty in 27 years. All groups of people are growing—we had the biggest drop in income inequality in 27 years in 1995. The average family's income has gone up over $1,600 just since our economic plan passed.

So I think it's clear that we're better off than we were 4 years ago. Now we need to focus on, what do we need to do to be better off still? How can we help people—as we are—to get their retirements when they work for small businesses, to be able to afford health insurance, to be able to educate their children? That's what I want to focus on. But we're clearly

better off than we were 4 years ago, as Senator Dole acknowledged this year.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. I doubt that I acknowledged that this year, but in any event, I think we just look at the facts. We ask the people that are viewing tonight, "Are you better off than you were 4 years ago?" It's not whether we're better off; it's whether they're better off. Are you working harder to put food on the table, to feed your children? Are your children getting a better education? Drug use has doubled the past 44 months all across America. Crime has gone down, but it's because of mayors like Rudy Giuliani, where one-third of the drop happened in one city, New York City.

So, yes, some may be better off. But of the people listening tonight, the working families who will benefit from our economic package, they'll be better off when Bob Dole is President and Jack Kemp is Vice President.

Medicare Reform

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, Senator Dole has come pretty close in the last few days to accusing you of lying about his position on Medicare reform. Have you done so?

The President. Absolutely not. Let's look at the position. First of all, remember that in this campaign season, since Senator Dole has been a candidate, he has bragged about the fact that he voted against Medicare in the beginning, in 1965, one of only 12 Members. He said he did the right thing then; he knew it wouldn't work at the time. That's what he said.

Then his budget, that he passed along with Speaker Gingrich, cut Medicare $270 billion, more than was necessary to repair the Medicare Trust Fund. It would have charged seniors more for out-of-pocket costs, as well as more in premiums, because doctors could have charged them more. The American Hospital Association, the nurses association, the Catholic Hospital Association all said hundreds of hospitals could close and people would be hurt badly under the Dole-Gingrich Medicare plan that I vetoed. And now, with this risky $550 billion tax scheme of Senator Dole's, even his own friends—his campaign cochair, Senator D'Amato, says that they can't possibly pay for it without cutting Medicare more and cutting Social Security as well, according to him.

Now, my balanced budget plan adds 10 years to the life of the Medicare Trust Fund—10 years. And we'll have time to deal with the long-term problems of the baby boomers. But it was simply wrong to finance their last scheme to cut Medicare $270 billion, to run the risk of it withering on the vine. We always have to reform it over the years, but we need someone who believes in it to reform it.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Well, I must say I looked back at the vote on Medicare in 1965—we had a program called Eldercare that also provided drugs and was means-tested so people who needed medical attention received it. I thought it was a good program.

But I have supported Medicare ever since. In fact, I used to go home and my mother would tell me—said, "Bob, all I've got is my Social Security and my Medicare. Don't cut it." I wouldn't violate anything my mother said. In fact, we had a conversation about our mothers one day, a very poignant conversation in the White House.

I'm concerned about health care. I've had the best health care in Government hospitals, Army hospitals, and I know its importance. But we've got to fix it. It's his trustees, the President's trustees, not mine, who say it's going to go broke. He doesn't fix it for 10 years.

We ought to appoint a commission, just as we did with Social Security in 1983 when we rescued Social Security. And I was proud to be on that commission, along with Claude Pepper, the champion of senior citizens from Florida. And we can do it again if we take politics out of it.

Stop scaring the seniors, Mr. President. You've already spent $45 million scaring seniors and tearing me apart. I think it's time to have a truce.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Well, let me say first of all, I'd be happy to have a commission deal with this, and I appreciate what Senator Dole did on the '83 Social Security commission. But it won't be possible to do if his tax scheme passes, because even his own campaign cochair, Senator D'Amato, says he'll have to cut Medicare even more than was cut in the bill that I vetoed. I vetoed that bill because it cut more Medicare and basically ran the risk of breaking up the system.

My balanced budget plan puts 10 years onto Medicare. We ought to do that; then we can

have a commission. But Senator Dole's plans are not good for the country.

Senator Dole's Tax Cut Proposal

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, speaking of your tax plan, do you still think that's a good idea, the 15 percent across-the-board tax cut?

Senator Dole. Oh, yes, and you'll be eligible. [*Laughter*]

The President. Me too?

Senator Dole. And so will the former President, yes. [*Laughter*]

The President. That's good. I need it.

Senator Dole. Well, the people need it; that's the point. This is not a Wall Street tax cut. This is a family tax cut. This is a Main Street tax cut. Fifteen percent across—let's take a family making $30,000 a year—that's $1,261. Now, maybe to some in this Bushnell Memorial that's not a lot of money, but people watching tonight with a couple of kids, a working family—that's 4 or 5 months of day care, maybe a personal computer; it may be 3 or 4 months of mortgage payments. This economic package is about families, but it's a six-point package. First of all, it's a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, which President Clinton defeated. He twisted arms and got six Democrats to vote the other way. We lost by one vote.

It's balancing the budget by the year 2002. It's the tax cut, cutting capital gains 50 percent, so that you can go out and create more jobs and more opportunities. It's estate tax relief. It's a $500-per-child tax credit. It's about litigation reform. Now that the President gets millions of dollars from the trial lawyers, he probably doesn't like this provision. In fact, when I fell off that podium in Chico, before I hit the ground I had a call on my cell phone from a trial lawyer saying, "I think we've got a case here." [*Laughter*] And it's also regulatory reform. So it's a good package, Mr. President, and we'd like to have your support.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Well, here's the problem with it. It sounds very good, but there's a reason that 500 economists, including 7 Nobel Prize winners, and business periodicals like Business Week and even Senator Dole's friend Senator Warren Rudman, former Republican Senator from New Hampshire, says it is not a practical program. It's a $550 billion tax scheme that will cause a big hole in the deficit, which will raise interest rates and slow down the economy and cause people to pay more for home mortgages, car payments, credit card payments, college loans, and small business loans. It's not good to raise the deficit; we've worked too hard to lower it. It will actually raise taxes on 9 million people. And in addition to that, it will force bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than the ones that he and Mr. Gingrich passed that I vetoed last year.

So it sounds great. But our targeted tax cut for education, childrearing, health care, and homebuying, which is paid for in my balanced budget plan—something that he has not done—certified by the Congressional Budget Office, that's the right way to go.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. The President wants to increase spending 20 percent over the next 6 years. I want to increase spending 14 percent. That's how simple it is. I want the Government to pinch pennies for a change, instead of the American families. We're talking about 6 percentage points over 6 years. And with that money, you give it back to the working people. You also provide opportunity scholarships so low-income parents will have the same choice that others have in sending their children to better schools. And it will work. And when it does work, Mr. President, I know you will congratulate me.

Campaign Financing

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, the Senator mentioned trial lawyers, and that means campaign financing. How do you personally avoid being unduly influenced by people who give you money or give you services in your campaigns?

The President. Well, I try to articulate my positions as clearly as possible, tell people what I stand for, and let them decide whether they're going to support me or not. The Senator mentioned the trial lawyers. In the case of the product liability bill, which they passed and I vetoed—I think that's what he's talking about—I actually wanted to sign that bill, and I told the people exactly what—the Congress—exactly what kind of bill I would sign. Now, a lot of the trial lawyers didn't want me to sign any bill at all, but I thought we ought to do what we could to cut frivolous lawsuits. But they wouldn't make some of the changes that I thought should be made.

And let me just give you an example. I had a person in the Oval Office who lost a child

in a schoolbus accident where a drunk driver caused the accident directly, but there were problems with the schoolbus. The drunk driver had no money. Under the new bill, if I had signed it, a person like that could never have had any recovery. I thought that was wrong. So I gave four or five specific examples to the Congress, and I said, "Prove to me that these people could recover, but we're going to eliminate frivolous lawsuits; I'll sign the bill."

But generally, I believe that a President has to be willing to do what he thinks is right. I've done a lot of things that were controversial: my economic plan, my trade position, Bosnia, Haiti, taking on the NRA for the first time, taking on the tobacco companies for the first time. Sometimes you just have to do that because you know it's right for the country over the long run. That's what I've tried to do, and that's what I will continue to do as President.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. You mean, how does he avoid the conflict? Well, I don't know in the case of the trial lawyers. When I look at the trial lawyers, and when you're a few million short you run out to Hollywood and pick up $2 million to $4 million, and organized labor comes to Washington, DC, and puts $35 million into the pot—now, if these aren't special interests, then I've got a lot to learn. I was there for a while before I left on June 11th.

The trial lawyers—I don't—my wife is a lawyer. We're the only two lawyers in Washington that trust each other, but we're lawyers. I like lawyers. I don't dislike trial lawyers. But it seems to me there has got to be some end to the frivolous lawsuits, and there's got to be some cap on punitive damage.

You're putting a lot of business people out of business, small-business men and small-business women who paid 70 percent of your $265 billion tax increase, the largest tax increase in the history of America. I said that one day, and Pat Moynihan—and the Democrats say no—he said, "in the history of the world." So I modified it—the largest tax increase in the history of the world. And it seems to me that there is a problem there, Mr. President.

And I will address you as Mr. President. You didn't do that with President Bush in 1992.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Let me say, first of all, I signed a tort reform bill that dealt with civilian aviation a couple of years ago. I've proved that I will sign reasonable tort reform.

Secondly, Senator Dole has had some pretty harsh comments about special interest money, but it wasn't me who opposed what we tried to do to save the lives of children who are subject to tobacco and then went to the tobacco growers and bragged about standing up to the Federal Government when we tried to stop the advertising, marketing, and sales of tobacco to children. And it wasn't me that let the polluters actually come into the Halls of Congress, into the rooms, and rewrite the environmental laws. That's what Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole did, not me.

Senator Dole. That's not true.

The President. So I believe that we should take a different approach to this and talk about how we stand on the issues instead of trying to characterize each other's motivations. I think Senator Dole and I just honestly disagree.

Mr. Lehrer. Well, Senator Dole, let me ask you the same question I asked the President: How do you avoid being influenced by people who contribute money and services to your campaigns?

Senator Dole. I think it's very difficult. Let's be honest about it. That's why we need campaign finance reform. That's why I reach out to the Perot voters, and we've done about all that—we are the reform party, the Republican Party, and the Perot voters who are looking for a home ought to take a look at the Republican record. Whatever it is, whatever the checklist was in '92, it's all done but campaign finance reform.

I worked with Senator Mitchell, who played me, I guess, in the debate warmup. We tried 6 or 8 years ago to—he appointed three people, I appointed three people—to get campaign finance reform. We couldn't get it done because it wasn't enforceable. You suggested a commission; Newt Gingrich did. I've suggested that, at least 4 or 5 years ago, we have a commission on campaign finance reform, they send it to Congress, and we have to vote it up or down. That's how it works. We're never going to fix it by the parties, because Democrats want a better advantage for themselves, we want a better advantage as Republicans, and that's not how it's going to work.

But I want to touch on this tobacco thing. I know the President's been puffing a lot on that. But I want to go back to 1965. That was

my first vote against tobacco companies when I said we ought to label cigarettes, and I've had a consistent record ever since 1965. We passed a bill in 1992 to encourage the States to adopt programs to stop kids from smoking. All 50 States did it. It took 3½ years. It wasn't until election year, Mr. President, that you ever thought about stopping smoking.

What about drugs that have increased—doubled in the last 44 months? Cocaine is up 141 percent—or marijuana; cocaine up 166 percent. And it seems to me that you have a selective memory. Mine doesn't work that way, so I just want to try to correct it as we go along.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Mr. Lehrer, I hope we'll have a chance to discuss drugs later in the program, but let me respond to what you said. I agree that too many incumbent politicians in Washington in both parties have consistently opposed campaign finance reform. That was certainly the case from the minute I got there.

So after Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole took over the Congress, I went to New Hampshire and a man suggested—a gentleman that, unfortunately, just passed away a couple of days ago suggested that we appoint a commission. And I shook hands with him on it, and I appointed my members, and the commission never met.

And then Senator Dole's ardent supporter Senator McCain, who is out there today, along with Senator Feingold, supported—sponsored a campaign finance reform proposal. I strongly supported it, and members of Senator Dole's own party in the Senate killed it. And he was not out there urging them to vote for the McCain-Feingold bill.

So I think the American people, including the Perot supporters, know that I've had a consistent record in favor of campaign finance reform, and I will continue to have. And I hope we can finally get it in the next session of Congress, because we need it badly.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, 30 seconds.

Senator Dole. Well, on campaign reform itself we're going to get it when we have a bipartisan commission, take it out of politics, get people who don't have any interest in politics but understand the issue, and let them make a recommendation to Congress.

Now, we're not kidding anybody, Mr. President. These are sophisticated people watching tonight, millions and millions of Americans. They know the Republican Party hasn't done it. They know the Democratic Party won't do it. We ought to agree that somebody else should do it, and then we have to vote it up or down.

The President. I agree.

Teenage Drug Use

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, the Senator mentioned drugs. He's suggested in the past that you bear some responsibility for the rise in drug use of teenagers in the United States. Is he right?

The President. Well, Jim, I think every American in any position of responsibility should be concerned about what's happened. I am.

But let's look at the overall record. Overall in America, cocaine use has dropped 30 percent in the last 4 years, casual drug use down 13 percent. The tragedy is that our young people are still increasing their use of drugs, up to about 11 percent total with marijuana. And I regret it. Let me tell you what I've tried to do about it.

I appointed a four-star general, who led our efforts south of the border to keep drugs from coming into the country, as our Nation's drug czar—the most heavily decorated soldier in uniform when he retired. We submitted the biggest drug budget ever. We have dramatically increased control and enforcement at the border. We supported a crime bill that had 60 death penalties, including the death penalty for drug kingpins. And I supported a big expansion in the safe and drug-free schools program to support things like the D.A.R.E. program, because I thought all those things were very important.

Do I think that I bear some responsibility for the fact that too many of our children still don't understand drugs are wrong, drugs can kill you, even though I have consistently opposed the legalization of drugs all my public life and worked hard against them? I think we all do. And I hope we can do better.

I don't think this issue should be politicized, because my record is clear and I don't think Senator Dole supports using drugs. I think we just have to continue to work on this until those who think it isn't dangerous and won't kill them and won't destroy their lives get the message and change.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator.

Senator Dole. Again, you're very selective, Mr. President. You don't want to politicize drugs, but it's all right to politicize Medicare and go

out and scare senior citizens and other vulnerable groups, veterans and people who get Pell grants and things like this. I mean, you say we have done all these bad things, which isn't the case.

But it seems to me the record is clear. The record was pretty clear in Arkansas when you were Governor: Drug use doubled. You resisted the appointment of a drug czar there because you thought it might interfere with treatment. But here you cut the drug czar's office 83 percent. You have cut interdiction substantially. That's what—I want to stop it from coming across the border. And in my administration we're going to train the National Guard to stop it from coming across the border.

This is an invasion of drugs from all over the world. And we have a responsibility. You had a Surgeon—or before General McCaffrey, you had a lady who said we ought to consider legalizing drugs. Is that the kind of leadership we need? And I won't comment on other things that have happened in your administration or your past about drugs. But it seems to me the kids ought to—if they have started they ought to stop, and just don't do it.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Let me say again, we did have a drug czar in Arkansas, but he answered to the Governor, just like this one answers to the President. That's what I thought we ought to do.

Secondly, Senator Dole, you voted against the crime bill that had the death penalty for drug kingpins in it, and you voted to cut services to 23 million school children under the safe and drug-free schools act. I don't think that means you're soft on drugs. We just have a different approach. But let me remind you that my family has suffered from drug abuse. I know what it's like to see somebody you love nearly lose their lives, and I hate drugs, Senator. We need to do this together, and we can.

Gun Control

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, on the Government—continuing to talk about the Government's role—if elected President, would you seek to repeal the Brady bill and the ban on assault weapons?

Senator Dole. Not if I didn't have a better idea, but I've got a better idea. It's something I've worked on for 15 years. It's called the automated check or the instant check. It's being used in 17 States right now, States like Florida, Colorado, Virginia, and other States. You don't buy any gun—you don't get any gun. We've got 20 million names on a computer in Washington, DC, of people who should not have a gun. We ought to keep guns out of the hands of criminals, and there are eight other categories that should not have guns. I've been working on this for a long, long time. You walk in, you put your little card in there. If it says "tilt," you don't get any gun. You don't get a handgun; you don't get a rifle; you don't get a shotgun. You get zippo. If we're going to protect American children and American families and people who live as prisoners in their own home, we've got to stop guns from being dumped on the street.

The administration says they support the instant check. They've appropriated about $200 million but only spent about $3 million to get it underway. In our administration, in my administration, we will expedite this. It keeps up the technology. It keeps guns out of the hands of people who should not have guns. That is the bottom line. And I believe it's a good idea. It has strong bipartisan support, and perhaps that's another thing we can depoliticize.

You talk about the Brady bill. There's only been one prosecution under the Brady bill—only one under the assault weapon ban and only seven under the Brady bill that you talk about all the time. And on the assault weapons ban, out of 17 weapons that were banned, only 6 are banned now because 11 have been modified and they're back on the street. Let's get together on this instant check, because that will really make a difference.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Let me say, first of all, Senator Dole has gone back and forth about whether he'd be for repealing the Brady bill or repealing the assault weapons ban, and I think his present position is that he would not do so. And if that's true, I'm grateful for it. But let's look at the facts here.

The Brady bill has kept at least 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns. Senator Dole led the fight against the Brady bill. He tried to keep it from coming to my desk. He didn't succeed, and I signed it, and I'm glad I did.

Then when we had the assault weapons ban in the Senate, Senator Dole fought it bitterly and opposed the entire crime bill and almost

brought the entire crime bill down because the National Rifle Association didn't want the assault weapons ban, just like they didn't want the Brady bill. But 2 years later, nobody has lost their handguns—I mean, their rifles. We've expanded the Brady bill to cover people who beat up their spouses and their kids. And this is a safer country. So I'm glad I took on that fight. And I believe, with all respect, I was right, and he was wrong.

Senator Dole. Well, the President doesn't have it quite right. I mean, it seemed to me at the time that the assault weapon ban was not effective. But that's history. As I told the NRA, that's history: You're not going to worry about it anymore; I'm not going to worry about it anymore. Let's do something better.

Let's stop playing the political game, Mr. President, talking about this and this. You add up all the States who have used the instant check and how many weapons they've kept out of the hands of criminals, it would far surpass the number you mentioned. So in my view, if you want to be protected, you ought to vote for Bob Dole, and we'll get the instant check passed, and we'll keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

Foreign Policy

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, Senator Dole said the other day that you practiced a photo-op foreign policy that has lessened the credibility of the United States throughout the world. Is he wrong about that?

The President. If that's what he said, he's not right about that. Look at where we are today. The United States is still the indispensable nation in the aftermath of the cold war and on the brink of the 21st century. I have worked to support our country as the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, prosperity and security.

We have done the following things: Number one, we've managed the aftermath of the cold war, supporting a big drop in nuclear weapons in Russia, the removal of Russian troops from the Baltics, the integration of Central and Eastern European democracies into a new partnership with NATO and, I might add, with a democratic Russia. There are no nuclear missiles pointed at the children of the United States tonight and have not been in our administration for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age.

We have worked hard for peace and freedom. When I took office, Haiti was governed by a dictator that had defied the United States. When I took office, the worst war in Europe was waging in Bosnia. Now there is a democratically elected President in Haiti, peace in Bosnia. We have just had elections there. We have made progress in Northern Ireland and the Middle East. We've also stood up to the new threats of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime.

And we have worked hard to expand America's economic presence around the world with the biggest increase in trade, with the largest number of new trade agreements in history. That's one of the reasons America is number one in auto production again.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator.

Senator Dole. Well, I have a different view again. I've supported the President on Bosnia. And I think we were told the troops would be out in a year. Now I understand it's been extended till sometime next year.

But let's start with Somalia, where they dragged Americans through the streets and where 18 Americans were killed one day because they didn't have—they were pinned down for 8 hours, the Rangers; they didn't have the weapons; they didn't have the tanks. They asked for the tanks. They didn't get the tanks from this administration, because we were nation building. It's called mission creep. We turned it over to the United Nations. The President didn't have much to do about it.

Look at Haiti, where we've spent about $3 billion, and we got an alarm call there about 2 weeks ago: "You've got to send down some more people because the President has found out there are death squads on his own property, so we need more protection from America."

Bosnia, Northern Ireland—there is no cease-fire in Bosnia. I think there are still lots of problems in Bosnia. We agreed to train and arm the Muslims so they could defend themselves—the policy you had when you ran in 1992. We haven't done that. We're way behind, which means Americans can't come home. Americans shouldn't have gone there in the first place, had we let them defend themselves as they have a right to do under Article 57 of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. First of all, I take full responsibility for what happened in Somalia, but the

American people must remember that those soldiers were under an American commander when that happened. I believe they did the best they could under the circumstances. And let's not forget that hundreds of thousands of lives were saved there.

Secondly, in Haiti, political violence is much, much smaller than it was.

Thirdly, in Bosnia, it's a virtual miracle that there has been no return to war. And at least there has now been an election, and the institutions are beginning to function.

In Northern Ireland and the Middle East, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. There will always be problems in this old world, but if we're moving in the right direction and America is leading, we're better off.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, if elected President, what criteria would you use to decide when to send U.S. troops into harm's way?

Senator Dole. Well, after World War I we had a policy of disengagement. Then from World War I to World War II we had sort of a compulsory engagement policy. Now, I think we have to have a selective engagement policy. We have to determine when our interests are involved, not the United Nations' interests. And many of the things the President talked about he turned over to the United Nations; they decided. He's deployed more troops than any President in history around the world. It's cost us billions and billions of dollars for peacekeeping operations. These are facts.

And it seems to me that when you make a decision, the decision is made by the President of the United States, by the Commander in Chief. He makes that decision when he commits young men or young women who are going to go around and defend our liberty and our freedom. That would be my position.

Then I'm going to have a top-down review at the Pentagon, not a bottom-up review where you all fight over how much money is there. I want a top-down review to determine what our priorities are and what we should do in defense and then follow that policy, instead of this bottom-up review with all of the services fighting for the money.

The President said he was going to cut defense $60 billion; he cut defense $112 billion, devastated States like California and others. And I think now we've got a problem. We've got to go back and look. It's just like you said in Texas one day, you know, you raised taxes too much—and you did—and you cut defense too much, Mr. President—and you did—and you may have said that, too.

But the bottom line is, we are the strongest nation in the world, we provide the leadership, and we're going to have to continue to provide the leadership. But let's do it on our terms when our interests are involved and not when somebody blows a whistle at the United Nations.

The President. Our military is the strongest military in the world. It is the strongest, best prepared, best equipped it has ever been. There is very little difference in the budget that I have proposed and the Republican budget over the next 6-year period. We are spending a lot of money to modernize our weapons system. I have proposed a lot of new investments to improve the quality of life for our soldiers, for our men and women in uniform, for their families, for their training. That is my solemn obligation.

You asked, when do you decide to deploy them? The interests of the American people must be at stake; our values must be at stake; we have to be able to make a difference. And frankly, we have to consider what the risks are to our young men and women in uniform.

But I believe the evidence is that our deployments have been successful in Haiti, in Bosnia, when we moved to Kuwait to repel Saddam Hussein's threatened invasion of Kuwait, when I have sent the fleet into the Taiwan Straits, when we've worked hard to end the North Korean nuclear threat. I believe the United States is at peace tonight in part because of the disciplined, careful, effective deployment of our military resources.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Well, I failed to mention North Korea and Cuba a while ago. You look at North Korea, where they have enough plutonium to build six nuclear bombs, where we've sort of distanced ourselves from our ally, South Korea. They lost about a million people in the war, the Korean war, the forgotten war. We lost 53,000 Americans. We shouldn't be doing any favors for North Korea. It's a closed society. We don't have any inspection. We don't know whether it's going to work or not. But we keep giving them these incentives—some would call them something else—incentives. We don't know what's going to happen.

Here we have Cuba, 90 miles from our shores. And what have we done? We've passed

a law that gave people the right to sue, and the President postponed it for 6 months. And it seems to me if you want to send a signal you've got to send a signal, Mr. President. The sooner, the better off we'll be if we put tougher sanctions on Castro, not try to make it easier for him.

Mr. Lehrer. Well, Mr. President, what is your attitude toward Cuba and how Cuba should be treated?

The President. Well, first of all, for the last 4 years we have worked hard to put more and more pressure on the Castro government to bring about more openness and a move toward democracy. In 1992, before I became President, Congress passed the Cuba Democracy Act, and I enforced it vigorously. We made the embargo tougher, but we increased contacts, people to people, with the Cubans, including direct telephone service, which was largely supported by the Cuban-American community. Then Cuba shot down two of our planes and murdered four people in international airspace. They were completely beyond the pale of the law, and I signed the Helms-Burton legislation.

Senator Dole is correct. I did give about 6 months before the effective date of the act before lawsuits can actually be filed, even though they're effective now and can be legally binding, because I want to change Cuba. And the United States needs help from other countries. Nobody in the world agrees with our policy on Cuba now. But this law can be used as leverage to get other countries to help us to move Cuba to democracy.

Every single country in Latin America, Central America, and the Caribbean is a democracy tonight but Cuba. And if we stay firm and strong, we will be able to bring Cuba around as well.

Senator Dole. Well, that's the point I made; we have to be firm and strong. And I hope that will happen. It will happen starting next January and maybe can happen the balance of this year. We have not been firm and strong. If you look at the poor people who still live in Cuba, it's a haven for drug smugglers, and we don't have a firm policy when it comes to Fidel Castro. In my view, the policy has failed. So Congress passes a law, the President signs it like he does a lot of things, but he—like welfare reform, "Well, I'm going to sign it, but I'm going to try to change it next year."

I mean, a lot of these election-year conversions the President is talking about—all the drug money and all the other things, all this antismoking campaign—all happened in 1996. And I think the people viewing out there ought to go back and take a look at the record. When he fought a balanced budget amendment, when he gave you that biggest tax increase in history, when he tried to take over your health care system, when he fought regulatory reform that costs the average family $6,000 to $7,000 a year—this is serious business. It's about your family. It's about your business. And in this case, it's about a firmer policy with Cuba.

The President. There were several off-the-subject whoppers in that litany. Let me just mention, Senator Dole voted for $900 billion in tax increases. His running mate, Jack Kemp, once said that Bob Dole never met a tax he didn't hike. [*Laughter*] And everybody knows, including the Wall Street Journal, hardly a friend of the Democratic Party or this administration, that the '82 tax increase he sponsored, in inflation-adjusted dollars, was the biggest tax increase in American history. So we ought to at least get the facts out here on the table so we can know where to go from here.

Health Care Reform

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, you mentioned health reform several times. What do you think should be done about the health care system?

Senator Dole. Let me first answer that question about the 1982 tax cut. You know, we were closing loopholes; we were going after big corporations. I know you probably would oppose it, Mr. President, but I think we should have a fairer system and a flatter system. And we will have a fairer, flatter system, and we're going to make the economic package work.

Health care: Well, we finally passed the Kassebaum bill. The President was opposed to it in 1993. He wanted to give us this big system that took over about one-seventh the economy, that put on price controls, created all these State alliances, and would cost $1.5 trillion and force people into managed care whether they wanted it or not. Most people want to see their own doctor. They're going to see their own doctor when Bob Dole is President. We won't threaten anybody.

So we passed the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill; that will cover about 20 to 25 million people. We've been for that for 4, 5, or 6 years. The

President held it up. And even when it finally got near passage, Senator Kennedy held it up for 100 days because he wasn't satisfied with one provision. But it will cover a preexisting condition. If you change your job you're going to be covered. So there are a lot of good things in this bill that we should have done instead of trying this massive, massive takeover by the Federal Government. But then, of course, you had a Democratic Congress, and they didn't want to do that. Until we got a Republican Congress—we finally got action, and I'm very proud of my colleagues in the Republican Party for getting that done. It means a lot to a lot of people watching us tonight.

The President. Well, that sounds very good, but it's very wrong. Senator Dole remembers well that we actually offered not to even put in a health care bill in 1994—'93—but instead to work with the Senate Republicans and write a joint bill. And they said no, because they got a memo from one of their political advisers saying that instead they should characterize whatever we did as big Government and make sure nothing was done to aid health care before the '94 elections so they could make that claim.

Well, maybe we bit off more than we could chew. But we're pursuing a step-by-step reform now. The Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that I signed will make it possible for 25 million people to keep their health insurance when they change jobs or when somebody in their family has been sick. I signed a bill to stop these drive-by deliveries where insurance companies can force people out of the hospital after 24 hours. And I vetoed Senator Dole's Medicare plan that would have forced a lot of seniors into managed care and taken a lot more money out of their pockets and led to Medicare withering on the vine.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator.

Senator Dole. Well, many of the provisions in the Kassebaum bill were provisions—my provisions, like deductions for long-term care, making certain that self-employed people who are watching tonight can deduct not 30 percent but 80 percent of what you pay for premiums; you can also deduct long-term care now. So it's a good start.

I think—we're even looking at our tax cut proposal, our economic package. There may be a way there to reach out to the uninsured, because there are a lot of uninsured people in this country, particularly children, that should be covered. Another way you can do it is to expand Medicaid. In America, no one will go without health care, no one will go without food——

Mr. Lehrer. Senator—go ahead and finish your sentence, sorry.

Senator Dole. Food. [*Laughter*]

Iraq

Mr. Lehrer. Back to foreign affairs for a moment. Mr. President, are you satisfied with the way you handled this last Iraq crisis and the end result?

The President. Well, I believe that we did the appropriate thing under the circumstances.

Saddam Hussein is under a U.N. resolution not to threaten his neighbors or repress his own citizens. Unfortunately, a lot of people have never been as concerned about the Kurds as the United States has tried to be, and we've been flying an operation to protect them out of Turkey for many years now.

What happened was, one of the Kurdish leaders invited him to go up north. But we felt, since the whole world community had told him not to do it, that once he did it we had to do something. We did not feel that I could commit—I certainly didn't feel I should commit American troops to throw him out of where he had gone, and that was the only way to do that. So the appropriate thing strategically to do was to reduce his ability to threaten his neighbors. We did that by expanding what's called the no-fly zone, by increasing our allies' control of the airspace, now from the Kuwait border to the suburbs of Baghdad.

Was it the right thing to do? I believe it was. Is it fully effective? Did it make him withdraw from the north? Well, he has a little bit, and I hope he will continue. We have learned that if you give him an inch he'll take a mile. We had to do something. And even though not all of our allies supported it at first, I think most of them now believe that what we did was an appropriate thing to do.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Well, the President's own CIA Director says that Saddam is stronger now than he was. And I don't understand extending the no-fly zone in the south when the trouble was in the north. And what we've done—during the Bush administration the Kurds were at the State Department negotiating, trying to work their differences out. Now we've got all—thousands and thousands of refugees. We're even shipping, I

guess, 3,000 Kurds to Guam. It involves Turkey. It's a real problem, and Saddam is probably stronger than he ever was.

We shot, what, 44 cruise missiles—they're worth about $1.2 million apiece—and hit some radar that—repaired in a couple, 3 days. Did we inflict any damage? No. Did we have any of our allies helping? Well, we have Great Britain. They're always very loyal to us, and I appreciate that. And of course Kuwait, even though they had to find out they had 5,000 troops coming. They didn't even understand that. We had to get their permission.

The bottom line is, we went in there alone. We're supposed to be operating under a U.N. resolution. We did it without any of our allies that helped us in the Gulf.

The President. Senator Dole has, two or three times before, tonight criticized me for working with the U.N. Now I'm being criticized for not working with the U.N.

Senator Dole. That's not the U.N.

The President. Sometimes the United States has to act alone, or at least has to act first. Sometimes we cannot let other countries have a veto on our foreign policy. I could not send soldiers into the north of Iraq; that would have been wrong. I could reduce Saddam Hussein's ability to threaten Kuwait and his other neighbors again. That's what I did. I still believe it was the right thing to do.

Middle East Peace Process

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, on your photo-op foreign policy charge against the President——

Senator Dole. Not mine.

Mr. Lehrer. No, no, I mean your charge against the President that he has a photo-op foreign policy; does the Middle East summit last week fall into that category?

Senator Dole. Well, there were some good pictures, but does it fall into that category? I don't know. I want to be very serious. I have supported the President when I thought he was right on Bosnia; I supported him on NAFTA and GATT. So it's not that we always disagree; others disagreed with us. The Mideast is very difficult. But it seemed to me just as an observer that before you would call somebody to America, you would have some notion what the end result might be. Now, maybe it's better just to get together and sit down and talk; maybe that was the purpose. And I know talks have—[*inaudible*]—started again today.

But again, it's almost like an ad hoc foreign policy. It's ad hoc. It's sort of, "Well, we get up in the morning and read the papers and what country's in trouble; we'll have a meeting." To me, that's not the strategy that I think that people expect from America. I think we have lost credibility. And I say this very honestly, without any partisanship. We've lost credibility around the world. Our allies don't—they're not certain what we're going to do, what our reaction, what our response is going to be.

Nobody suggested sending troops to Iraq, if that was the hint there from the President. But I do think that Saddam Hussein is stronger than he was, and I do believe that we didn't gain a great deal in the Mideast by bringing three of the four leaders—one refused to come—to Washington, DC.

The President. We have a very consistent policy in the Middle East: It is to support the peace process, to support the security of Israel, and to support those who are prepared to take risks for peace. It is a very difficult environment. The feelings are very strong. There are extremists in all parts of the Middle East who want to kill that peace process. Prime Minister Rabin gave his life because someone in his own country literally hated him for trying to bring peace.

I would liked to have had a big, organized summit, but those people were killing each other rapidly. Innocent Arab children, innocent Israeli people, they were dying. So much trust has broken down in the aftermath of the change of government. I felt that if I could just get the parties together to say, let's stop the violence, start talking, commit to the negotiations, that would be a plus.

Now, today the Secretary of State is in the Middle East, and they've started negotiations. And all of those leaders promised me they would not quit until they resolved the issues between them and got the peace process going forward again.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Well, I was disappointed the President did not call for an unconditional end to the violence. I mean, it seemed to me the violence would stop when these leaders came to America. The killing and the tragedies had taken place, and it's unfortunate. And it is a difficult area, no doubt about it. It shouldn't be politicized in any way, by the President or by his opponent, and I don't intend to politicize it. I hope that they have talked, and I hope

they've reached some result and that the killing will end.

Vision for the Future

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, in your acceptance speech in Chicago, you said the real choice in this race is, quote, "whether we build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past, about whether we believe our best days are still out there or our best days are behind us, about whether we want a country of people all working together or one where you're on your own." End quote. Are you saying that you believe Senator Dole is a man of the past and if elected President he would lead the country backward?

The President. Well, I'm saying that Senator Dole said in his fine speech in San Diego that he wanted to build a bridge to the past. And I think I know what he meant by that. He is troubled, as I am, by some of the things that go on today. But I believe America is the greatest country in human history because we have maintained freedom and increasing prosperity by relentlessly pushing the barriers of knowledge, the barriers of the present, always moving into the future.

That's why when I became President I was determined to kind of move beyond this old, stale debate that had gone on in Washington for too long, to get this country moving again. And that's why we've got a country with 10½ million more jobs and record numbers of new businesses and rising incomes and falling crime rates and welfare roll rates. That's why we're moving in the right direction.

And I'm trying to emphasize that what I want to do is to continue to do that. That's why my balanced budget plan will still invest and grow this economy. That's why I want a tax cut for education and childrearing, but it's got to be paid for. That's why I want to continue the work we have done, over partisan opposition, to work with communities to bring that crime rate down until our streets are all safe again.

These are my commitments. I am very oriented toward the future. I think this election has to be geared toward the future. I think America's best days are still ahead. But we've got to build the right bridge.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. You know, the President reminds me sometimes of my brother, Kenny, who is no longer alive, but Kenny was a great talker. And he used to tell me things that I knew were not quite accurate, so we always had a rule, we divided by 6. Now, maybe in your case, maybe just 2.

But 11 million new jobs and everything—I mean, the President can't take credit for everything that Governors are doing or that's happening in New York City when it comes to the murder rate and then not be responsible for the bad things that happen, whether it's drug use or something else in America. And so it seems to me that we can talk about—well, we called Kenny the great exaggerator because he just liked to make it sound a little better; it made him feel better. When it comes to bridges, I want a bridge to the future. I also want a bridge to the truth. We have to tell the truth. We've got people watching tonight and listening tonight trying to find the truth. And the truth is, there's a lot wrong with America. We need a strong economic package. We need a tax cut. We need the $500 child credit. And we'll have that soon.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. I do not for a moment think I'm entitled to all the credit for the good things that have happened in America. But where I have moved to work with the American people to help them have the tools to make the most of their own lives, I think I should get some credit for that. I also personally took responsibility tonight when Senator Dole asked me about the drug problem.

But you know, I think my ideas are better for the future. Senator Dole voted against student loans, against Head Start, against creating the Department of Education. If he gets elected President, we'll start the new century without anyone in the Cabinet of the President representing education and our children. I personally don't think that's the right kind of future for America, and I think we ought to take a different tack.

Education

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, do you still favor eliminating the Department of Education?

Senator Dole. Yes. I didn't favor it when it was started. I voted against it. It was a tribute after President Carter's election to the National Education Association, who sent a lot of delegates to the Democratic Convention, who give 99.5 percent of their money to Democrats and the President.

And a lot of the teachers send their kids to private schools or better public schools. So what we want to do is called opportunity scholarships. Now, some say, "Oh, you're Republican; you can't be reaching out to these people." I've reached out to people all my life. I've worked on the food stamp program proudly and the WIC program and the school lunch program with Senators like George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey, and others, to name a few of my Democratic friends. I'm not some extremist out here. I care about people. I have my own little foundation that's raised about $10 million for the disabled. I don't advertise it—just did, haven't before. I try to do a lot of things that I think might be helpful to people.

So it seems to me that we ought to take that money we can save from the Department of Education, put it into opportunity scholarships, and tell little Landel Shakespeare out in Cleveland, Ohio, and tell your mother and father you're going to get to go to school because we're going to match what the State puts up, and you're going to get to go to the school of your choice.

I don't fault the President or the Vice President for sending their children to private schools or better schools; I applaud them for it. I don't criticize them. But why shouldn't everybody have that choice? Why shouldn't low-income Americans and low-middle-income Americans? I'm excited about it. It's going to be a big, big opportunity for a lot of people.

The President. Let me say, first of all, I'm all for students having more choices. We've worked hard to expand public school choice. In my balanced budget bill there are funds for 3,000 new schools, created by teachers and parents, sometimes by business people, called charter schools, that have no rules. They're free of bureaucracy and can only stay in existence if they perform and teach children. The ones that are out there are doing well.

What I'm against is Senator Dole's plan to take money away from all of the children we now help with limited Federal funds and help far fewer. If we're going to have a private voucher plan, that ought to be done at the local level or the State level.

But Senator Dole has consistently opposed Federal help to education. He voted against student loans, he voted against my improved student loan plan, he voted against the national service bill, against the Head Start bill. He voted against our efforts in safe and drug-free schools. He has voted against these programs. He does not believe it. That's the issue. Ninety percent of our kids are out there in those public schools, and we need to lift their standards and move them forward with the programs like those I've outlined in this campaign.

Senator Dole. I had better correct the President. I don't know what time it is, but it's probably getting late. But I want to correct—all of these things I voted against, they were probably part of some big package that had a lot of pork in it or a lot of things that we shouldn't have had, and we probably voted no. I've supported all of the education programs; I've supported Head Start. I think we ought to look at it.

So I don't want anybody out there to think that we've just been voting no, no, no. Let's give low-income parents the same right that people of power and prestige have in America and let them go to better schools. Let's turn the schools back to the teachers and back to the parents and take it away from the National Education Association.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, what's wrong with the school choice proposal?

The President. I support school choice. I support school choice. I have advocated expansions of public school choice alternatives and, I said, the creation of 3,000 new schools that we are going to help the States to finance.

But if you're going to have a private voucher plan, that ought to be determined by States and localities where they're raising and spending most of the money. I simply think it's wrong to take money away from programs that are helping build basic skills for kids—90 percent of them are in the public schools—to take money away from programs that are helping fund the school lunch program, that are helping to fund the other programs, that are helping our schools to improve their standards.

Our schools are getting better. And our schools can be made to be even better still with the right kind of community leadership and partnership at the school level. I have been a strong force for reform. And Senator, I remind you that a few years ago, when I supported a teacher testing law in my home State, I was pretty well lambasted by the teachers association. I just don't believe we ought to be out there running down teachers and attacking them the way you did at the Republican Convention.

I think we ought to be lifting them up and moving our children forward.

And let me just say, that budget you passed that I vetoed would have cut 50,000 kids out of Head Start. It would have eliminated the AmeriCorps plan. And it would have cut back on student loans and scholarships. Now, it would have; that's a fact. That's one of the big reasons I vetoed it. We need to be doing more in education, not less.

Senator Dole. Well, the AmeriCorps program, I must say, if that's one of your successes I wouldn't speak about it too loudly. It's cost about $27,000 to pay people to volunteer. We've got 4 million young people volunteering every year. The number hasn't gone down. And you pick out 20,000, whether they need the money or not, and they get paid for volunteering.

I like young people. I like teachers. I'm a product of public schools. You attended a private school for some time in your life. I like teachers. You're not for school choice. You can't be for school choice, because it's that special interest money again. When you're getting 99.5 percent of the money—we don't know what happened to the other .5 percent; we're looking for it. Somebody got it. But it all went to Democrats, and this is part of that liberal establishment, one of those liberal things that you just can't do. You're for school uniforms and curfews, and you're opposed to truancy. Now, that's not reform, Mr. President.

Why can't Landel Shakespeare in Cleveland or Pilar Gonzalez in Milwaukee give their children an opportunity to go to a better school? Some schools aren't safe; some schools aren't even safe. Your choice is nothing. Let's give them a real choice, the kind of choice you have and the kind of choice a lot of people have in America. If we want to stop crime and teenage pregnancy, let's start with education.

The President. First of all, Senator Dole, let's set the record straight. I was able, for 2 years when I was a very young boy, to go to a Catholic school, but I basically went to public schools all my life. And I've worked hard for a long time to make them better. Ninety percent of our kids are there.

It's amazing to me—you are all for having more responsibility at the local level for everything except schools, where we don't have very much money at the Federal level to spend on education. We ought to spend it helping the 90 percent of the kids that we can help. If a local school district in Cleveland or anyplace else wants to have a private school choice plan like Milwaukee did, let them have at it. I might say, the results are highly ambiguous. But I want to get out there and give a better education opportunity to all of our children. And that's why I vetoed the budget that you passed with $30 billion in education cuts. It was wrong, and my plan for the future is better.

Political Philosophy

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

Senator Dole, at the Republican Convention you said the following, and I quote: "It is demeaning to the Nation that within the Clinton administration, a corps of the elite who never grew up, never did anything real, never sacrificed, never suffered, and never learned should have the power to fund with your earnings their dubious and self-serving schemes." End quote. Whom, precisely, and what, precisely, did you have in mind?

Senator Dole. I had precisely in mind a lot of the people that were in the White House and other agencies who have never been—had any experience, who came to Washington without any experience. They're all very liberal, of course, or they wouldn't be in the administration. And their idea was that they knew what was best for the American people.

Now, I feel very strongly about a lot of things. I feel strongly about education. I want to help young people have an education, just as I had an education after World War II with the GI bill of rights. And we've had millions of young men and women in subsequent wars change the face of the Nation because the Government helped with their education.

Now, the reason they don't want to have—you know, the reason the President can't support this is pretty obvious. It's not taking anything away from schools. It's new money. It's not going to be taken away from anybody else except it will downsize the Department of Education.

But this is a very liberal administration. This is the administration that gave you the big tax cut. This is the administration that tried to take over health care and impose a governmental system. This is the administration that fought regulatory reform and that's putting a lot of small-business men and small-business women out of business. This is the administration that fought the balanced budget amendment and vetoed a

balanced budget and vetoed welfare reform twice. And the list goes on and on and on.

That's what I had in mind. I want people in my administration and will have people in my administration who understand America. There won't be 10 millionaires and 14 lawyers in the Cabinet. They'll be people with experience and people who understand America and people who know the hard knocks in life.

The President. When Senator Dole made that remark about all the elitists, young elitists in the administration, one of the young men who works for me who grew up in a house trailer looked at me and said, "Mr. President, I know how you grew up. Who is he talking about?" And you know, this liberal charge, that's what their party always drags out when they get in a tight race. It's sort of their golden oldie, you know, it's a record they think they can play that everybody loves to hear. [*Laughter*] And I just don't think that dog will hunt this time.

The American people should make up their own mind. Here's the record: We cut the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time since before the Civil War—I mean, before World War II—and maybe before the Civil War, too. [*Laughter*] We've got 10½ million new jobs. We've got record numbers of new small businesses. We made every one of them eligible for a tax cut. We've got declining crime rates, 2 million fewer people on welfare rolls before welfare reform passed, and a 50 percent increase in child support, and a crime bill with 60 death penalties, 100,000 police, and the assault weapons ban.

The American people can make up their mind about whether that's a liberal record or a record that's good for America. Liberal, conservative, you put whatever label you want on it.

Senator Dole. Well, I think it's pretty liberal; I'll put that label on it. When you take a look at all the programs you've advocated, Mr. President, thank goodness we had a Republican Congress there. The first thing you did when you came into office was send up a stimulus package that said, we've got a little pork we want to scatter around America, $16 billion. And even some in your own party couldn't buy that.

I remember talking by the telephone—I'm not even certain you were too excited about it—I'll never repeat what I talked with the President about, but in any event, we saved the taxpayers $16 billion. And then came some other programs and then came health care and then came the tax increase. And a lot of these things just stopped in 1994 because then the Congress changed, and I think we've done a good job.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, if you're not a liberal, describe your political philosophy.

The President. I believe that the purpose of politics is to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives, to reinforce the values of opportunity and responsibility, and to build a sense of community so we're all working together. I don't believe in discrimination. I believe you can protect the environment and grow the economy. I believe that we have to do these things with a Government that's smaller and less bureaucratic, but that we have to do them nonetheless.

It's inconvenient for Senator Dole, but the truth is I've reduced the size of Government more than my Republican predecessors. And I did stop them, I admit that; I sure stopped their budget. Their budget cut enforcement for the Environmental Protection Agency by a third. It cut funds to clean up toxic waste dumps—with 10 million of our kids still living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump—by a third. It ended the principle of the polluters should pay for those toxic waste dumps unless it was very recent. Their budget weakened our support for education $30 billion, even cut funds for scholarships and college loans. Their budget cut $270 billion in Medicare. And finally, their budget withdrew the national guarantee of health care to poor children, families with children with handicaps, the elderly in nursing homes, poor pregnant women. It was wrong for the country, and calling it conservative won't make it right. It was a bad decision for America and would have been bad for our future if I hadn't stopped it.

Senator Dole. Well, the President can define himself in any way he wants, but I think we have to look at the record. Go back to the time he was, what, Texas director for George McGovern. George McGovern is a friend of mine, so I don't mean—but he was a liberal, proud liberal.

I've just finished reading a book. I think it's called, what is it, "The Demise of the Democratic Party" by Ronald Radosh or something, talking about all the liberal influences in the administration, whether it's organized labor or whether it's the Hollywood elite or whether it's some of the media elite or whether it's the labor unions or whatever.

And so I think—you take a look at it, but the bottom line is this: I think the American people probably lose sight of all of these bills and all these things. They want to know what's going to happen to them. They've all got a lot of anxieties out there.

Did anybody complain when you raised taxes? Did anybody go out and ask the people, "How are you going to pay the extra money?" That's why we want an economic package. We want the Government to pinch their pennies for a change instead of the people pinching their pennies. That's what our message is to people watching, not all this back and forth—you voted this way, you voted that way. We want a better America as we go into the next century.

The President. The way to get a better America is to balance the budget and protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment; to give a targeted tax cut—and let me talk about the education tax cut—to let people have a $10,000 deduction for the cost of college tuition in any year, any kind of college tuition; to give families a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction in their taxes for the cost of a typical community college so we can open that to everybody; and then to let people save in an IRA and withdraw from it without a tax penalty for education, homebuying, or medical expenses. That's the right way to go into the 21st century: balance the budget and cut taxes, not balloon with this $550 billion tax scheme.

Personal Differences

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, we've talked mostly now about differences between the two of you that relate to policy issues and that sort of thing. Are there also significant differences in the more personal area that are relevant to this election?

Senator Dole. Let me say first on the President's promise for another tax cut—I mean, I've told people as I travel around, "All of you who got the tax cut he promised last time, vote for him in '96," and not many hands go up. So the question is, would you buy a used election promise from my opponent?

The people want economic reform. They're having a hard time making ends meet. You got one parent working for the Government, the other parent working for the family. And this is important business. This is about getting the economy moving again. This is about American jobs and opportunities. It's about the Government, as I said before, pinching its pennies for a change instead of the poor taxpayer. When they raise your taxes, nobody runs around asking people, "Where are you going to get the extra money?" I think the Government can do better.

Are there personal differences?

Mr. Lehrer. That are relevant to this.

Senator Dole. Well, my blood pressure is lower and my weight, my cholesterol. But I will not make health an issue in this campaign. [*Laughter*] I think he's a bit taller than I am. But I think there are personal differences. I mean, I don't like to get into personal matters.

As far as I'm concerned, this is a campaign about issues. It's about my vision for America and about his liberal vision for America, and not about personal things. And I think his liberal vision is a thing of the past. I know he wants to disown it. I wouldn't want to be a liberal either, Mr. President, but you're stuck with it because that's your record. It's your record in Arkansas: the biggest tax increase in history, the biggest crime increase in history, biggest drug increase in history in Arkansas.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Well, just for the record, when I was a Governor, we had the lowest—second lowest tax burden of any State in the country, the highest job growth rate of any State when I ran for President, and were widely recognized for a lot of other advances.

But the important thing is, what are we going to do now? I think a targeted tax cut is better for our future, targeted to education and childrearing, with the rest of the education plan—hooking up all of our classrooms to the Internet by the year 2000, making sure we've got an army of reading volunteers, trained people to teach with parents and teachers so that our 8-year-olds can learn to read; investing in our environment, cleaning up two-thirds of the worst toxic waste dumps. Those plans are better than this $550 billion tax scheme.

Now, remember, folks, even Senator Dole's campaign cochair, Senator D'Amato, says he's got to cut Medicare to pay for this. Everybody who has looked at it, 500 economists, 7 Nobel Prize winners, say it's bad for the economy. It's going to blow a hole in the deficit, raise taxes on 9 million people, and require bigger cuts than the one I vetoed.

Our plan is better. It will take us into the future with a growing economy and healthier families.

Senator Dole. Well, I'm really encouraged to know of your renewed friendship with Al D'Amato, and I know he appreciates it. [*Laughter*] You didn't even have tax cuts in your budget, Mr. President, the first 2 years you were President. It wasn't until we had a Republican Congress that you even thought about—you talked about tax cuts.

And getting back to personal differences, I think, Jim, if you're a little more specific, but I think the President could clarify one thing tonight, and that's the question of pardons. I know you talked about it with Jim Lehrer on the PBS show. And I've never discussed Whitewater, as I've told you personally; I'm not discussing Whitewater now. But I am discussing a power the President has to grant pardons, and hopefully in the next segment you could lay that to rest.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Well, first of all, he made that remark about Senator D'Amato. He's arranged for me to spend a lot more time with Senator D'Amato in the last couple of years, and so I'm more familiar with his comments than I used to be. [*Laughter*]

Let me say what I've said already about this pardon issue. This is an issue they brought up. There has been no consideration of it, no discussion of it. I'll tell you this: I will not give anyone special treatment, and I will strictly adhere to the law. And that is what every President has done, as far as I know, in the past. But whatever other Presidents have done, this is something I take seriously, and that's my position.

Senator Dole. But it seems to me the President shouldn't have any comment at all, particularly where it's someone where you've had business dealings. I mean, you may be sending a signal; I don't know. I'm not questioning anybody. But as the President of the United States, when somebody asks you about pardons, you say "no comment," period. And I think he made a mistake, and I think when you make a mistake, you say, "I made a mistake." But apparently his position hasn't changed.

If there are other specific areas—but beyond that, I haven't gotten into any of these things, as the President knows. We've had that discussion. And again, I know Senator D'Amato I think may have had a hearing or two on Whitewater; I can't remember. [*Laughter*] But he's not my general chairman, he's a friend of mine. And so is Senator Kennedy a friend of yours——

The President. You bet.

Senator Dole. I remember one day on the floor, I said, "Now, gentlemen, let me tax your memories," and Kennedy jumped up and said, "Why haven't we thought of that before?" [*Laughter*] One of your liberal friends.

The President. That's right. Thank you.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, 30 seconds.

The President. No comment. [*Laughter*]

Senator Dole. What's the subject matter? [*Laughter*]

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, if you could single out one thing that you would like for the voters to have in their mind about President Clinton, on a policy matter or a personal matter, what would it be? Something to know about him, understand it, and appreciate it.

Senator Dole. See, if I say anything, it's going to be misconstrued. I don't think this is even a race between the two—it's about our vision for America. I happen to like President Clinton personally. I'm addressing him all evening as Mr. President. I said in 1992 he didn't extend that courtesy to President Bush. But I respect the Presidency.

I've served under a number of Presidents; they all have their strengths, and they all have their weaknesses. So I'd rather talk about my strengths. I think I have my strengths. I think the best thing going for Bob Dole is that Bob Dole keeps his word. It's a question between trust and fear. And I would say I think, Mr. President, about all you've got going in this campaign is fear. You're spending millions and millions of dollars in negative ads, frightening senior citizens. I know this to be a fact, because I had one tell me last week, "Senator, don't cut my Medicare."

I'm trying to save your Medicare, just as I rescued Social Security with a bipartisan commission. I have relatives on Medicare. I used to sign welfare checks for my grandparents. I know all about poverty and all about need and all about taking care of people, and that's been my career in the United States Senate.

And I'll keep my word on the economic package. If I couldn't cut taxes and balance the budget at the same time, I wouldn't look you in the eye tonight in your living room, or wherever you may be, and say that this is good for America. People will tell you who have

served with Bob Dole, agree or disagree, he kept his word. That's what this race is all about.

The President. I'd like the American people to know that I have worked very hard to be on their side and to move this country forward, and we're better off than we were 4 years ago. But the most important thing is my plan for the 21st century is a better plan: a targeted tax cut; a real commitment to educational reform; a deep commitment to making welfare reform work, with incentives to the private sector to move people from welfare to work—now we have to create those jobs, now that we're requiring people to go to work; a commitment to step-by-step health care reform, with the next step helping people who are between jobs to access health care and not lose it just because they're out of work for a while; a commitment to grow the economy while protecting the environment.

That's what I'd like them to know about me, that I've gotten up every day and worked for the American people and worked so that their children could have their dreams come true. And I believe we've got the results to show we're on the right track. The most important thing is I believe we've got the right ideas for the future.

And like Senator Dole—I like Senator Dole. You can probably tell we like each other. We just see the world in different ways, and you folks out there are going to have to choose who you think is right.

Senator Dole. Well, I'd say, you know, the first homeless bill in the Senate was the Dole-Byrd bill, part of the Byrd-Dole bill—I can't remember who was in control then. I remember working with Senator Ribicoff from Connecticut on the hospice program; we now have 2,500 hospices.

As I said, I remember, I've worked all my life while I was in the Congress—I left on June 11th because I wanted the American people to know that I was willing to give up something. President Clinton ran for Governor in 1990 and said he was going to fill out his term, but he didn't. He's President, so I guess it's a little better deal. But I wanted the American people to know that I was willing to give up something; it wasn't just getting more power and more power. So I rolled the dice. I put my career on the line because I really believe the future of America is on the line. We can give you all these numbers. They don't mean a thing if you're out of work, you have nothing to eat, or you can't have medical care, or you're holding a crack baby in your arms right now, and what do you do next?

You know, America's best days are ahead of us. I've seen the tough times. I know they can be better. And I'll lead America to a brighter future.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, what do you say to Senator Dole's point that this election is about keeping one's word?

The President. Let's look at that. When I ran for President, I said we'd cut the deficit in half in 4 years; we've cut it by 60 percent. I said that our economic plan would produce 8 million jobs; we have 10½ million new jobs. We're number one in autos again, record numbers of new small businesses. I said we'd pass a crime bill that would put 100,000 police on the street, ban assault weapons, and deal with the problems that ought to be dealt with with capital punishment, including capital punishment for drug kingpins. And we did that. I said we would change the way welfare works. And even before the bill passed, we had moved nearly 2 million people from welfare to work, working with States and communities. I said we'd get tougher on child support, and child support enforcement is up 50 percent.

I said that I would work for tax relief for middle class Americans. The deficit was bigger than I thought it was going to be, and I think they're better off, all of us are, that we got those interest rates down and the deficit down. The Republicans talk about it, but we're the first administration in anybody's lifetime looking at this program to bring that deficit down 4 years in a row. We still gave tax cuts to 15 million working Americans. And now I've got a plan that has been out there for 2 years—it could have been passed already, but instead the Republicans shut the Government down to try to force their budget and their plan on me, and I couldn't take that. But we'll get the rest of that tax relief.

And so I think when you can look at those results, you know that the plan I have laid out for the future has a very good chance of being enacted if you'll give me a chance to build that bridge to the 21st century.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator.

Senator Dole. Well, there he goes again—I mean, it's a line that has been used before—but exaggerating all of the things he did. He

didn't do all these things. Let's take all of these 4, you know, years in a row. He came in with a high growth rate. The 1990 budget agreement, which some didn't like, had some very tough cost controls. It put a lot of pressure on Congress. The S&L crisis was over. They were starting to sell assets; all of that money was coming in. And he cut defense an extra $60 billion, threw a lot of people out of work.

He talks about a smaller Government. There are actually more people in Government, except for the people in defense-related jobs. They're gone. The Government is bigger than it was when President Kennedy was around, even though he says it's not. In addition, the Republican Congress cut $53 billion. So let's give credit where credit is due.

Governor Engler in Michigan cut taxes 21 times, created a lot of new jobs. So did Governor Thompson. So did Governor Rowland. And a lot of people out there deserve credit, Mr. President. When I'm President of the United States, we're going to have a Governors council, and we're going to work directly with the Governors, Republicans and Democrats, to get power back to the people and back to the States.

The President. I think a lot of people deserve credit, and I've tried to give it to them. But I believe that my plan is better than Senator Dole's ill-advised $550 billion scheme, which I will say again will blow a hole in the deficit. Our plan will balance the budget and grow the economy, preserve the environment, and invest in education. We have the right approach for the future. And look at the results: It is not midnight in America, Senator. We are better off than we were 4 years ago.

Closing Statements

Mr. Lehrer. All right, that's the last question, the last answer. Let's go now to the closing statements.

Senator Dole. Are we done?

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, you're first. Two minutes.

The President. Well, first, Jim, let me thank you, and thank you, Senator Dole, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, all of you listening tonight, for the chance you've given us to appear. I want to say in the beginning that I am profoundly grateful for the chance that you have given me to serve as President for the last 4 years. I never could have dreamed anything like this would come my way in life, and I've done my best to be faithful to the charge you've given me.

I'm proud of the fact that America is stronger and more prosperous and more secure than we were 4 years ago. I'm glad we're going in the right direction. And I've done my best tonight to lay out my plans for going forward to an even better future in the next century.

I'd like to leave you with the thought that the things I do as President are basically driven by the people whose lives I have seen affected by what does or doesn't happen in this country: the autoworker in Toledo who was unemployed when I was elected and now has a great job, because we're number one in auto production again; all the people I've met who used to be on welfare who are now working and raising their children—and I think what others could do for our country and for themselves if we did the welfare reform thing in the proper way. I think of the man who grabbed me by the shoulder once with tears in his eyes and said his daughter was dying of cancer, and he thanked me for giving him a chance to spend some time with her without losing his job, because of the Family and Medical Leave Act. I think of all the people that I grew up with and went to school with whom I stay in touch with and who never let me forget how what we do in Washington affects all of you out there in America.

Folks, we can build that bridge to the 21st century, big enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across. And I hope that you will help me build it.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole, your closing statement, sir.

Senator Dole. Thank you, Jim. Thank you, Mr. President. Thank everyone for watching and listening.

I want to address my remarks to the young people of America, because they're the ones that are going to spend most of their life in the 21st century. They're the ones who have the challenges. And there are people out there making predictions that it's not going to be the same; you're not going to have the opportunity; there is going to be more deficits, more drugs, more crime, and less confidence in the American people. And that's what you're faced with, what the parents are faced with and the grandparents are faced with. It's important. It's their future.

And I would say to those—I know there are more young people experimenting with drugs today than ever before. Drug use has gone up. And if you care about the future of America, if you care about your future, just don't do it.

And I know that I am someone older than you, but I've had my anxious moments in my life. I've learned to feed myself and to walk and to dress. I'm standing here as proof that in America, the possibilities are unlimited. I know who I am, and I know where I'm from, and I know where I want to take America. We are the greatest country on the face of the Earth. We do more good things for more people in our communities, our neighborhoods than anywhere that I know of.

This is important business. This election is important. I ask for your support. I ask for your help. If you really want to get involved, just tap into my home page, www.dolekemp96.org.

Thank you. God bless America.

NOTE: The debate began at 9 p.m. at Horace Bushnell Memorial Hall. In their remarks, the candidates referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; President Rene Preval of Haiti; Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan; Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.), Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy; M. Joycelyn Elders, former Surgeon General of the Public Health Service; President Fidel Castro of Cuba; and Governors John Engler of Michigan, Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin, and John G. Rowland of Connecticut.

Remarks at a Rally in Hartford

October 6, 1996

The President. Thank you. Folks, thank you for waiting. Thank you for being here. I would like to—first of all, I want you, before you lose all your enthusiasm, join me in thanking our musicians, the Mike Rubow Quintet, the Trinity College—[*applause*]—thank you very much, from Trinity College. Thank you.

Audience member. Where's Hillary?

The President. Let me say I'm about all talked out tonight. But I want to thank you for being here. Hillary and Chelsea had to go home; thanks for asking. But I believe the American people tonight got an accurate picture of the differences in this election and the stakes in the election. And I personally thought that Senator Dole did a very good job of stating his position. I did the best I could to state mine.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. I want to ask you to—I want you to keep cheering that for a month—but I want you to think about this. There are just about 4 weeks left, 4 weeks from Tuesday. And all of you—I'm really glad to see so many young people in this audience tonight. The one thing that is hard to convey in a debate like this, because all the answers and questions, you know, have to be done in a set period of time, is the whole sweep of this time we're living in.

And I just want you to know that my honest belief is that the future that you will live will be the most interesting, unpredictable, and positive ways—time in all of human history, if we do the right things to make sure that everybody has a chance to live up to the fullest of their ability and if we don't forget that the First Lady is right: It does take a village. We have to do this together. We have to do this together. And so, I just want to ask you to——

Audience member. It takes a village to raise a child.

The President. It sure does. Give him a hand. [*Applause*] And so look—so I want to ask you to keep this enthusiasm for 4 weeks and 2 days and to take a little time every day to engage your friends and neighbors about what's at stake in this election. This is really about how we're all going to live when we start a new century and how this country is going to be when your kids are your age. We're on the right track. You've given me a great boost tonight. Let's bear down and bring it home.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:36 p.m. in the Main Hall of Hartford Union Station.

Remarks to Business Leaders in Stamford, Connecticut
October 7, 1996

Thank you so much. Thank you, Carolyn Straddle, for reminding us ultimately of what free enterprise and opportunity are all about: giving people a chance to live up to the fullest of what God put inside them, a chance to live out their dreams, a chance to do right by their children, a chance to inspire others. Thank you, Bill Esrey, Paul Allaire, and George David, for your support and for your statements.

I'd like to thank the people from our administration who are here today who helped us to put this remarkable group of business leaders together. Thank you, my old friend Eli Segal. Thank you, Mack McLarty. Thank you, my campaign manager, Peter Knight. Thank you, Laura Tyson. Thank you, Alexis Herman, Nancy Rubin. There may be lots of others, but I saw those people here. I'll get a checklist, and we'll see how good a grade I made when this is over. [*Laughter*]

I'd like to thank Mayor Malloy for welcoming us here to Stamford. I'm glad to be here. And I thank Mayor Ganim from Bridgeport. I think he's here. And Governor Howard Dean from Vermont came in with me today, and we're going on from here to New Hampshire and Maine. And thank you, Governor.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to Connecticut's remarkable United States Senators, Chris Dodd and Joe Lieberman, who are here to my right. Thank you very much. Chris Dodd and Joe Lieberman are two of the happiest people in the country with this announcement today of these 2,500 plus leaders of American business supporting our campaign—a few hundred here today—people from all 50 States. We have people from 35 States here today, even people who came all the way from Alaska to be here. I thank you.

They are—I say that Chris Dodd and Joe Lieberman are the happiest people because they, like I, have wondered for years why the Democratic Party should not have at least as much or more support from American business as the other party. And we never thought that being—or helping ordinary people live up to their full potential was inconsistent with trying to build a strong business environment. In fact, I thought it was a precondition for helping people to live out their dreams.

This is a country with a strong private economy. And if it doesn't work, then our aspirations for all the people we want to help can never, never, never be fulfilled by anything the Government does. If there is not an effective partnership that is founded on a successful private economy, the rest of our endeavors are doomed to be thwarted.

And so, Chris, as chairman of our party, and to my longtime friend Joe Lieberman as the chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, which has been an engine of such a bevy of good ideas to move our country forward, I want to thank both of you for your work, and this is your achievement today. Thank you.

I was thinking when I was listening to George and Paul and Bill and Carolyn talk, and then I was looking at the people out here in the crowd that I know and the people here behind me—we have the heads of great corporations here, the biggest companies in the country. We have people here who represent cutting edge companies who are developing new frontiers of knowledge. We have people here doing old-fashioned American work better than it has ever been done before. We have people here in this audience who come from long lines of American business families who have, generation after generation, been prominent in the American free enterprise system. We have people here like Carolyn, who started with nothing, or my friend Katie Hancock, who started out of her kitchen in Arizona in 1981, a long distance company. And all different—we have American immigrants back here. We have African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, people who came to this country without a penny in their pocket.

I was talking to a friend of mine the other day who lives in Florida, who has—I believe he's got 10 children now, who came to the United States from the Philippines with one dollar and now has quite a few more. [*Laughter*] Thanks to—he had an idea and turned it into a business and gave opportunity to people.

I wrote about some of these businesses in my book, and I talk about them all along, but you see here today how our country works at its best. This country is better off than it was 4 years ago not because of anything any of us did alone, including the President. Our job is to create the conditions and to try to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives, and we have done our best to do that. But you can see what happens when we all work together. And that is my commitment to you, to do that for 4 more years, to try to build that bridge to the 21st century.

I had a simple strategy. Bill said he liked it when someone has a simple strategy and goals and all that. I believe that a country, just like a company, big, small, or medium-sized, has got to have an animating vision and a strategy for carrying out that vision and some way of having benchmarks along the way to see if you're doing what you ought to be doing, and not just on economic issues but also on social issues.

One of the things that struck me when I traveled the country in 1991 and 1992 was how many people had just sort of given up on dealing with our social problems. They just sort of thought: Well, that's just sort of the transaction cost of being in America in the 1990's: high crime, intractable welfare problems, exploding out-of-wedlock birth rates. This is part of being American, part of being in this world; it's not just our country, it's every place else, nothing to be done about this.

And I basically don't believe that. I think all—just as I know the Bible tells us we'll have problems until the end of time because of flaws in human nature, I believe that. But I also believe we at least ought to be given new problems. [*Laughter*] I want my successors to have a new set of challenges to deal with.

And so we had an economic strategy to keep the American dream alive for everybody who was responsible, to keep our country the strongest force in the world, to bring our people together, and a stronger sense of community so that we'll be strengthened by our diversity, when every day all you have to do is pick up the paper or watch the evening news to see that differences among people, racial, ethnic, religious, and other differences, are tearing the heart out of societies and regions all around the world.

In America we're turning all those differences to our advantage. And I think more and more we're getting comfortable with the fact that we are more than ever still a nation of immigrants and that there are more immigrants from more different places and that we have these differences. And it's a great asset in a global economy that we're all so different. As long as we share a common set of values and we show up every day and do the right thing, it's in a way our meal ticket to the future. And the strategy we have pursued to try to expand opportunity, to try to tackle our social problems and generate more responsibility, and to keep building that American community, and then reaching out to the rest of the world, has worked.

My economic benchmarks were cut the deficit in half, see if we can't have 8 million jobs. We wound up with a 60 percent cut in the deficit and 10½ million jobs, thanks to you and people like you all across the country. And I thank you for that.

And I'd like to point out that we have—of these new jobs, the largest percentage of these jobs are private sector jobs—93 percent—than any recovery since the end of World War II—fewer Government jobs, more private jobs, any recovery since World War II. The Federal Government is about 250,000 smaller, just under 250,000. State and local governments have grown, but overall, the net contribution to those 10½ million jobs from the Government sector is 7 percent. Your contribution is 93 percent. And that's because, in no small measure, we are now adopting a lot of the techniques, improved productivity that many of you have incorporated over time. So we're moving in the right direction.

We have expanded exports to historic levels with 200 trade agreements, 21 with Japan alone. And they make a difference.

We have worked to try to help create more success stories like Carolyn. When I became President the expensing provisions for small businesses were $10,000 a year. They're $25,000 now. If you're just starting, that's a whole lot of money. It makes a big difference if you have to invest more when you're just starting out.

We've reformed the pension laws as the White House Conference on Small Business asked us to do to make it easier for people to take out 401(k) plans and then for the employees of small businesses to carry it around job to job with them in a way that doesn't discriminate against employers if they let them bring those plans with them, a very important issue. We made the health insurance premiums more deductible for self-employed people. And we're moving to do some other things that I believe will make health insurance more affordable. So these things are important.

The Small Business Administration cut its budget and doubled the loan volume. And I'm proud of that. And I might add—we had a huge increase—we have increased loans to people in all categories. We had big increases in loans to women and minority business owners, and we didn't change the standards a bit. We just went out and looked for people who were good people who had good ideas and tried to make sure they had a good chance to compete.

So we have more to do. We were visiting before I came out here. One of the people up here on the stage, John Correnti from Nucor, said, "Remember, the only thing I ever asked of you was low interest rates. I'll do the rest." [*Laughter*] He's laughing back there, but it's true. In order to do that we've got to continue this work on balancing the budget. We have to do it in the right way.

There are others here who need in that balanced budget a strong American research budget. We've got another billion dollars in research in our balanced budget over 7 years. That's an important part of our future.

Even IBM—we're doing a joint project with IBM. Some of you have heard me say this before: We're going to build a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than you can do with a hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. This dilemma about do you trust the Government or the people, that's not it. The Government is just the people, acting together—just the people acting together.

There are some things that we can do better together than we can do alone. We can't expect a lot of these initial investments to be made without Government research. The Internet is the product of a publicly funded research effort now being turned over to the private sector, as it should be. We don't know how to run things like that, but the initial research, the ideas, the development should be done with a contribution from the public sector where it's appropriate. The same thing is true in medical research, a lot of other areas. So we've got to keep doing that, and I feel very strongly that we can.

Let me just say a word about the whole litany of other issues I've told you about—the social problems—to get to the welfare issue that I wanted to talk about today. I went around the country and discovered that there were lots of places where the crime rate was going down, not going up. But it was going down for some very simple and straightforward reasons. The police were going back to the streets again and not staying in their cars. They were working with neighborhoods. They knew kids on the street. They were preventing crime. They were being deployed in ways that prevented crime more and caught criminals quicker. And they wanted some help.

And the crime bill of '94 was designed to put another 100,000 police on the streets because in the previous 30 years, violent crime had tripled as our population had gone up and got more violent. But we'd only increased our police forces by 10 percent, and we hadn't redeployed them. And because there were not enough of them, they were increasingly driving around in cars, isolated from the action.

So that's what the crime bill was all about, to increase the police forces by 20 percent, to put the police out there to prevent crime, and the assault weapons ban, the Brady bill, and all the rest. And it's working and that's—so we're contributing to a nationwide determination to get the crime rate down.

We're now trying to get a million more volunteers, citizens to work in citizen patrols. And a lot of the people in the telecommunications business had offered us phones for citizens patrols to go out there and work with the police.

San Diego, California, where our next debate is, you'd think they would have terrible problems with crime. It's right there on the border, and we do a lot of work to stem illegal immigration—the fifth lowest crime rate of any major city in America, partly because they have huge numbers of retirees in citizens patrols, working those neighborhoods in partnership with the police, protecting the kids, going forward. So we can do something about that.

The teen pregnancy rate has gone down for 4 years in a row and out-of-wedlock pregnancies

as a whole dropped in 1995 for the first time in 20 years because of local grassroots community efforts that are working.

So these things can be done. One good evidence that the private sector, too, is contributing to this, I might add, was the census report on the economy that comes out every year. And last week we learned that in 1995, for the first time in a long while, all classes of working people, without regard to their incomes, had an increase in their income. And that represented the biggest decline in income inequality among working people in the United States in 27 years. That's a tribute to the business sector working to let people share in the growth of the economy.

So I say this to set this welfare issue up. It is not true that you can't do anything about social problems. That is not true. And we have to, first of all, say to everyone in America, get that out of your mind. Now, it is also not true that you can ask people in business to make their primary mission solving a social problem if it is inconsistent with the mission of business.

Here is the welfare dilemma; I worked on welfare reform for 16 years. I've been in welfare offices. I've talked to lots of folks on welfare. I've talked to people who work with people on welfare. They all pretty much say what Carolyn said. Nearly everybody who is on it wants to be off. Nearly everybody who is not working is willing to work. But what's happened is that the fundamental nature of the population on welfare is very different from what it was 60 years ago when that program started. And now we live in a society where most people work and most parents work even when their children are young. And most people on welfare have become increasingly unemployable and isolated from the rest of us. At least that's true for about half of them.

Now, in the last 4 years, the welfare rolls have gone down by almost 2 million, because we've worked with people like Governor Dean, who is here, with the Governors. We've had—43 States have established new partnerships with the Federal Government, to get out from under outdated rules, to change the welfare system to meet the needs of the new population, to move people from welfare to work. That, plus a growing economy, helped us to reduce the welfare rolls by 2 million.

Now we're left with people like the folks that Carolyn works with in Georgia. And we have to make greater efforts. I signed the welfare reform bill amidst great controversy. You all know it was very controversial. I vetoed the first two bills because they took the—one of them took the guarantee of Medicaid coverage, the health care coverage, away from families on welfare, which I thought was a mistake, and messed with the school lunch program. They both did that, and I thought it was wrong.

The third bill did not do that. Here's what it does. Here's what the bill that I signed does. It says, in this new system the National Government will continue to guarantee health care for poor families and nutrition and, if the welfare recipient goes to work, more money for child care than ever before. You heard her say that's a big problem. But what used to be the welfare check—the welfare check now goes to people once a month; it's part Federal money, part State money. What used to be the welfare check, we're going to send the Federal portion of that to the States and say, "You can decide how to spend this. You have 2 years for all the able-bodied people on welfare to turn that welfare check into a paycheck." That's what it says.

Now, the people who criticized me for signing it say that it will never happen and we can't do anything about it, and you're consigning these poor people to more poverty, and you're going to hurt the kids. I just honestly disagree with that. But I will tell you this: If we all lay down on the job, the new system will be worse for some poor people and their children than the old system. The problem is that the old system had limits on it. There are always going to be a certain core of people who are able-bodied who were never brought into the mainstream of society and who were left in what is an increasingly physical isolation from the rest of mainstream society. And it's wrong. And their kids were never going to get the chance they deserved. They were never going to have the future they deserved. And we were going to see a lot of people who never became part of the American mainstream.

And this new system, if we do it right, gives us the chance to do what we should have done all along, which is to take poverty out of politics and turn welfare into not just a State-based but a community-based program where people are dealt with as people.

All these folks are different. They have different abilities. They have different problems.

They have different hurdles to overcome. And we should have—in Stamford, Connecticut, or Hot Springs, Arkansas, where I graduated from high school, or any other place in the country—a community-based welfare program where the employers of the community, the churches, all the people who are interested in this are all working together. And everybody who gets a check knows that if they're able-bodied they've got to go to work if there's a job there. That's what we ought to have as a community-based program.

So here's the trick. How do you do that when you know that the Government still has a deficit, and we can't create enough public service jobs to hire these folks? So they have to be hired in the private sector. And I can ask you to help, but I can't ask you to do anything that undermines your own fundamental mission, which is to make your business a success.

That is what I want to talk about just a moment today because the welfare reform bill was just the first step. We now have to figure out how to reform welfare. That's very different than passing a bill. We actually have to go out and do it. And while the States and the communities will be able to do a lot of this, we still have certain responsibilities, one I am attempting to meet by giving special tax credits to people who hire people off welfare and keep them hired for a year. And we think that will help to move people, a million people, from welfare to work.

But let me also say that I'm particularly glad that Bill Esrey is here today, and one person who wanted to be here and couldn't is Bob Shapiro from Monsanto, because they have worked in Missouri with a program in Kansas City that I believe is what we ought to do everywhere. And that's why I've been going around challenging every business person who ever cussed out the welfare system to go see the Governor, go see the mayor, work out a system where business can participate in putting people back to work in ways that don't hurt the business.

How can we do it? My answer is, look at Kansas City. What they did was—and we gave them permission to do this; they had to change a lot of Federal rules. In Kansas City, they have a full employment council. They have one building where they do adult education, process people on welfare, deal with social problems, the whole nine yards. Business people, church people, welfare people—everybody in the community is represented on this council.

Here's what we did to change the rules. They will give any employer who will hire someone new the welfare check for 4 years. If you hire somebody off welfare, you've got to pay them a minimum income that's over the minimum wage—I don't know exactly what it is now; it started out at $6 an hour—but we'll give you the welfare check. So let's assume the welfare check is worth $2.50 an hour; that's your premium for training people, for finding out what their problems are, for helping make sure their kids are going to be all right, for dealing with all of those things, and maybe dealing with somebody who has never been in the work force before and literally doesn't even know such elemental things as how to show up on time and do basic things. But this is it; you get it.

We're not asking you to do this totally out of the goodness of your heart. You take the welfare check, and you become the trainer. Now, consider what this will do. This means there won't be any big programs where you're gathering huge numbers of people; instead, you will be integrating people into the mainstream of American life. And if every business in the country, every church of any size in the country, every nonprofit in the country, everybody just hired one person, this problem would go away.

And then in future times, when the economy goes down and we have recessions, everybody would be treated the same. Unemployed people would just be unemployed people. They'd be in a tough time. We'd take care of them until the economy got going again. But there wouldn't be this separate class of people isolated as people on welfare unless they had some disability that prevented them from being in the mainstream. We wouldn't be isolating them anymore. This is important.

There are other things that can be done. There are some people who are represented here who have made investments in areas specifically so they could hire a disproportionate number of poor people. I know Eric Sklar of Burrito Brothers is doing that in the Washington area. Sandy Weill has a great program at Travelers, called the academy of finance, which is designed in part to train people who might become welfare recipients to stay off of it in the first place.

But I'm telling you, this is a problem we can solve. This is not rocket science. There is

X number of people on welfare who never seem to get off but who are physically and mentally able to work. Maybe they need substance abuse treatment. Maybe they need job training. Maybe they need something else. But now they're not categories anymore, they're people living in certain communities. And no one has an excuse anymore.

And all you need, if you want to participate in this, is to make sure that your Governors and your community leaders and your legislators make it possible for you to do what the business community can now do in a place like Kansas City. That's all you need to do.

I met—Bill and I were in Kansas City the other day with a guy that had 25 employees. It's a great small business story. He stored data for the Federal Government. And he won all these competitive bid contracts—25 employees. Five of them were former welfare recipients he had hired. And the way the Missouri program works is you have to promise to keep one person for a year unless they're really bad—they have to do something terrible—and then you don't have to keep somebody if they're just unemployable. But you can keep one person in a job slot for up to 4 years and get the welfare check.

However, you can keep the slot for 10 years. So if you can promote them up or they can go on to other jobs or whatever, you might do 10 people in one job slot. But it's a manageable thing, don't you see, in a big country like ours, with all of these different employment units and all of these different sizes; this is a manageable thing. We can do this.

And think how we'll feel if there's no politics in poverty. Think how we'll feel if we know that we treat everybody the same. And sure, at any given time in our country's life, there will always be some people out of work. But there won't be this separate class of people who literally we have isolated and hurt terribly by not imposing more responsibility and giving more opportunity to, and their kids.

This is a huge deal. But let me say—I will say again, only the private sector in America can prove that I was right to sign that bill and those who thought I was wrong were wrong. The Government cannot hire all of these people. We still have a deficit. We're going to give the communities some funds if my next budget prevails—some funds so that communities can help. There are all kinds of things that need to be done in communities that can help in the short run as we go through a transition. But this has basically got to be a private sector show.

So that's the last point I want to make today. I am very gratified that every person here, every one of these executives has promised to do what they can to help us meet this national challenge. I thank you for that. And I want you to help me get more executives, more businesses in every community in the country to do it.

Thank you. Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. at the Rich Forum. In his remarks, he referred to Carolyn Straddle, president, CLS Paving; William T. Esrey, chairman and chief executive officer, Sprint Corp.; Paul Allaire, chairman and chief executive officer, Xerox Corp.; George David, chairman, United Technologies Corp.; Eli J. Segal, national chairman, Business Leaders for Clinton/Gore '96; Mayor Dannel P. Malloy of Stamford; Mayor Joseph P. Ganim of Bridgeport, CT; John Correnti, president, Nucor Corp.; Eric Sklar, chief executive officer, Burrito Brothers, Inc.; and Sandy Weill, chairman and chief executive officer, The Travelers Group, Inc. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Manchester, New Hampshire
October 7, 1996

Thank you. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, 5 years ago today, on October 7th, 1991, I came to New Hampshire. I am told that I am the only sitting President since your own Franklin Pierce to actually come to New Hampshire every single year of my Presidency. I can tell you that on this gorgeous fall day, looking out at all of you and seeing so many of you who have been my friends now through good times and bad, there may be someone in America

right now who's happier than I am, but I have no idea who it would be. I am glad to be here. Thank you, and God bless you all.

It's great to be back in Manchester. I want to thank the mayor and all those who came out to the airport to greet me. I want to thank the two football teams who changed their schedule so we could all be here, the Central High JV and the Concord High JV. Let's give them a hand. [*Applause*] Where are they? There they are back here and back there. Thanks. I want to thank the bands, the Central High School and the Spalding High School Marching Bands over here. Give them a hand; they did a great job. [*Applause*]

I want to tell you how very proud I am to be up here with these fine candidates. I was listening to Arnie Arnesen speak, and I thought, she could double the energy in the House of Representatives all by herself. We need that kind of vigor in this country.

And I heard Joe Keefe and I remembered how I employed him in the dark days to stay on as the chairman of the Democratic Party in New Hampshire, and he said he would, and what a difference a year and a half makes. Thank you, Joe Keefe, for fighting for New Hampshire, for America, and for the future of this country.

I looked at Dick Swett and I thought of the times when we talked in quiet places without big crowds about this country and its future. I remembered when he was for a law to require Congress to live under the same laws it imposes on the rest of us before it was popular, before anybody knew anything about it. And it's the law of the land today. And I campaigned on it in 1992 in the State of New Hampshire because of the work that Dick Swett did. And he can do better work if you'll send him to the United States Senate where we can move forward and stop the negative forces and build the positive forces of America.

And I was thinking of the first time I ever met Jeanne Shaheen and what a terrific Governor she would be for any State and especially for New Hampshire. Jeanne, I thank you.

And I thank you, Dick, for what you said about the debate last night. I enjoyed that debate, and I thank Senator Dole for joining me, and I believe that the American people got a pretty good feel for the differences between us, the differences in our views. And we just proved you can still do it and be civilized and decent and humane. And that's the way we ought to conduct our public affairs in this country.

Four years ago when I came here, the issue was how we could get our economy going again, how we could pierce the rising tide of cynicism in our electorate, how we could pull this country back together again. Today, the issue is what path will we take to the 21st century? Are we on the right path or should we turn back to another path?

If you look at where we are now compared to where we were 4 years ago, just think back to then and what it was like in New Hampshire, a time of high unemployment, bankruptcies, rising frustration and anger. I said then and I repeat to you today: I want this country to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive for every single child in America, with our American community coming together instead of coming apart.

Think how many places in the world today are crippled and face destruction because people who come from different religions or races or ethnic groups simply cannot get along. In America, we can all get along if we share the same values and we honor our system and we show up for work.

And I was determined to see this country continue to lead the world for peace and freedom. But 4 years ago you took me on faith. You don't have to do that anymore. Now there's a record: 10½ million jobs, record numbers of new businesses, record exports of American products, 4½ million new homeowners, 10 million homeowners who refinanced their homes at lower interest rates, 4 years of declining crime rates, child support up 50 percent, welfare rolls down 2 million, out-of-wedlock births dropping for the first time in 20 years. This country is on the right track to the 21st century.

Four years ago we doubted whether ordinary Americans would ever benefit even from an improving economy. But now we know we can turn that around. Since the passage of our economic plan, the average income for families, the typical family in America, has gone up more than $1,600 after inflation. Last year we had the biggest drop in poverty in 27 years, the lowest poverty rate among senior citizens ever recorded. And all people, all working people, were finally beginning to benefit from our endeavors. We had the biggest drop in inequality of working people's incomes in 27 years. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

And so I say to you, I hope that you in one month and one day, and all the American people like you all over this country, will make a decision to stay on that track, to plow new ground, to think new thoughts, to come up with new ideas, to leave behind the old debates, the old policies, and the things that got us in so much trouble because they were long out of date.

Just think how far we have come and where we can go. We have cut the deficit by 60 percent. It's gone down in all 4 years for the first time since the Second World War. Truth is, it's gone down in 4 years for the first time since before the Civil War. But we had a surplus in some of those other years.

But now we have to finish the job. People tell me—people tell me in Washington, "Now, don't go anywhere and talk about balancing the budget because it bores people now, and it requires tough decisions." But it's important. Why? Because these declining deficits have meant as the Government borrows less money, it's easier for you to borrow money. That's why interest rates are lower for home mortgages, credit card rates, car payments, student loan payments, and business loans. That's why they're lower, because we're bringing the deficit down. So I say to you, now we have to finish the job of balancing the budget in a way that enables us to continue to invest in education and research and protect the environment and the health care of our seniors and our families in need. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We cut taxes for 15 million working families and made every small business in America eligible for a substantial tax cut when they invest more in their business. Now we have to cut taxes to help families raise their children and educate them, to pay for buying a home, not to pay taxes when you sell a home, to deal with a medical emergency. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We passed the Family and Medical Leave Act. We just passed a bill to stop what I call drive-by deliveries, requiring—letting insurance companies force mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital within a day. That's over now. We ended that. We finally gave some recognition to the needs of mental health in health insurance policies. And finally, after a long, long time, we made the children of Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange, who contracted spina bifida as a result, finally we made those families eligible for health care and disability payments that we should have done long ago. We're moving in the right direction.

Now we ought to expand family leave to say you can take a little time off from work without losing your job to take your parents or your children to regular doctor's appointments or to go to that conference with a teacher at your child's school. We ought to give our families the opportunity if they earn overtime at work to decide whether to spend that overtime—to get that overtime in more money or more time if their children or their sick parents need it. We ought to do that as well.

We made 25 million Americans more likely to keep their health insurance with the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill by saying no one can take your insurance away from you now just because you change jobs or because someone in your family has been sick. Now we need to finish the job and cover people when they're between jobs. That is also in my balanced budget plan. Will you help me build that bridge for families to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We passed the toughest crime bill in history and are bringing the crime rate down 4 years in a row. We need now to take on the tough problem of juvenile gangs, and we need to finish the job until we get all those 100,000 police out there like the ones I saw here in Manchester helping you to recover your neighborhoods. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We worked with States all over this country to move nearly 2 million people from welfare to work. And then I signed a historic welfare reform bill that says we will continue to provide to poor families health care and nutrition, and when the parent goes to work there will be more for child care than ever before. But now every State and community in the country has to take what used to be the welfare check, and if the adult, the parent, is able-bodied, that welfare check has to become a paycheck within 2 years. Will you help me create the jobs to put people to work and end the cycle of dependency in America and build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We've worked hard to improve our environment, to take chemicals out of the air, to make our drinking water safe, to improve the standards of health for our food. We've cleaned up

more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. We fought their attempts and we beat back their attempts to cut environmental protection, toxic waste cleanups by a third, to take over some of the national parks and let them be privatized. We've protected our national parks, but we have to continue to enhance America's environment and to clean up the worst toxic waste dumps in this country so our children are growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And above all, will you help me make education our number one priority so that all of our people can create, compete, and win? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, the young people in this audience, within just a few years—let's hear it for them—[*applause*]—the young people in this audience, many of you will be doing jobs that have not even been created yet. Many of you, in fact, will be doing work that has not been imagined yet.

We are pushing back the frontiers of knowledge, creating new activities, and coming together across national boundaries all across the world as never before. In just 4 years, medical research has more than doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV infections—in just 4 years.

We are—within a few years, every time a young mother comes home from the hospital, the mother and father will be able to get a genetic map which tells you what your child's health care profile will be like for a lifetime. People will know how to raise their children, what kind of exercise they most need, what kind of diet they most need, what kind of medical care they most need. We will extend life and make it more abundant because of what we are doing in research. But we have to have people educated to do it.

We are doing a joint project now—research with IBM to build in a matter of a couple of years a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

We have got to invest in education and make America the education capital of the entire world. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Will you help me mobilize an army of volunteer literacy tutors, AmeriCorps volunteers, and others so that we can make sure that by the year 2000 every single 8-year-old in America can read independently? [*Applause*]

Will you help me prove that we were right and those who opposed us were wrong, that the Goals 2000 program allows local schools to set their own grassroots reforms to achieve excellence? It's not a national standard of uniformity on the schools of New Hampshire; it's an empowerment tool to challenge every State to set national standards and international standards of excellence and cut the schools loose to achieve them. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Will you help us hook up every classroom in America to the information superhighway so that all of our students, no matter whether they are poor, rich, or middle class, can have access to the same learning at the same level of quality in the same time for the very first time in the entire history of the United States of America? Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, will you help me open the doors of college education to every single person in America of any age who needs to go? [*Applause*] Will you help me pass a tax credit so that people can deduct dollar for dollar the cost of tuition at the typical community college or vocational training school so that everybody can get 2 years of education after high school? [*Applause*] Will you help me pass that deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition so that every family can afford to go? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, it feels a lot different in New Hampshire than it did 4 years ago. But the faces are the same; the spirit is the same. You embody the character and hope and promise of America. I can never thank you all for what you have done for me and for Hillary, for our family, our campaign, and our administration. If it weren't for you, I wouldn't be here tonight, and you know it.

New Hampshire, you gave me the chance to serve you for 4 years. You know now that what you took on faith has been justified by the record. The American people saw last night the stark choices before us. Our best days are still ahead. Will you help me build a bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:18 p.m. at Gill Stadium. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Raymond J. Wieczorek of Manchester; Deborah (Arnie) Arnesen and Joseph F. Keefe, candidates

for New Hampshire's Second and First Congressional Districts, respectively; Dick Swett, New Hampshire senatorial candidate; and Jeanne Shaheen, New Hampshire gubernatorial candidate.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Naval Petroleum Reserves Production
October 7, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In accordance with section 201(3) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (10 U.S.C. 7422(c)(2)), I am informing you of my decision to extend the period of production of the naval petroleum reserves for a period of 3 years from April 5, 1997, the expiration date of the currently authorized period of production.

Attached is a copy of the report investigating the necessity of continued production of the reserves as required by section 201(3)(c)(2)(B) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976. In light of the findings contained in that report, I certify that continued production from the naval petroleum reserves is in the national interest.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Remarks in Portland, Maine
October 7, 1996

The President. Thank you. Hello, Maine! Hello, Portland! Thank you. I have had a wonderful day today. I started off, as you know, in Hartford where we had the debate last night. I hope you got a chance to watch it. And then I went to Stamford, Connecticut, where 2,500 business executives, some of whom had never supported a Democrat before, announced their support for the Clinton/Gore ticket and the direction we're going.

And then I went to Manchester, New Hampshire, where 5 years ago to the day—to this day 5 years ago—I came to New England and began my campaign for President. And now here I am with you in a State which can claim a lot of responsibility, if you think I did all right last night, because George Mitchell played Senator Dole in all my practice sessions and beat my brains in. And I thank him for that. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'm glad to be back; I'm glad to be back in Maine. I thank Mayor McDonough for coming out to meet me, and thank you, my longtime friend Libby Mitchell, for your exuberant beginning of this rally tonight. Thank you, Victoria Murphy, for your work for the Democratic Party. And I'd like to thank the other elected and some former elected officials who are here, including former Governor Ken Curtis, a longtime friend; your State treasurer, Sam Shapiro—thank you, Sam; Andrew Ketterer, the State attorney general; Bill Diamond, the secretary of state; Dan Gwadosky, the speaker of the house; and Mark Lawrence, the Democratic senate leader. Thank you all for coming.

I'd like to thank the Windham Chamber Singers for singing tonight, the Westbrook High School Marching Band, the South Portland High School Marching Band. I'd like to thank Mark Persky for being the emcee before we started. And I'd like to say a special word of thanks in a serious way to Commander Burton Russell and to everyone who has been involved in the cleanup of the spill. Thank you all for your hard work. We're going to get beyond this. We're going to do fine.

I'd also like to thank Governor Brennan for giving me some good Maine lobsters. They'll

be on Air Force One going back to Washington tonight when I leave.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a good week for my family. Hillary was here about a week ago. And she told me she had such a good time I thought I'd come back and see for myself. And I must say I never dreamed that this whole place would be full. I'm gratified by your presence. And I know you're here because you care about your country and you want to help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

I hope you will remember, those of you who live in John Baldacci's district, that when the chips were down and when our friends in the other party passed that budget which—here we are on the eve of the 21st century—cut education by $30 billion, cut the student loan program, cut Head Start——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——cut environmental protection by one-third, cut funds for cleaning up toxic dumps by a third, ended the guarantee of Medicaid for medical care for seniors in nursing homes and poor children and families with disabilities, and of course, in spite of what they say, did cut Medicare $270 billion, and then they shut the Government down to try to make me sign the bill—I vetoed it, but John Baldacci upheld the veto. He made it possible for this country to start going in the right direction.

I have known Joe Brennan a long time. We served as Governors together. We have been friends for many years. He has always believed that education was the key to our future. He has always believed we could grow the economy and preserve our environment. He has the values, the vision, and the direction that will serve Maine well in the United States Senate, and I hope you will send him to the Senate on November 5th.

And finally, let me say on a purely personal note, I first met Tom Allen in 1968. We were much younger then. [*Laughter*] He doesn't have any gray hair, and I'm fairly bitter about that. But if you send him to Congress, it will take care of it and equalize things.

From the first day I met Tom Allen, he talked about Maine. He had Maine in his bones, Maine in his blood, Maine in his dreams. He spent his life here serving you. I hope you'll let him serve you in Washington, because he will represent your interests and never forget his roots and advance your cause.

I want to say one other word about Senator Mitchell. In addition to doing a masterful job of playing Senator Dole in our debate preparations, I'm sure all of you know that I've asked George Mitchell to make himself available and the parties in the Northern Ireland peace process have asked him to try to broker a peace there. It is a difficult situation. The conflict goes back hundreds of years. We had another painful setback today, but if anybody can bring people together and get them to reason and listen to their hearts and think with their minds and go forward and let go of the past, it is George Mitchell. And I thank him for that.

I'd also like to say I'm grateful for all the people in Maine who are doing better and who have new jobs. But I want to thank all the folks here on the platform and George Mitchell for talking to me about the interests and the welfare and the future of the workers at the Hathaway Shirt Company. I thank him for doing that, and I'm for you, fellows. We'll do what we can to help. Thank you for being here.

Ladies and gentlemen, last night we heard two very different visions of our future. I thank Senator Dole for being a part of this debate, and I felt after it was over that both of us were able to demonstrate that we can disagree strongly and firmly without letting our political dialog disintegrate into a rude shouting match. We can be civil and decent to one another and build this country together, and that is a good thing. That is a good thing.

Four years ago, I ran for President at a time of high unemployment and rising frustration. I was determined to change this country, to turn our country around to make sure that when we enter the 21st century, we would be driven by a vision of the American dream alive and well for everybody willing to work for it; of an American community that is coming together instead of being torn apart as so many people in the world are today by their racial, their religious, their tribal differences. In this country, it doesn't matter; if you believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and you're willing to show up tomorrow and be a good citizen, everybody can have a place in America. And that's the way I want it to stay.

And I wanted to keep our country the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world. So I came to Maine, and I said, "Vote for me, and we'll change the way politics works. We'll have a simple strategy: opportunity for all, re-

sponsibility from all, and an American community in which everybody has a role to play." I promised you that we would have a Government that was smaller and less bureaucratic, that responded to the needs of people and gave people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

Well, 4 years ago you took me on faith. But now there's a record. You heard a little about it already tonight. No matter what others may say in the debate, there is a record: 10½ million more jobs, record numbers of new businesses and exports of American products, 4½ million new homeowners, incomes on the rise for the first time in a decade, the typical American family with an increased income of $1,600 after inflation since our economic plan passed 3 years ago. Last week we learned that in 1995 we had the biggest drop in poverty and the biggest drop in income inequality among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years, and the lowest rate of poverty among American seniors since we began to keep statistics. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

And here at home we are beginning to come together around our basic values. For 4 years in a row, the crime rate has dropped; the welfare rolls are down by almost 2 million; child support collections are up by almost 50 percent; and for the first time in 20 years—in 20 long years—the rate of the number of out-of-wedlock births is going down. This country is on the right track. We are moving back to our roots and forward into our future in the best way: together.

The question before the American people now is, what path will we take to the 21st century? Will we stay on the path we're on, or will we take a U-turn to the policies of a failed past? Do we believe we have to build a bridge to the past, or are we going to build a bridge to the future? Do we believe that we're better off when we just give each other a good letting-alone, or do we believe, as I do, that the First Lady is right: It does take a village to raise our children and build our country and move us forward.

My fellow Americans, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. But the real question is, what are we going to do for the next 4 years to build that bridge to the 21st century. We have to keep going. We cut the deficit by 60 percent. It's the first time the deficit's gone down in each of the 4 years of a President's term since before World War II; in fact, before the Civil War. But we have to finish the job. We ought to balance the budget and do it in a way that protects education, the environment, Medicare, Medicaid, and research. We can do that. And we can give targeted tax cuts to families for education and childrearing and buying that first home, and still balance the budget. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

To help our families succeed at home and at work, we passed the family and medical leave law, which 12 million people have already taken advantage of. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million hard-working workers. We passed the Kassebaum-Kennedy health reform bill, which says to 25 million Americans you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you changed jobs or because someone in your family has been sick.

Just recently, I signed a bill I was particularly proud of, which says that mothers and their newborn babies can no longer be forced by insurance companies out of the hospital after a day. It says that health insurance policies have to bear fair consideration for people in families that have mental health challenges. And it says, finally, something that's very important to me, and I know very important to my fellow Arkansan, Libby's husband, Jim Mitchell; it says, finally, after all these years, to the Vietnam veterans whose children were born with spina bifida because they were fighting for our country and were exposed to Agent Orange, finally we're going to give you the medical help with the disability support your children deserve. It is high time. We are moving in the right direction.

So we've made a good beginning, but we have to do more. We ought to expand the family and medical leave law to say you don't lose your job if you take a little time off from work to take your children or your parents to regular doctor's appointments and to go to the school to meet with your child's teacher. It will make America a stronger place.

We ought to amend the law for people who have to work overtime to give them, not the employers but the people, the chance to decide whether to take their overtime pay in money or in extra time with their children, their parents, their spouses, if there is an illness at the home and they need it.

We ought to take the next step in health care reform and recognize that people should not lose their health insurance when they're between jobs. My balanced budget plan contains the funds to help people between jobs keep health insurance for their families up to 6 more months. It could help 5 million people a year, and we ought to do it.

We've got the crime bill coming down for 4 years in a row. If we can do it for 4 more years, the American people might actually feel safe again on their streets, in their schools, in their homes, in their neighborhoods. We can turn the crime problem around in every place in the country. The next big step is to keep on until we put all 100,000 police on the street so we can get that crime rate down, tackle the problem of gangs, and make America as safe as it ought to be again.

We have reduced the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million. I signed an historic welfare reform bill. And I want to tell you just a minute about that. It was a little controversial, I know. But I want to tell you why I signed it and why I think it's the right thing to do.

The bill says the National Government will continue to guarantee to poor families medical care and nutrition and if the parent goes to work will provide more money for child care than ever before. But it says the portion of the monthly welfare check itself that used to come from the Federal Government will now be sent to the States, and States and local communities like Portland will have 2 years to figure out how to turn that welfare check into a paycheck to liberate people and give them a chance to succeed at home and at work, the same thing we want for others.

But as I have said over and over again to those who crow about the bill, the bill is the beginning, not the end. If you're going to require people to go to work, they have to have a job and the training and the ability to go to work. I have a plan to put a million more jobs out there for welfare recipients in a partnership with the private sector. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, let me say to all of you, as important as all of this is, we have to remember the fundamental fact of this time. The fundamental fact is whether you live in the smallest town in Maine or Arkansas, whether you live in the biggest cities of America, we will live in a time where all of us will be dominated by the explosion of information and technology, by the breaking down of national barriers in economics, by the traveling of information, ideas, money, and technology across national borders in the speed of light.

I just approved a few months ago a joint research project with IBM. We are developing for the next couple of years a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can go home and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. That is just one example of what is happening in the world.

At the National Institutes of Health we are investing in the human genome project which, within a matter of a few years, will enable parents and their newborn babies to take home with them a genetic map of the child's body so that we will know how best to raise each of our children individually, what kind of nutritional needs they have, what kind of exercise needs they have, what kind of medical care they will need. We will be able to expand the quality and the length of life as never before, because of education and research.

That means more and more and more, people will need to understand and know and learn for a lifetime, and that means that there is no more important issue before the American people to build that bridge to the 21st century than making education our highest priority.

So I want to ask you this—I have so many things—I could talk to you about that until dawn tomorrow, but there are three things I want to talk to you about.

Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in this country cannot read a book on their own. I have a proposal to mobilize an army of AmeriCorps volunteers, reading specialists, and others to work with parents and teachers to make sure that by the year 2000 every third grader in this country can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Two: Technology gives us a chance to do something we have never been able to do before in the history of America. It gives us a chance to democratize and revolutionize education. If we can see that every classroom in America not only has computers and software and trained instructors who understand it all and at least can keep up with their computer-literate students but also that every classroom is hooked up to the information superhighway, to the

Internet, to the World Wide Web, to all of these networks, do you know what that means? Even if you don't understand anything about computers, here's what it means. It's simple. It means that for the first time in history, the children in the most remote districts in America, the children in the poorest school districts in America will have access to the same learning in the same time at the same level of quality as the children in the wealthiest public and private schools in the United States do. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, as Governor Brennan said, we have to make college available to all. I want to make, in 4 years—in just 4 years, we can make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today by simply saying, you get a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on your tax bill for the typical cost of a community college tuition in America. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

The second thing I propose to do is to make it easier for even more families to save money in an IRA but then to withdraw from that retirement account without a penalty if the money is used to buy a first home, to deal with a medical emergency, or to pay for a college education. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, it seems to me that this country would be much stronger if everybody got to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, any cost of education after high school, and it's paid for in our balanced budget plan. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, last night was a good night for the American people because we got to hear a discussion of the fundamental choices before us: Are we on our own, or do we believe it takes a village? Are we going to build a bridge to the past or build a bridge to the future? And if we build a bridge to the future, is it going to be wide enough and strong enough for every American to walk across?

If the answer is yes, then the best days of this country are still ahead. That is my commitment to you. I hope you'll help me build that bridge for 29 more days.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. at Hadlock Field. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor John F. McDonough of Portland; State Representative Elizabeth Mitchell; Victoria Murphy, chair, Maine Democratic Party; Tom Allen, candidate for Maine's First Congressional District; Comdr. Burton S. Russell, USCG, Commanding Officer, Portland Marine Safety Office; and Joseph Brennan, former Maine Governor.

Statement on Signing the Maritime Security Act of 1996

October 8, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 1350, the "Maritime Security Act of 1996." This Act sets the course for America's merchant marine into the 21st century.

The American flag must always sail in the sea lanes of the world. In recent years, our country has again been reminded of the critical role played by the U.S. merchant marine in protecting our interests and the security of our allies. The enactment of this legislation is the culmination of a long, bipartisan effort. It will ensure that the United States will continue to have American flag ships crewed by loyal American citizen merchant mariners to meet our Nation's economic and sealift defense requirements.

The American merchant marine is an important component of the sealift needed by the Department of Defense. By contracting with the owners and operators of U.S.-flag commercial vessels, the Government will gain access to a fleet of modern commercial ships, along with the sophisticated intermodal transportation system supporting it. The Government also assures that the seafaring men and women who crew these commercial ships in peacetime will be available to crew the Government's reserve sealift ships in times of crisis.

This Act extends to seafarers the same basic reemployment rights that apply to reserve members of our Armed Forces in time of war or national emergency. American merchant mariners have always responded to the call in times of crisis, and they deserve the assurance that their peacetime jobs will be there when they return.

The Maritime Security Act will protect American jobs and maintain a U.S. presence in international maritime trade, ensuring that vital imports and exports are delivered in both peacetime and wartime. The Act reaffirms our Nation's resolve to maintain a strong U.S.-flag presence on the high seas for our continued national security and economic growth.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 8, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 1350, approved October 8, was assigned Public Law No. 104–239.

Message on the Observance of Polish American Heritage Month
October 8, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone observing Polish American Heritage Month.

Many Americans proudly trace their roots to Poland, a land whose rich and colorful past is rivaled only by the bright promise of its future. This month, as we celebrate the many contributions that Americans of Polish heritage have made to our nation's history and culture, we also reaffirm the strong and friendly ties between the United States and Poland.

Before America became a nation, Poles came to these shores in search of liberty and opportunity, and their descendants have remained at the forefront of efforts to keep America free, strong, and prosperous. This year we celebrate the 250th anniversary of the birth of the great Polish hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who helped secure the independence of our fledgling republic during the Revolutionary War. Since that time, millions of other men and women of Polish descent have invested their hopes in America's bold experiment in self-government and, inspired by faith in God and a devotion to democratic ideals, have worked hard to ensure its success.

The deep cultural and familial ties between the peoples of the United States and Poland have been strengthened by our shared values and aspirations. For generations, Poles have demonstrated the same reverence for individual rights and dignity that infuses our own system of government. The United States supports Poland's democratic transition and her people's efforts to establish a pluralistic society and a free market economy. Poland and the United States are building a new security for the twenty-first century, working together to prepare for NATO's enlargement in an undivided Europe.

As we observe Polish American Heritage Month, I join all Americans in thanking our fellow citizens of Polish descent for their countless contributions to the strength and quality of our national life. Best wishes to all for a memorable celebration.

BILL CLINTON

Remarks on Signing the Federal Aviation Reauthorization Act of 1996
October 9, 1996

Thank you, Doug Smith, for your very moving remarks, for your recognition of the contributions of others, and for your own constant, brave efforts to help this day come to pass. And I thank all the family members who are here for your efforts to go beyond your own personal suffering to make something positive happen for our country in the future. Thank you, Madam

Attorney General, for your strong support and your leadership in this regard; to OMB Director Raines; Congressman Duncan, thank you, sir, for your leadership, for the fine work you did; to the FAA Administrator, David Hinson, who is here.

I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Admiral Edward Kristensen and Coast Guard Commander Ken Burgess, who supervised the recovery efforts for TWA 800. And I hope they will thank the Navy divers and the men and women of the Coast Guard who have worked so long and hard off Long Island. To Deputy Secretary Mort Downey of Transportation; Vice Chairman of the NTSB, Bob Francis. To all of you, thank you for being here.

Today I am pleased to sign the Federal Aviation Administration's authorization bill that will address the concerns Doug Smith expressed so movingly. It will improve the security of air travel. It will carry forward our fight against terrorism.

Last summer I met with the families of the victims of TWA Flight 800, the cause of which we are still investigating. They told me, as Mr. Smith and others have said, that there should be a single place in the Federal Government, a specific office that has the responsibility and the capability to assist them in the wake of a tragedy. This bill gives the National Transportation Safety Board that task. The NTSB will be the sole authoritative agency so that families will know exactly where to go and who will speak for the Government when they have lost a loved one. The measure builds upon Secretary Pena's efforts to improve passenger manifests on international flights, a priority for families of victims.

I thank the families for the tremendous work they have done to make these changes happen. And I thank Secretary Pena, who could not be here today because of another assignment he has undertaken for our administration.

The bill I sign today will increase the safety of our Nation and our families by giving us more of the tools we need to fight terrorism. We have pursued a concerted strategy against terrorism on three fronts: First, working more closely than ever with our allies to build a coalition with zero tolerance for terrorism; second, by giving our own law enforcement officials the most powerful counterterrorism tools available; and third, by increasing security in our airports and on our airplanes. This bill is an outstanding example of how we can advance that strategy when we work together, Government and private citizens, the executive branch and Congress, Republicans and Democrats.

After the TWA 800 disaster, I asked Vice President Gore and a commission of experts to examine all our aviation security practices and recommend improvements that would protect against terrorists or criminal attacks. On September 9th, 45 days after they began their work, the Vice President and his commission delivered their action plan. Today, exactly one month later, almost all of its recommendations will become the law of the land. I want to say a special word of thanks to the Vice President, who very much wanted to be here today and could not for obvious reasons, for the extraordinary work he has done on this and so many other issues.

Because of this legislation and the budget bill I signed last week, we will install hundreds of state-of-the-art bomb detection scanners in our major airports to examine both checked and carry-on luggage. It will pay for a dramatic increase in FBI agents assigned to the Bureau's counterterrorism efforts. Now background and FBI fingerprint checks will become routine for airport and airline employees with access to security areas. And the Federal Aviation Administration will continue the bag match program for domestic flights at selected airports that were begun by my Executive order last month. We will increase inspection of mail and other international air cargo and expand the use of bomb-sniffing dogs. Because of these improvements, Americans will not only feel safer, they will be safer. America has the will and we are finding the ways to increase security against the terrorist threat on all fronts. We cannot make the world risk free, but we can reduce the risks we face.

Beyond our efforts to improve aviation security, our new counterterrorism measures will also strengthen America's intelligence capabilities worldwide so that we can stop terrorists before they strike. We're improving security at both military and diplomatic facilities so that those who serve our Nation abroad are better protected. We are strengthening security at public sites here at home. And we are continually stepping up our law enforcement efforts with more agents and more prosecutors, after sending the message to terrorists that they will pay the full price for their deeds.

With these steps we are helping to make Americans safer. This legislation is proof that

if we work together and put the interests of real people first, we can meet the challenges of this era.

I'd like to say on a personal note that I am especially grateful for the time and effort and stories that the family members of air tragedies have shared with me. And when I went to New York with Hillary to meet with the family members of the victims of TWA 800, a grandmother spoke to me movingly about how she had lost both her child—her daughter—and her grandson in that crash. And she gave me a picture of her 10-year-old grandson because of his particular attachment to the President and his desire to grow up to be in public life some day. I have carried that picture with me every single day until this day and the signing of this bill. And I hope that this legislation will mean more children will have the chance to live out their dreams.

I'd like to ask Congressman Duncan, the Attorney General, and the family members to come up now as we sign the legislation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Doug Smith, president, National Air Disaster Alliance. The President also referred to his receipt of the initial report of the White House Commission on Aviation Safety and Security on September 9. H.R. 3539, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–264.

Statement on Signing the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Amendments Act of 1996

October 9, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 2594, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Amendments Act of 1996, proving once again that when management and labor work together they make their businesses, their communities, and our working families stronger.

This bill, which was supported by both labor and management, brings unemployment benefits for railroad workers in line with benefits for other workers. It also reduces the waiting periods for receiving unemployment and sickness benefits and increases the maximum daily rate for these same benefits.

In short, this bill is good for the American economy and the American worker. I applaud rail labor and management and those at the Railroad Retirement Board, the Department of Labor, the Department of Transportation, the National Mediation Board, and all others who had a hand in helping to create the climate that has led to good relations and progress in the industry.

NOTE: H.R. 2594, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–251.

Statement on Signing Veterans Legislation

October 9, 1996

I have signed into law today three veterans-related bills that will ensure that veterans benefits keep pace with inflation, improve the veterans health care system, and expand other veterans programs and benefits.

The first bill—H.R. 3458, the Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1996—authorizes a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) on December 1, 1996, for recipients of veterans' disability compensation, Dependency and Indemnity Compensation (DIC), and clothing allowances. The COLA, identical to the one that Social Security recipients will receive on January 1, 1997, will go to about 2.3 million veterans with disabilities who receive disability compensation benefits, over 300,000 individuals who receive DIC as the surviving spouses and children of service members who died in service

and veterans whose deaths were service-connected, and veterans who receive clothing allowances because they wear or use prosthetic or orthopedic appliances.

The second bill—H.R. 3118, the Veterans' Health Care Eligibility Reform Act of 1996—includes many elements of the proposal that the National Performance Review, led by Vice President Gore, recommended to establish a modern, integrated health care system that will improve access to, and care for, the Nation's veterans. The bill, for instance, authorizes the Department of Veterans Affairs to furnish comprehensive medical services to all veterans, expanding the array of services that it now provides. Eligibility reform has been a high priority of veterans for many years, and I am pleased that we finally could enact it.

Finally, the third bill—S. 1711, the Veterans' Benefits Improvements Act of 1996—expands and extends numerous veterans education, housing, life insurance, and employment and training benefits.

NOTE: H.R. 3458, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–263; H.R. 3118, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–262; S. 1711, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–275.

Statement on Signing the Helium Privatization Act of 1996

October 9, 1996

I have signed into law today H.R. 4168, the Helium Privatization Act of 1996, which privatizes the Department of Interior's Federal Helium Refining Program—as the Vice President's National Performance Review had recommended.

Once, our defense and aviation industries had a strong need for helium and the Nation lacked a market to supply it. A Government program was appropriate. But today, over 90 percent of U.S. helium needs are met by private producers and suppliers. A Government-operated program is no longer needed. The private sector can meet, and now will be able to compete to supply, the needs of all users.

The bill brings us closer to our goal of creating a Government that works better and costs less.

NOTE: H.R. 4168, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–273.

Statement on Signing the Federal Aviation Reauthorization Act of 1996

October 9, 1996

I am pleased to sign into law today H.R. 3539, which will improve the security of air travel and carry forward our fight against terrorism.

After the TWA 800 disaster last summer, I asked Vice President Gore and a commission of experts to recommend improvements in our aviation security practices to protect against terrorist or criminal attacks. The Vice President's Commission on Aviation Safety and Security delivered its recommendations to me on September 9—45 days after it began its deliberations—and this bill complements and builds upon those recommendations.

The bill, for instance, gives the Federal Aviation Administration new authority to require criminal history checks for airline security screeners. Airline passengers will benefit from safety provisions such as the new requirement for airlines to share information on pilot performance to help make better hiring decisions.

The bill also codifies and builds upon my recent decision to give the National Transportation Safety Board responsibility to serve as the primary contact and liaison for families who have lost loved ones in an air disaster. Now, the families will know exactly where to go and

whom to speak to in the Federal Government if such a tragedy occurs.

In addition, the bill provides for continuing critically needed funding for airport development work in order to advance the safety, security, and capacity of our Nation's airports. Similarly, it authorizes appropriations for the FAA's operations; research, engineering, and development; and facilities and equipment programs through the end of fiscal 1998. This authorization comes upon the 50th anniversary of the Federal airport grant program.

Moreover, this bill also marks another historic occasion for aviation in America. Almost 4 years ago, my Administration set out to achieve the kinds of new authority, flexibility, and empowerment that the FAA needed to meet the increasing challenges posed by a dynamic air transportation industry. This year, working with the Congress, we achieved FAA personnel and acquisitions reform, helping to pave the way for faster, cheaper, and better air traffic control system modernization.

Nevertheless, we still needed to press for FAA financial reform. Congressional aviation leaders on both sides of the aisle have joined with us to help ensure that as we shrink the Federal Government and constrain the budget, the FAA can obtain the resources so necessary for its vital safety, security, airport development, and air traffic control work. The National Civil Aviation Review Commission, established under H.R. 3539, will create the foundation for a careful analysis of what funding mechanisms will best address the needs of our air transportation system. This is a tremendous step towards a predictable, stable source of future funding for the FAA.

The bill's reform provisions also will help foster an improved FAA-aviation industry partnership through the establishment of a Management Advisory Council to advise the Administrator. They also complement the personnel and acquisitions reform that we achieved earlier by giving the FAA new tools to streamline day-to-day operations and by establishing new goals for speedier agency rulemaking actions.

I am very disappointed that the Congress included a controversial amendment of the Railway Labor Act in this legislation without the benefit of public debate or hearings. I have, however, signed H.R. 3539 into law because the sponsors of the amendment and the Committee of Conference have assured me that section 1223 merely restores the exact legal standards for coverage under the Railway Labor Act as they existed prior to the effective date of the ICC Termination Act of 1995. Neither the amendments to the Railway Labor Act, nor the fact that it has been amended, should be interpreted as affecting coverage under the Railway Labor Act.

The bill that I have signed into law contains many important aviation provisions. This achievement would not have been possible without a strong spirit of bipartisanship as well as a tremendous amount of work on the part of many. The new tools provided the FAA, along with the safety and security enhancements of this legislation, will benefit air travelers for years to come.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 9, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3539, approved October 9, was assigned Public Law No. 104–264. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 10.

Remarks in Knoxville, Tennessee
October 10, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you so much for that wonderful reception. It's nice for me to be in Knoxville, sort of riding along on Al Gore's coattails. I enjoy being here. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank everyone who has been a part of the program today. Dr. Parker, thank you. And Mildred Buffler, thank you. And I want to thank our great Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, my former colleague when we were Governors together. And I think unquestionably

history will record him as the most effective Secretary of Education our country has had to this point.

I thank the students who are behind us. I thank Dr. Clinard for her fine remarks and her fine work. Dr. Al Trivelpiece from the Oak Ridge labs is here. I thank you for being here, sir. I want to say a special word of thanks to Sumner Redstone and to Lynn Forester. Thank you, Lynn, and to all the other business leaders who have agreed to help us on this truly monumental but terribly important project.

I'm very, very glad to be here. The Vice President—last night I called to congratulate him on his debate, and I said that Mr. Kemp found out something that I found out a long time ago: It's just as well not to be on the other side of an argument with Al Gore. Although I did think it was rather ungracious of him to mention our annual bet on the Arkansas-Tennessee football game here in the backyard of the University of Tennessee. [*Laughter*]

Actually, we have a lot to be grateful to the University of Tennessee for. One of the most important members of our administration, Nancy-Ann Min, I believe was the first female president of the student body here. The band came out to the airport to play for us, which was a wonderful thing; it woke us both up this morning, got us off to a good start. [*Laughter*]

Anyway, we always come back around to this football game, you know. And the last few years have been pretty good for Tennessee and not so good for Arkansas, and so I figured that Al's hubris would get the better of him, and since we were in Knoxville I could get more points on the game today. [*Laughter*] And I'm lobbying. So you're proud of your football team, aren't you? [*Applause*] So what am I entitled to? Twenty-eight points on the spread? I mean, what do you think? [*Laughter*]

We got to talking about Tennessee football players, and I pointed out that one of the greatest football players Tennessee ever produced still has ties here in Knoxville, is still playing very well, Reggie White of the Green Bay Packers. He's a good man. I visited Reggie and the Packers not very long ago, and they are truly impressive. But as good as Reggie is, last night it was Al Gore who sacked the quarterback. [*Laughter*]

Let me say to all of you that the Vice President and I have worked very closely together; we've been a good team. We've worked hard for 4 years to basically change not only the way the National Government works but the way our country is thinking about the future. We want everyone in America to have a vision of what America should be like in the 21st century.

And I ask all of you to think about it when you leave here and you go about your business today, just think about it: If you had to set down in a paragraph, sort of say what you think your country ought to be like as we start a new century and a new millennium, in a time where we have radical, breathtaking changes in the nature of work and communications and how we relate to each other and the rest of the world, what would that vision be for you if you were writing it down? I encourage you to do it tonight when you get home. It would be a good exercise. Talk to your spouses, your kids, your parents about it. And think about what do you want for your country when we start this new century.

For me, it's this: I want us to take advantage of these changes so that the American dream will be alive and well for everyone who is willing to work for it. I want us to be a country that is coming together, respecting our diversity, and clinging to our shared values instead of being torn apart by our differences, as so many countries all around the world are. Now, who would have thought 15 or 20 years ago at the height of the cold war we could ever see the threat of communism fade from the world, that we would see the ugly rise of old racial and ethnic and religious hatreds consuming people all around the globe? We can beat that rap here, and we're determined to do it, and I think we will do it.

The third thing I want is for the United States to continue to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and progress and prosperity in the entire world. I think that is important for other people in the world who have their aspirations and who need to have the chance to grow up strong and free, the chance to develop the minds that God gave them and the spirits of their children.

To do that, we have followed a simple strategy. We have tried to create as much opportunity as possible. We have tried to demand responsibility from all of our citizens and do things that would encourage more of that. And we've tried to build this American community and stand against those forces that would under-

mine it. We tried to change the fundamental way the Government works, and Al Gore has been our leader in that regard. We have downsized the Government now by 240,000 people or so. It's the smallest it's been since President Kennedy was in office. But we have also tried to change the way it works, to make it less bureaucratic and more oriented toward working in partnerships with citizens to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

That is the context in which I ask you to see what I believe we should be doing with science and technology and basic research. It has to do with what I want America to look like when we start this new century, what I want it to look like when people like me, when our children are our age, and indeed when our grandchildren are our age.

If you have that vision, there is no better way to make it real than by continuing to preserve America's leadership in research and technology and science. Of course, as Al said, there could be a great digital divide. If we don't broadly share the knowledge and the technology that is developing, it could work to promote inequality, frictions, anxieties among people. But if we do it right, it can be a great force to help us meet our challenges and protect our values together.

Continuing to push back on the frontiers of knowledge has always been one of the measures of America's greatness. For the last half century, this State of Tennessee has been a living map of how those kinds of investments can produce growth and opportunity. Sixty years ago, the TVA lifted an entire region out of poverty. Today, it is still shining its light, illuminating homes and communities. During the cold war, the Oak Ridge Laboratory harnessed the power of the atom in the service of our Nation's defense. Today, its nuclear science is yielding the isotopes that help doctors trace heart disease. Our interstate highway system, built with the leadership of Senator Al Gore, Sr., literally remade the landscape of America and connected us all more closely. And today it is still bringing Americans together.

Technology is clearly transforming our world, and it is creating a range of possibilities for the young people behind me and the young people in this audience that are literally unimaginable. Many of you people who are students at the University of Tennessee who are here and the younger students from high schools and the middle schools, the elementary schools, you will be doing work that has not been invented yet. Some of you will be doing things that have not even been imagined yet. And it is up to us to see that every one of you has the best possible chance to develop your talents and to live out your dreams.

This is what has been happening: change at a rapid rate. Again, even if you look back on it, it's almost unimaginable. Consider this: There is today more computer power in a Ford Taurus you drive to the supermarket than there was in *Apollo 11* when Neil Armstrong took it all the way to the Moon. Isn't that amazing? Cell phones, faxes, laptop computers, pagers: they were the stuff of science fiction a few years ago. They're now everywhere, and if you don't have one, don't know how to work one, you're sort of out of step. These days you can take notes on a computer pad which converts it into a typed text and sends it to the Internet and transmits it to a computer all across the world.

The young people today will live out their lives, in short, in a century that will change like this constantly. And that's why I say they will do work that not only has not been invented yet but some of it has not been imagined yet.

Our cutting edge industries like microchips, biotechnology, and aerospace once again lead the world. I'm proud of that, and that's good news for Americans. When it comes to these new technologies, our Nation is on the right track, and that's one of the reasons we're the world's leading exporting country again, one of the reasons we have as many jobs as we do, one of the reasons that more than half of our new jobs are in higher wage categories, because we are on the cutting edge of positive change.

So let me say again, we must stay on the cutting edge of positive change. I am determined that we will continue to invest in science and technology. More research in America—most research is conducted by businesses and universities, but we all know that Government has an important role to play.

Of the 12 Americans who won the Nobel Prize last year, all 12 had received Government support for their research. This year, the Nobel Prize winners have just been announced in physics and chemistry. Of the three who won this year in physics and two who won in chemistry, all five received Federal funding from the National Science Foundation. Cutting back on re-

search at the dawn of a new century where research is more important than it has been even for the last 50 years would be like cutting our defense budget at the height of the cold war. We must not do it, and we will not do it. We must protect the future of the young people here in the audience.

One of the marvelous things we have learned about research is that it's not necessarily going to benefit just a particular category in which it was undertaken, that ideas don't stay in boxes anymore, that they all become more interrelated, the more you know and the more you learn. For example, the Department of Defense has a dual applications program that makes military research available for commercial use. The Commerce Department has an advanced technology program that works with hundreds of high-tech firms to create jobs and new technologies, and let me just give you one example of this.

The research we've done in defense and intelligence and in our space program on imaging, which is very, very important, knowing exactly where you are and what you're seeing, is playing enormous benefits in the medical research area, and it may help us to identify incipient cancers before they develop to a problem stage in a way that may drastically improve the cure rate for cancer and almost get the identification down to the point where cure and prevention become merely indistinguishable in the moment. This is the sort of thing we have to be thinking about all of the time.

I tell this story all the time, but I think it's important. We just formed a partnership with IBM to produce a supercomputer over the next couple of years that will do more calculations in one second than you can do at home on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Now, that should give you some indication of how quickly things are changing and how we will be rewarded if we stay on the cutting edge and how we can be punished if we don't.

I just talked a little bit about health care, but technology is really making enormous strides there, and research is. During the time the Vice President and I have been in office, we've increased research on breast cancer at the National Institutes of Health by almost 80 percent. And just last year, an NIH scientist discovered two of the genes that cause breast cancer, giving hope for treating and preventing the second leading cause of cancer deaths among women. We've increased NIH research on AIDS by 39 percent. And I'm convinced we're in the process of helping to turn a relentlessly fatal disease into a chronic, manageable illness. The life expectancy of those with HIV and AIDS has nearly doubled since I took office because of medical advances in research. We've come up with the first-ever treatment for strokes, the third biggest killer in America, something no one ever thought we would ever be able to do very much on.

And just the other day—well, a lot of you were moved, I know, by Christopher Reeve's speech at the Democratic National Convention. And he called for a recommitment to research. At almost the same time, either a couple of days before or a couple of days after Christopher Reeve gave that speech, for the first time ever, laboratory animals whose spine had been severed had movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants to the spine from other parts of the body. We can do things that we have never imagined if we continue to work and go forward.

Last week I signed budget legislation increasing the NIH budget $2.4 billion over what it was on the day I took office. These investments will make possible further advances. They will lead to sophisticated computer imaging systems to help us treat cancer, to help us deal with Alzheimer's. They will enable us to continue certain extraordinary initiatives going on there. One of my favorites is the human genome project, which is literally on the verge on mapping out a genetic code of life. I think it won't be too many years before parents will be able to go home from the hospital with their newborn babies with a genetic map in their hands that will tell them: Here's what your child's future will likely be like. Therefore, if you want your child to live as long and as well as possible, here is the diet you should follow, here is the exercise program you should follow, here is the medical treatment you should follow. It will be an incredible thing.

I know that all of you believe in this, but I think it's important that we have—that ordinary citizens have at their fingertips three or four examples that people can identify with of why these investments of your money—because, after all, this is all your money, these are just things that we do together as a people because we couldn't do them individually—and I think it's important that you have these at your finger-

tips so that you can talk to your friends and neighbors about why this matters. I know you can make a good speech about it here because you've got Oak Ridge up the road, and it's a lot of good jobs. But it's important to understand why it matters to everyone wherever they live and how it can change our common future for the better.

We all know that changes in technology are transforming the way we work, too. For a long time people were worried about that; we all were. Everybody wondered: Well, there's so much computer technology, all of the big organizations, the big bureaucracies can downsize. Will there be more people dislocated than we can create new jobs? Even if we create new jobs, will the new jobs not be as good a job as the ones we're losing? These are legitimate worries that have plagued people in the past and that still trouble individuals in our country, but we now know that we are creating jobs that on average are in the higher wage categories. We know we can do it right.

But there is another thing that we ought to look at, which is how we can use technology to help people who have children at home succeed at home and at work. When I became President—and I think it's still true, we don't have any updated figures—but when I became President, there was a study that came out that said that people were working harder in 1994, the second year I was in office, than they had been 25 years earlier in 1969. The average working person was actually spending more hours a week at work. And yet there were a higher percentage of parents in the work force in 1994 than there were in 1969. That means that nearly every family, whether it's a family working for a very modest wage, a family with a solid, middle class existence, even a lot of upper middle class, better-off families are dealing with these competing pressures of trying to do a good job raising their children, which is our most important job, and trying to succeed in the workplace.

That's why the Vice President and I worked so hard for the Family and Medical Leave Act, why we believe it ought to be expanded, and why we think there ought to be more flextime in the workplace. But again, I think technology, if we keep working on it, will bring it back around to us, and a lot of people will be able to benefit from it. The number of Americans who are now working from their home at least part of the week and telecommuting has doubled over the last 5 years to 12.1 million.

The Small Business Job Protection Act that I signed this summer included an increase in the minimum wage for 10 million working Americans. But it also did something else: It completed a job the Vice President and I started in 1993. We have, since 1993, increased the amount of capital a small business can expense from $10,000 a year now to $25,000 a year. And I believe more and more companies should use this expense to buy computers and other equipment for their employees to use at home, especially if the employees have young children. We have to work harder to make our businesses work well, our employees succeed, and people be able to be good parents.

Finally, let me say the explosion of information has changed everyone's life, nowhere more than on the Internet. Now, think about the Internet, how rapidly it's become part of our lives. In 1969 the Government invested in a small computer network that eventually became the Internet. When I took office, only high-energy physicists had ever heard of what is called the World Wide Web. When I took office, January of '93, only high-energy physicists had heard of it. Now even my cat has his own web page. [*Laughter*]

The number of people on the Web has been doubling every 8 months. Think about that. The number of people on the Web has been doubling every 8 months. Today, there are at least 25 million people on the Internet. By 1998, that number will reach 100 million. The day is coming when every home will be connected to it, and it will be just as normal a part of our life as a telephone and a television. It is becoming our new town square, changing the way we relate to one another, the way we send mail, the way we hear news, the way we play.

Every citizen can now read the Congressional Record. If you have insomnia, I recommend it. [*Laughter*] Every citizen can get the text of what's in a new law the very day it passes. Art lovers can go to the Louvre. Baseball fans can pay an on-line visit to Cooperstown. Everyone can find a passage in the Bible or in Shakespeare with the click of a mouse. Most of all, the Internet will be the most profoundly revolutionary tool for educating our children in generations.

I want to see the day when computers are as much a part of a classroom as blackboards

and we put the future at the fingertips of every American child. That sounds great, but think about the implications for our American democracy. If you want to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive and well for everyone, everybody has a chance to live up to the fullest of their abilities and, I might add, to be less shackled by whatever disabilities they have, if you believe we can create a community where everybody has a role to play, think about the implications for this.

What does this mean, hooking up every classroom? It means if you have the right computers and the right education equipment, software, the right educational software, and properly trained teachers, and then all of these connections are made to the Internet and the World Wide Web and all of the other networks that will be exploding out there, think what this means. This means for the first time ever in history, children in the most rural schools, children in the poorest inner-city school districts, children in standard, middle class communities, children in the wealthiest schools, public or private, up and down the line, will have access in real time to the same unlimited store of information. It will revolutionize and democratize education in a way that nothing ever has in the history of this country. Think about what it means.

In the State of the Union Address, I challenged the American people to make sure that all of the libraries and classrooms in the country were hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000. I am very, very grateful for the work that has already been done. Businesses, communities, governments, schools have worked all across this country, thousands of schools have been hooked up on NetDays from California to Florida, and today we are taking three more steps to make sure we achieve that critical goal.

First, the announcement that has been made by Mr. Redstone. The business community is committed to taking the lead in putting educational technology into our classrooms. CEO's from our top telecommunications firms are joining together to help us achieve that vision. Sumner Redstone, Lynn Forester, also Robert Allen of AT&T, Larry Ellison of Oracle, Gerry Levin of Time-Warner, Brian Roberts of Comcast, Steven Case of America Online, and there will be many more—they're going to make sure that we have the computers in the classrooms, that the teachers are properly trained, that the educational software is the best available, and that all these connections are made to democratize education. They will help to raise private sector contributions to match the technology literacy challenge fund that we have created. And let me say again to Sumner, to Lynn, to all the others: We owe them our thanks, and we need more to follow their lead. This is the only way we can get this done in a short time. [*Applause*] Thank you.

The second thing we have to do is to make sure that all of the schools and the libraries in the country can afford to connect to the Internet. Today, the cost of using the Internet can price some schools out of cyberspace. Fees can be inconsistent, with the highest rates often hitting places with the fewest resources.

Soon, all this will change. Under the new telecommunications law I signed a few months ago, the Federal Communications Commission will require that telecommunications service providers give to schools and libraries affordable rates for Internet access. The FCC will vote on how to do this on November 8th—how to provide what we call an E-rate, an education rate. Today I call on the FCC, when it votes, to give every elementary, middle, and high school and every library in the country the lowest possible E-rate: free basic service to the Internet. For more sophisticated services like teleconferencing, the FCC should require discounted rates with the deepest discounts going to the poorest schools and areas. I urge the FCC and the State regulators who have a say in this to make the E-rate a reality for our schools.

And again, I want to thank the Vice President and Secretary Riley, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Larry Irving, who's worked with us on this, and there are a number of Members of Congress. The Senators that I would like to mention are Dorgan, Exon, Kerrey, Rockefeller, and Senator Snowe, and Congressman Markey. They have all helped us on this.

This is a big deal. Wouldn't it be a shame if we did all this work and there were schools that literally could not access the Internet, if there were libraries in little rural communities that couldn't do it? It is not necessary. This will pay for itself over and over again by increasing the users, the knowledge. It will explode, and we have to do this.

Finally, let me say, to keep going we have to keep the Internet itself up to speed. I know

it's hard to imagine that the Internet could be getting too old. I find that about myself from time to time. [*Laughter*] But believe it or not, everything ages, and the Internet is straining under its growing popularity. Like any other piece of critical infrastructure, it has to be repaired and upgraded to meet all our education, medical, and national security needs. It is now time to invest in the next generation of Internet. Today I am pleased to announce our commitment to a new $100 million initiative in fiscal year 1998 to improve and expand the Internet, paid for under our balanced budget plan line by line, dime by dime. America must have an Internet that keeps pace with our future. So let's give America Internet II, the next generation Internet. We have to keep it big enough and fast enough to connect all of our people.

Now, this initiative will help universities and research institutions expand the amount of information that Internets can carry through ultrafast fiber-optic networks. It will develop software to eliminate bottlenecks. It will expand the number of addresses on the Internet. It will create powerful new switching computers to create power—to enable universities to communicate with each other 100 to 1,000 times faster than they can today. It will develop the software to carry sound and video from one end of the world to another in real time. It will be capable of transmitting the entire Encyclopedia Britannica in less than a second.

These improvements will make the Internet a more important and remarkable part of our own lives. They will enable our Defense Department to send intelligence instantly to our troops on the ground anywhere in the world. They will let doctors in rural areas scan their patients for cancer by tapping into supercomputers at university hospitals a long way away. They will allow Americans to take any class anytime, anywhere, in any subject. They will expand the reach of education programs right here, like the Oak Ridge Education Network and Adventures in Supercomputing. So let us reach for a goal in the 21st century of every home connected to the Internet, and let us be brought closer together as a community through that connection.

Let me close with a word of caution that I know I don't need for anybody in this audience in east Tennessee. We cannot idealize technology. Technology is only and always the reflection of our own imagination, and its uses must be conditioned by our own values. Technology can help cure diseases, but we can prevent a lot of diseases by old-fashioned changes in behavior. And we know that as well. Technology can give us a lot of information about why we should act rationally in certain cases. But continuing to hate our friends and neighbors because of their differences—religious, racial, tribal, or ethnic differences—that is an affair of the human heart. And we know that as well.

So today let us resolve to keep faith with our future by passing on to our children an information superhighway that will help them to live out their dreams. But let us also resolve to make sure that their dreams are the right dreams so that when we get to this great, grand new century and this remarkable age of possibility, the vision we all share for our future can become real.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately noon at the Knoxville Auditorium Coliseum. In his remarks, he referred to Eugene Parker, who gave the invocation; Mildred Buffler, who led the Pledge of Allegiance; Lillian A. Clinard, deputy director, data systems research and development, Lockheed Martin Corp.; Alvin Trivelpiece, director, Oak Ridge National Laboratory; Sumner M. Redstone, chief executive officer, Viacom, Inc.; and Lynn Forester, chief executive officer, Netwave, Inc.

Remarks in Dayton, Ohio
October 10, 1996

Thank you. Can you hear me way back there in the back? Thank you. Hello, Dayton! It's good to be back in Ohio. Thank you for being here in such large numbers.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be here today. I want to thank Dennis Lieberman for his enthusiastic welcome and for his leadership of the Democratic Party here in our county. I want to thank the officials and the candidates who are here with me: State Representatives Tom Roberts and Lloyd Lewis; Mariana Brown Bettman; my good friend Peter Sikora. I want to thank my longtime friend Bruce Hornsby for being here and entertaining you today. Let's give him another hand, he's great. [*Applause*]

I want to thank the musicians from the Omega Baptist Church who sang for us. Thank you. I want to thank those who are on the pre-program, the Ohio Democratic Party chairman, David Leland; Craig Zimmers, Hugh Quill, Judy Dodge, A.J. Wagner, Senator Rhine McLin. And thank you, Tony Capizzi, for your proclamation of today and your memory of the work that was done for peace here in Dayton.

And most of all, I want to say a special word of thanks to your Congressman, Tony Hall. I know that all of you know what a good job he's done to represent you, but there may be no one in the Congress who is as admired as Tony Hall, a man who lives his faith every day, a man who takes care of his constituents in Dayton and still has enough left in his mind, in his heart, to care for the children who are hungry and homeless and dispossessed all across the world, and especially those in Bosnia who needed his help when he came to me and no one else would help them. Thank you, Tony Hall, for being a model citizen and a great Member of the United States Congress.

Again, let me say, I appreciate October 10th being Dayton Peace Accord Appreciation Day. When the world thinks of Dayton now, it thinks of peace. Here, a little more than a year ago, the leaders of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia came together through American leadership to end the worst bloodshed in Europe since World War II. What was accomplished here turned Bosnia from war to peace. What was proved here is what was proved that we could do—what we can do when we bring adversaries face to face, when people are determined to resolve their differences instead of carrying them on.

We showed that America can be an indispensable nation for peace and freedom at the end of the cold war, in building a new world of peace and freedom and prosperity for the 21st century. And every person from this community should be very proud of the role you played in those accords.

I want to mention just a few of your citizens who were involved and that I understand are here in the audience today: Eight nuns from Dayton who were part of the Peace Chain for Bosnia; Eleanor Fluzas, the owner of the Amber Rose Restaurant, which provided food for the Bosnian group while it was in Dayton; Reverend Dale Kurtz, who sent Christmas gifts to Croatia. And I just was told right before I came up here that an Air Force man who was the loadmaster of the C–17 that flew me to Bosnia last January has been transferred to Wright-Patterson, Mark Smith. I understand he's here. If you're here, Mark—there you are—thank you very much, and God bless you. Thank you for your service. Thank you all. Give your fellow citizens a big hand now. They deserve it. [*Applause*]

Four years ago I came to Dayton to talk about the promise of America—not just our problems but our promise—about what we could do to get our country moving again on the right track. Last night there was a debate between the Vice President and Congressman Kemp. And I don't know how you felt about it, but Jack Kemp learned what I learned a long time ago: You don't want to get on the wrong side of an argument with Al Gore. I was very proud of the work that the Vice President did in that debate last night, talking about what we're trying to do to build America's future together.

The real question we face now is, what's our country going to be like when we march into that new century just 4 years from now? America is on the right track. I believe we have to keep it going. Just think, 4 years ago I was elected amid high unemployment and rising frustration, with a vision to change our country to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive and well for every person responsible enough to work for it, a dream that we would not be like Bosnia and so many other countries, torn apart by our racial, religious, and ethnic differences. Instead we would relish them. We'd say we're proud of our diversity, and we're all going forward together, working for that future together.

My strategy was simple: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community where every one of us has a role to play and a place at the table. Then, you took me on faith; now, you have a record. And what

a record it is. You have made it. You have made it, and you should be proud: 10½ million new jobs, 434,000 right here in Ohio; the highest homeownership in 15 years; incomes on the rise for the first time in 10 years; the typical household's income up $1,600 after inflation since our economic plan passed; in the last year the biggest drop in poverty among our children in 20 years; the lowest poverty rate among senior citizens ever recorded. We are on the right track to the 21st century: a new minimum wage increase for 10 million workers; 4 years—4 years of declining crime rates; a million fewer victims; 1.9 million fewer people on welfare; an increase in child support collections for children of almost 50 percent. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

In the last Congress, with the help of people like Tony Hall, we stood up to the Republican majority when they tried to divide our Nation with their budget and its unnecessary cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, research, and technology. When they shut the Government down, we held fast, and we broke gridlock. And just before the Congress left, we raised the minimum wage, made it easier for small-business people to take out retirements for themselves and their employees, made it easier for people who are self-employed to pay for their health insurance, made it possible for 25 million people to say they won't lose their health insurance anymore just because they changed jobs or because somebody in their family has been sick. We gave families a $5,000 tax credit if they will adopt a child, and there a lot of children out there who need homes. We broke gridlock. We are moving in the right direction. This is the right thing to do.

We are better off than we were 4 years ago, but we've got a long way to go to build that bridge to the 21st century. And I came here to Dayton to ask you: Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have cut our deficit by 60 percent, it's gone down in all 4 years of my administration. No President in this century can say that. That is the record we have made. But we have to finish the job and balance our budget to keep interest rates down and the economy going, and we can do it while protecting Medicare and Medicaid, investing in education and the environment and the research of the future. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We cut taxes for 15 million of our hardest pressed working families. Now we need a tax cut that goes broadly to all the American middle class, a tax cut for education and childrearing, a tax cut that helps people to buy their own homes or pay for health care costs. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

To help people succeed at work and at home, we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act. Twelve million families have taken a little time off from work when a baby was born or a parent was sick, a child was sick, a spouse was sick, without losing their jobs. Now we should expand family and medical leave so that people can go with their relatives to doctor's appointments, to parent-teacher appointments. We ought to give working people more choice in how they take payment for their overtime, either in cash or, if they are needed at home, in time with the family. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have made a good, strong beginning on health care reform by saying you can't lose your health insurance when you change jobs or when someone in your family has been sick; by ending drive-by deliveries, saying that women and their newborns can no longer be forced out of the hospital within a day of having their babies. We're finally providing some help for people whose families have mental health problems. They deserve medical insurance, too. And at long last, a bill I signed last week, too long in coming, finally says to Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange and whose children got spina bifida as a result, you are finally going to get the medical help and the disability you deserve. We are moving in the right direction.

But now we have to keep going. Our balanced budget plan gives families who are between jobs when they're unemployed the ability to keep their health insurance for 6 more months. It gives families that are taking care of elderly relatives with Alzheimer's disease respite care. It, in short, helps families to succeed at home and at work and when they're between jobs. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have the crime rate coming down 4 years in a row because the police are working with the communities to prevent crime as well as to catch criminals. The Brady bill helped, the assault weapons bill helped, putting 100,000 po-

lice on the street. We've made a good beginning at that. But now we need to finish the job and finish putting those 100,000 police on the street, target violent gangs, and ban bullets that are designed only to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have reduced the welfare rolls by 1.9 million and increased child support collections. We've passed historic welfare reform. But the law is just the beginning. The law says we will continue to provide for poor families, their medical care, their nutritional needs, when the parent goes to work more for child care than ever. But what used to come from the Federal Government to the States and then go to the recipients in the form of a welfare check must be turned into a paycheck within 2 years if people are able-bodied. But you can't make people go to work unless there is work. Will you help me build a million more jobs into our economy to move people from welfare to work? [*Applause*]

We have taken chemicals out of our air, made our drinking water safer, raised the standards of safety for our food. We have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps than the previous 12 years provided. We have done much to protect our national parks and to expand the number of national treasures we are protecting for our children and our grandchildren. But there are still 10 million American children living within 4 miles of toxic waste dumps. I want to clean up 500 more so that we can say our kids are growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Most important of all, will you help me build a bridge to the 21st century in which the education of every single American is our highest priority? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, we are going into an age in which there will be more opportunities for more people from more places than ever before. The young people who are here today in this audience—and I'm glad to see so many young people here—the young people who are here, many of you will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of you will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet.

I'll just give you one example. We just signed a contract, the United States Government did, to do a research contract with IBM to build within the next couple of years a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can do at home on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. That is how fast information is exploding.

We have doubled the life expectancy for people living with HIV in the last 4 years because of the exploding knowledge. We have finally developed some medical treatments for people with strokes, the third biggest killer of Americans. We have discovered two genes that cause breast cancer, opening the possibility of cure and prevention that we never had before, in just the last 4 years. In just the last few weeks, for the first time ever, a laboratory animal with its spine completely severed had movement in its lower limbs because of a nerve transplant to the spine from another part of the body. There is no telling what we can do if we continue to move forward with education and research, pushing the boundaries of knowledge. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

But there are some specific things we have to do. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in America still can't read a book on their own. And when that happens, it's hard for them to go on and learn what else they need to learn. I want to mobilize an army of 30,000 volunteers—AmeriCorps volunteers, reading tutors, people who will work with parents and with teachers—to make sure that every 8-year-old in this country by the year 2000 can hold up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

We have the largest number of children starting school this year in American history. I have offered the first support ever from the National Government to help our schools modernize and rebuild their facilities if they're willing to make an extra effort. If people at the local community level are willing to make an extra stretch, so should we. We need to give our children the facilities necessary for learning to take place. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

The next thing we need to do is to make sure that every classroom in every school in the United States of America and every library is hooked up to the information superhighway, with computers and training and software connected to the Internet. Now, that may not mean much to you if, like me, you're not so great on a computer. Let me tell you what it means. It means that for the first time in the history of the United States, because of the computer networks that are out there now, what we loose-

ly call the Internet, if we could hook every classroom up to it, for the first time in history, kids in the most remote rural school districts, kids in the poorest inner-city school districts, kids in standard middle class school districts, kids in the wealthiest school districts, kids in schools, public and private, for the first time in history would all have access to the same information in the same time at the same quality; it would lead to an explosion of learning. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Just today I proposed a new education rate so that every student in this country can get free access to that information network and every school and library in America. We are going forward.

And finally, we have to open the doors of college education to all Americans. I propose to do three things that I want you to support. Number one, we need to make 2 years of college in the next 4 years just as universal as a high school diploma is today. Here's how we can do that—no bureaucracy, no program. I propose to give you a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on the tax bill for the cost of tuition at the typical community college in America. It would revolutionize opportunity for people of any age.

Number two, I propose to let more American families save through an IRA, an individual retirement account, save more, save at even higher income levels, and then withdraw from that account, tax-free, if the money is being used to pay for a college education, a medical emergency, or to buy a first home. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, I believe that Americans should be able to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition for any people of any age at any place of higher education in the entire United States. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Folks, we need to build a country where every 8-year-old can read independently, where every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet, where every 18-year-old can go to college, and where every 18-year-old's parent can go back to college if that's what we need in this country. And I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century.

That is the choice in this election: a bridge to the future, a bridge where everyone can walk across, a bridge where we walk across hand in hand, not divided but united toward America's best days. In 26 days we must make the decision. I want you to walk with me these last 26 days to build that bridge to tomorrow.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. at the Old Montgomery County Courthouse Square. In his remarks, he referred to Dennis Lieberman, chairman, Montgomery County Democratic Party; Mariana Brown Bettman and Peter Sikora, candidates for Ohio State supreme court justice; musician Bruce Hornsby; Craig Zimmers, Montgomery County clerk of courts; Hugh Quill, Montgomery County recorder; Judy Dodge, candidate for Montgomery County recorder; A.J. Wagner, candidate for Montgomery County commissioner; Rhine McLin, State senator; and Tony Capizzi, Dayton city commissioner.

Remarks in Louisville, Kentucky
October 10, 1996

The President. Thank you. Hello, Louisville!

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Folks, thank you for this magnificent crowd. Thank you for your great spirit. Thank you for this Louisville Slugger. You know, I've got one more debate, and from what I've heard, I may need this. You know, I was listening to all these folks talk—and you elect people that know how to talk—and they speak in a language I can understand, with no accent. [*Laughter*] And I am delighted to be here.

I want to thank Governor Paul Patton for his strong leadership and his support and for being so forthright and strong and standing up for what we're trying to do together. I want to thank my good friend Wendell Ford for his

advice, his counsel, his support. If we had a hundred people in Congress like Wendell Ford we'd have about half as many problems as we do today. He is a great leader.

I want to thank your Congressman, Mike Ward. And I want you to know it is rare—it is rare for a first-term Member of Congress to have the kind of influence and make the kind of impact that Mike Ward has made. He works hard for you. He is outspoken, and I told him if I had to hear about Naval ordnance one more time I thought I would scream. He never gives up. I finally said, "Mike, just tell me what you want to do. We will do it. Let's just talk about something else. Take care of the people of Louisville, and let's go on into the future."

And I want you to know that I am grateful that Wendell Ford and your former Congressman, Rom Mazzoli, voted in 1993 for an economic plan that got this country moving again, and I'm grateful that Mike Ward stood up and said no when the other party got control of the Congress and shut the Government down to try to force the United States of America and the President to take a budget that was wrong for America and wrong for our future. Thank you.

I want to thank Steve Beshear for being willing to run for the United States Senate and for making an outstanding candidate. You heard his speech tonight. He ought to inspire your confidence, and he justifies your support. He's a fine man. He'll be a fine United States Senator, voting for the interests of Kentucky, and I hope you will support him.

I want to thank all of those that are up on this platform tonight: Lieutenant Governor Steve Henry and Speaker Jody Richards; State Representative Jesse Chisolm; my 1996 cochair, Betsey Hudson; State Democratic Party chairman Bob Babbage. And there's one person who is not here tonight, but I want to mention him because he's a great friend of mine, your Jefferson County judge and county executive, David Armstrong. We were born in the same little town in Arkansas a long time ago. He's a great friend, and he's away because of a family crisis, and I hope you all will support him. He's got a sick brother. Say a prayer for him tonight and support David Armstrong. He's a fine man, and I'm glad to be here.

And finally, I want to thank the mayor. What a mayor you have. I thought I had energy till I met Jerry Abramson. I thought I was aggressive till I met Jerry Abramson. I thought I was exuberant till I met Jerry Abramson. And all those things he said to you that we did together for the people of this city, they're all true, but they couldn't have happened without the leadership of Jerry Abramson. I thank him very much.

I'd like to thank the Kentucky Ramblers and the Rascals of Ragtime for providing our entertainment before I got here. I'm glad to be able to visit the Louisville Slugger factory. I'm sorry I couldn't be here in July when the museum opened. This is an amazing place with an amazing history that started the day Pete Browning broke his bat playing for Louisville's Eclipse team. Today, there are millions of bats made here, still made by hand. And I want you to know, since I was a little boy, I've had a lot of them but none I'll treasure any more than the one I got tonight. Thank you very, very much.

Folks, 4 years ago I came to Louisville to talk to you about fighting for the ordinary Americans who make our country go, about turning the direction of our country around, about paving a good way for Americans to the 21st century. In the last two debates, the one that I had with my opponent on Sunday night and in the great performance the Vice President put in last night—I was so very proud of him, and I know you were—we saw two very different visions for America, two good people on the other side who love our country but just see things differently than we do. I believe that we've got an obligation to work together to help each other make the most of our own lives. I believe that the First Lady was right when she said it takes a village to raise our children and to build a country that's strong. And what you have to decide is whether you think we have to do this together or whether we're better off going into the 21st century on our own.

Now, let's look at where we were. Four years ago when I came here we had high unemployment, stagnant wages, and rising frustration. I was determined to change the direction of America. I wanted to go into the 21st century with the American dream alive and well for every person in this audience, without regard to your station in life, who's willing to work for it. I wanted our country to beat the odds in this modern world. I wanted to prove that we could come together amidst all of our reli-

gious and racial and other diversity to prove that we can go forward together.

In the rest of the world, people are bedeviled everywhere by their religious differences, their tribal differences, their racial differences, their ethnic differences. But here in America, we say, if you show up tomorrow and you're a law-abiding citizen who works hard and believes in this country, you're our kind of American. We don't need to know anything else about you. Come on, let's go on together. Let's go on together. And for 4 years now we've worked hard to create opportunity, to demand responsibility, and to build a sense of community where everybody's got a role to play and everybody has a place at the table.

Four years ago, Kentucky helped me win reelection. I never will forget when Wendell Ford called me, and he said, "You've got to come to Kentucky one more time. Go to western Kentucky. You haven't been over there." In the middle of the night, seems like we were in western Kentucky. And the people of Kentucky voted for Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Now, Wendell still takes credit for it. He said if we hadn't come back that one last time, it would have never happened. [*Laughter*] And he may be right, but I'm glad you did. You took us on faith.

The American people don't have to take us on faith anymore. Now there's a record. You know whether we were right or wrong. We have 10½ million new jobs in this country. Unemployment in this State has dropped nearly a third. We have record numbers of new small businesses. Every one of them has been eligible now and been made eligible for a tax cut if they invest more to grow their businesses. Every one of them now—it's been easier for them to take out pensions for themselves and their employees and for people to take those pensions from job to job. That's better than it was 4 years ago.

It's easier now for self-employed people to take out health insurance because they can deduct more of it from their taxes. That's better than it was 4 years ago. Median income—that's the people in the middle; that's not the average with all of us at the top; that's the people in the middle—have gone up almost $1,600 after inflation since Rom Mazzoli and Wendell Ford voted for the economic plan that we didn't get a single, solitary vote from, from the other side. We're moving in the right direction, folks. We're on the right track to the 21st century.

We've had the largest drop in child poverty in 20 years. Now all economic groups that are working are participating in our economic growth. We've had the biggest drop in inequality among working people in 27 years. We've got the lowest rates of inflation and unemployment in home mortgages in 28 years. And last week we learned that the poverty rate among elderly Americans has dropped to its lowest level ever recorded. We are moving in the right direction. We are going to the 21st century.

We're getting back to our basic values. The crime rate has dropped for 4 years in a row. There are one million fewer crime victims this year. We made 12 million families eligible to take a little time off from work when a baby is born or a parent or a spouse or a child is sick. The welfare rolls are down by 1.9 million. Child support collections are up almost 50 percent, nearly $4 billion. We're moving in the right direction toward the 21st century.

And yes, while we brought the deficit down, we knew there was a right way and a wrong way to do it. And I am proud that we stopped the other party's budget from becoming law, because it would have broken up the Medicare system. It would have cut too much and cost innocent elderly people too much. It would have ended the guarantee that Medicare gives and has given for three decades to the elderly people in nursing homes, so their children can go on and live their own lives and know their parents are going to be all right. It would have ended the guarantee we give to working class families who have people with disabilities in them, so they don't have to go into bankruptcy to take care of their loved ones.

I think we did the right thing. It would have devastated environmental protection, environmental cleanup, and for the first time ever would have cut education funding by $30 billion, ending the AmeriCorps national service program, weakening the college loan program we worked so hard to improve, cutting back on Head Start, and generally dividing the country and taking it in the wrong direction.

Instead, we said no. We like more jobs, better education, a cleaner environment, and a brighter future. We're going to keep on the right track to the 21st century.

And just in the last few days of this Congress, because of you—not because of me but because

of you—because you sent a clear signal that you wanted our country to go forward, we passed a lot of our initiatives. We passed the minimum wage bill. We passed a bill that says to 25 million Americans, you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family's been sick. We said to mothers and their newborn babies, you cannot be kicked out of the hospital anymore after a day, no more drive-by deliveries. We're going to help people with mental health problems to get more insurance. At long last, we said to Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange and whose children have spina bifida, finally, finally, we said, we're going to give you and your families and your children some help for medical help and for disability payments. It's about time. We're moving in the right direction.

That's why every major law enforcement organization has endorsed Bill Clinton and Al Gore. That's never happened for anyone on our side before. That's why just the day after our debate in Hartford, 2,500 business leaders, including a very large number of them who never voted for a Democrat for President, endorsed our campaign, because they know that it's good for America for us to move forward together. And I want you to help me finish building that bridge to the 21st century.

And so that's the decision now before the American people: Are we going to back where we were, or are we going to keep going forward? Are we going to go forward together, or are we going to say, "You're on your own"? I think I know what you want to say. We cut the deficit by 60 percent; let's keep interest rates down and grow the economy by balancing the budget while we protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment.

Let's have a tax cut for working families and middle class families, targeted to childrearing, to education, to health care, to buying that first home and paying no taxes on your home when you sell it, but let's pay for it in a balanced budget plan. Let's don't have that risky tax scheme that the other side offers: $550 billion, no idea how they're going to pay for it. I'll tell you what it means: It means bigger cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, education and the environment than I vetoed. Their plan would raise taxes on 9 million of the hardest pressed working families, and it would blow a hole in the deficit a mile wide.

Folks, when I became President, we had quadrupled the debt of the country in 4 years, the deficit was $290 billion, people could not borrow money to buy a home. We now have the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years. I just came from Dayton, Ohio, and a 40-year-old man came up to me and said, "Mr. President, I just bought my first home because we got interest rates down and a healthy economy." Let's don't go back, folks, let's go forward. Say no to their plan and yes to ours.

We passed that Family and Medical Leave Act. We passed the V-chip to give families the ability to control what their children see on television. We got 3 hours of educational television coming back on primetime for families so their kids will have something good to see. The entertainment industry's agreed to rate their TV programs. We're moving forward in the right direction.

Now we ought to expand family leave and say people should get a little time off to take their children to a parent-teacher conference or their parents to the doctor. People that earn overtime, if they need it, ought to be able to take the overtime in time with their kids or in cash, at their discretion. Will you help me build that kind of bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We made a good start on health care reform. Our balanced budget plan says, now we ought to help people who are between jobs. When you lose your job, you ought to be able to hold on to your health insurance and take care of your kids. Our plan would help people keep their health insurance for 6 more months when they're between jobs. It's all paid for. It would help families with parents with Alzheimer's to care for them. It would help do other things to prevent illness, and it would continue our ground-breaking work in medical research.

In the last 4 years, we've found two genes that cause breast cancer. Now we may be able to find out not only how to treat it but how to prevent it. Just in the last few weeks, for the first time in history—for the first time in history in the last few weeks, we saw laboratory animals with their spines completely severed regain movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants to their spine. Who knows what we can do if we keep on working for health care reform. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We did pass the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. And in places like Kentucky, our opponents, they made hay while the Sun shown. Oh, they said, "Oh, they're going to take all their guns away." You know something? It'll soon be deer season, won't it? I'll give $100 to the first hunter in Kentucky who tells me he can't go out into the deer woods because he lost his rifle. Not a single person has lost a hunting weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. And now people who beat up their spouses and children won't be able to get it either. We were right about that, and this is a safer country because of it.

And yes, we are putting 100,000 police on the street. But our friends on the other side, they all voted against it. Then they tried to stop us in their budget that I vetoed, then they tried to stop us again.

Now, just talk to the mayor or talk to the local chief of police or talk to anybody in law enforcement. I don't understand why anybody would be against that, but they are. One good argument for Steve Beshear and Mike Ward is that they know that what we have to do is give power back to people in the local communities to work with the community crime watch programs, like the one that Carolyn MacLuton has worked so hard for all of these years. God bless you, ma'am. We love you, and thank you for what you're doing.

We're trying to get a million more people like her and finish putting 100,000 police on the street. We've only funded half of them. These elections are important. If you want us to finish the job so we can have 8 years of declining crime rates instead of 4, you've got to help us. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We reduced the welfare rolls by 1.9 million. We passed the welfare reform bill. But it's just the beginning. Let me tell you what that welfare reform bill does. It says this: The National Government will continue to guarantee—they'll fix that in a minute, don't you all worry about it—the National Government will continue to guarantee health care and nutrition to poor families. And if someone goes to work there will be more money for child care than ever before. But what used to come from Washington in the form of a welfare check with State money will now go to Governor Patton. And States and communities will have 2 years to figure out how to turn that welfare check into a paycheck, because able-bodied people who can work, have to work. That's good, but we have to create the jobs. I've got a plan to help the communities create another million jobs to move those people from welfare to work. Will you help me create those jobs and build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We've made the water cleaner. We've made the air cleaner and freer of chemicals. We've raised the standards for food safety. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the other side did in 12. We're cleaning up the environment, but there are still 10 million kids in this country who live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. Our plan would clean up 500 more, so I can look at the children of America and say they're growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Finally, and most important, will you help us make education the top priority of America for the next 4 years? [*Applause*] Will you help us do that? For every child and every adult in America, we have a plan that deals with the major challenges of education. Number one, a lot of adults need to go back to school. Under our plan, we'll create a "GI bill" for America's workers. When someone loses their job, they'll get a skill grant worth up to $2,500 a year to take to the local community college, to take to another training program, to put people back to work at higher wages, not lower wages.

Number two, we know that 8-year-olds have to be able to read in order to learn for the rest of their lives. But 40 percent of our 8-year-olds can't read on their own. We've got a plan to put 30,000 volunteers out there, working with schools and parents, so that every 8-year-old can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I have offered the first plan ever to help schools that are trying to help themselves get more funds to build and modernize their schools. We've got more kids in school today than ever before, and it's time we helped them.

And finally, for the schools, today I said again I want to hook up every classroom and every library in this country to the information superhighway so that all our kids—for the first time in American history, all our kids can have access to the same information in the same time in the same quality, rich, poor, middle class, all

of them together. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And will you help us open the doors of college education to all Americans? [*Applause*] I want to make 2 years of education after high school just as universal as a high school diploma is today by letting you deduct dollar for dollar off your taxes, up to $1,500 a year, the typical cost of a community college tuition. I want to let every family deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition. And I want to let people who save in an IRA withdraw from it to pay for college. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Folks, this is a clear choice: hope against fear, the future against the failed policies of the past, a village working together against "you're on your own." I want to build a bridge to tomorrow that every single child and every single adult in the State of Kentucky and in our beloved United States can walk across to the best days America has ever known. In the next 26 days, will you help us by talking to your friends and neighbors to build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you, and good night. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. at the Louisville Slugger Museum. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Paul E. Patton and Lt. Gov. Steven Henry of Kentucky; State Representative Jesse Crenshaw; Mayor Jerry E. Abramson of Louisville; Betsey Hudson, cochair, Kentucky Clinton/Gore '96; and Carolyn MacLuton, past president, Community Oriented Policing Board, Fourth Police District.

Statement on Action Against International Drug Trafficking

October 11, 1996

I want to congratulate Attorney General Reno, Treasury Secretary Rubin, their crime fighting teams, and all law enforcement officers who worked to ensure the breakup of another notorious international drug ring through Operation Global S.E.A. Building on the success of this May's Operation Zorro II, the breakup of this drug network marks another milestone in our effort to cripple major international drug trafficking cartels.

I want to commend the unprecedented cooperation between frontline law enforcement agencies on the Federal, State, and local levels that brought down this narcotic network. My administration will continue to work with determination to track down and convict those who would threaten our communities and our children.

Statement on Signing the National Securities Markets Improvement Act of 1996

October 11, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 3005, the "National Securities Markets Improvement Act of 1996." This legislation represents the most significant overhaul of the securities regulatory structure in decades. Without compromising investor protection, H.R. 3005 will enhance capital formation and the competitiveness of the American economy by eliminating regulatory overlap between the States and the Federal Government, significantly rationalizing and simplifying the way mutual funds and corporate securities are regulated, reducing Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) registration fees, and stabilizing the SEC funding structure over a 10-year period.

This bill achieves the difficult task of improving the efficiency of the financial markets without compromising investor protections. Lower

registration fees will reduce the cost of capital formation in the United States. Changes to margin requirements should lower funding costs for broker-dealers, benefiting investors without reducing the systemic protections of the margin requirements. This legislation will more efficiently divide responsibility for regulation between the Federal and State governments. The SEC will be charged with responsibility for activities in the national markets, such as regulation of securities listed on the national exchanges and mutual funds, as well as large investment advisors. States will have responsibility for smaller issues and investment advisors with smaller portfolios, while retaining their authority to take enforcement actions against fraudulent conduct in all situations.

The legislation gives the SEC new broad general exemptive authority under both the Securities Act and the Exchange Act, which should allow the Commission to deal more quickly and effectively with the facts and circumstances of individual situations. At the same time, it strengthens the SEC's hand in addressing fund names that use words such as "government," "guaranteed," or "insured," which can cause investors to conclude, incorrectly, that their investments are guaranteed by State or Federal authorities.

This legislation will save hundreds of millions of dollars for American businesses. Corporations will benefit from the reduction in SEC fees. Mutual funds, which are sold nationally, will be regulated nationally. Broker-dealers will benefit from no longer being subject to dozens of differing State net capital and books and records requirements. The SEC's funding will be more stable and predictable than it has been in recent years. These changes will all enhance our national capital markets, helping to create and nurture new businesses and new jobs, and enhancing the returns of both businesses and investors.

I am pleased to sign this bill into law. I thank all the participants—from the Congress, from Federal and State regulatory agencies, from the affected industries—for the hard work that culminated in enactment of this important piece of legislation.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 11, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3005, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 104–290.

Statement on Signing the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997

October 11, 1996

Today I am signing into law H.R. 3259, the "Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997." The Act authorizes appropriations for the intelligence and intelligence related activities of the United States during fiscal year 1997.

This legislation is the result of the hard work of many people in the Administration and in the Congress who are dedicated to both a strong national intelligence capability and effective congressional oversight. Through their efforts, the Intelligence Community will be able to continue critical intelligence activities furthering U.S. national security interests.

I am pleased that this legislation largely reflects my Budget request. I commend the conferees for funding the Environmental Intelligence and Applications Program and the automatic declassification reviews under section 3.4 of Executive Order 12958. This legislation will also enhance Intelligence Community support for U.S. law enforcement agencies by clarifying existing authorities that permit elements of the Intelligence Community to collect information on non-U.S. persons abroad at the request of U.S. law enforcement agencies.

Although I am signing this Act, I have concerns about the provisions in it that purport to direct the creation of two new National Security Council (NSC) committees—a Committee on Foreign Intelligence and a Committee on Transnational Threats. Such efforts to dictate the President's policy process unduly intrude upon Executive prerogatives and responsibilities. I would note that under my Executive authority,

I have already asked the NSC to examine these issues.

Moreover, I have already signed into law provisions to establish a Committee on Nonproliferation and will appoint a National Coordinator for Nonproliferation Matters, one of whose duties will be to make recommendations to me concerning the structure and organization of the Federal Government in this area.

Additionally, the provision requiring the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) to concur or be consulted before the appointment of certain intelligence officials is constitutionally questionable in two areas: regarding limitations on the President's ability to receive the advice of cabinet officers; and regarding circumscription of the President's appointment authority. The Administration has supported the concept of obtaining the DCI's concurrence or consultation prior to the appointment of certain other intelligence officials as specified in both H.R. 3259 and the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 (Public Law 104–201). However, I will do so through an Executive order to avoid such constitutional concerns.

Finally, the DCI has communicated to me his strong opposition to provisions in the Act that would establish three new Assistant Directors of Central Intelligence, each requiring Senate confirmation. I share his concerns that these provisions will add another layer of positions requiring Senate confirmation without a substantial corresponding gain in the DCI's authority or ability to manage the Intelligence Community. I understand that the DCI intends to seek repeal or significant modification of these provisions in the 105th Congress. I will support such efforts.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 11, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3259, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 104–293.

Statement on Signing the Economic Espionage Act of 1996

October 11, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3723, the "Economic Espionage Act of 1996." It strengthens our protections against the theft or misuse of proprietary business information. It will help us crack down on acts like software piracy and copyright infringement that cost American businesses billions of dollars in lost revenues. And it will advance our national security.

This legislation makes the theft or misappropriation of trade secrets a Federal crime. The Act provides distinct monetary penalties and prison sentences for defined acts of economic espionage and trade secret theft. It also provides for criminal forfeiture of property used in or derived from economic espionage or trade secret theft and preserves the confidentiality of trade secrets in court proceedings.

This Act is an outstanding example of my Administration, the Congress, and the business community working together to provide law enforcement with the tools to combat the problems of economic espionage and trade secret theft.

Trade secrets are an integral part of virtually every sector of our economy and are essential to maintaining the health and competitiveness of critical industries operating in the United States. Economic espionage and trade secret theft threaten our Nation's national security and economic well-being.

Until today, Federal law has not accorded appropriate or adequate protection to trade secrets, making it difficult to prosecute thefts involving this type of information. Law enforcement officials relied instead on antiquated laws that have not kept pace with the technological advances of modern society. This Act establishes a comprehensive and systemic approach to trade secret theft and economic espionage, facilitating investigations and prosecutions.

This bill also strengthens protection for our national information infrastructure by eliminating gaps in the criminal laws covering attacks against computers and the information they contain. Importantly, it does so with without imped-

ing the development of legitimate uses of the information infrastructure.

This Act will protect the trade secrets of all businesses operating in the United States, foreign and domestic alike, from economic espionage and trade secret theft and deter and punish those who would intrude into, damage, or steal from computer networks. I am pleased to sign it into law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 11, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3723, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 104–294.

Statement on Signing the Sustainable Fisheries Act
October 11, 1996

Today I have signed into law S. 39, the "Sustainable Fisheries Act." This Act represents a bipartisan effort to address the problems facing our Nation's fisheries, both commercial and recreational, and will greatly improve the future management of important fishery resources. I am delighted that the legislation addresses many of the conservation and management issues identified by my Administration's proposal of 1994.

Most important are new measures to prevent our fish stocks from being overfished and to ensure that already depressed stocks are rebuilt to levels that produce maximum sustainable yields from the fisheries. The Act includes a new national standard to minimize the unintentional catch of nontarget fish. The long-term importance of habitat to fish stocks is highlighted by the Act's requirement that essential fish habitats be identified in each fishery management plan.

The establishment of user fees for individual fishing quota and community development quota programs is a step in the direction of ensuring some repayment for the commercial use of this national resource. By refocusing management goals and mandating tighter control over the factors affecting fish stocks, this Act brings the Nation closer to the vast long-term benefits of sustainable fisheries.

I am, however, disappointed that the Congress chose to include in the Act several objectionable provisions. A number of provisions require specific management actions in specific fisheries or areas. The regional fishery management councils are the proper forum for recommending specific fishery management actions to the Department of Commerce. Those who use and enjoy our fishery resources should be fully involved in the management of these stocks.

Section 105(b)(2) directs the Secretary of State, in cooperation with the Secretary of Commerce, to seek to secure international agreements on the subject of bycatch reduction. Under our Constitution, it is the President who articulates the Nation's foreign policy and who determines the timing and subject matter of our negotiations with foreign nations. Accordingly, in keeping with past practice, I shall treat this provision as advisory, not mandatory.

The prohibition in section 109(i) on the Secretary of Commerce's ability to repeal a fishery management plan without approval by a vote of three-quarters of the Fishery Management Council raises serious concerns under the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. I am directing the Secretary of Commerce to treat this provision as advisory, not mandatory.

Section 107 does not provide adequate protections against conflicts of interest on the part of members of the fishery management councils. A council member will be able to vote in many situations where the member could derive a significant financial gain from the matter. Further, the conflict provisions will not be consistent with other Government-wide conflict laws.

Successful implementation of S. 39 will require the full cooperation of Federal, State, and Tribal governments, the fishing industry, the fishery management councils, the conservation community, and the Congress. My Administration is committed to doing its part.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 11, 1996.

NOTE: S. 39, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 104–297.

Statement on Signing the Health Centers Consolidation Act of 1996

October 11, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law S. 1044, the "Health Centers Consolidation Act of 1996." This bill will ensure that millions of the Nation's most vulnerable citizens continue to have access to high-quality, affordable, community-based, and family-focused primary and preventive health care services.

The bill reauthorizes and consolidates four Federal health primary care and prevention programs: community health centers, migrant health centers, health care for the homeless, and health care for residents of public housing programs. By empowering communities to design and develop their own local solutions to their health care access problems, this legislation will help to improve the health status of our Nation's medically underserved, low-income populations. The Nation's health centers, comprised of over 700 organizations and 2,100 service delivery sites, provides health care services to almost 8 million people annually. They act as the safety net for millions of people who are disproportionately poor and have inadequate or no health insurance.

Another important feature of S. 1044 is the establishment of a new Federal loan guarantee program to support the development and operation of managed care networks. Health centers across the country have come to recognize the critical importance of forming or being a part of integrated, managed care health systems. As the delivery of health care moves toward managed care arrangements, particularly for the Medicaid population, health centers must be able to participate in these arrangements in order to continue to ensure access to health care services for medically underserved individuals. The new loan guarantee program will assist the health centers to function effectively in this changing environment.

The bill will also reinforce the policies of this Administration to streamline Federal programs. It will consolidate grants without decreasing services, thereby easing the burden on communities applying for assistance and reducing the Federal cost of administering these programs.

In signing this legislation today, I underscore this Administration's commitment to address the needs of medically underserved inner city and rural areas. The programs reauthorized by S. 1044 will play a critical role in ensuring access to cost-effective, high-quality preventive and primary health care services and improving the health status of the Nation's most vulnerable populations.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 11, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1044, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 104–299.

Statement on Signing the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996

October 11, 1996

Today I am pleased to sign into law S. 1973, an Act that will help resolve a century-old dispute between the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation over the use of Hopi Reservation Land in northern Arizona.

This bill will implement a settlement reached last December after 5 years of negotiation among the Navajo families that live on Hopi land, the Hopi Tribe, the Navajo Nation, and the United States. This historic settlement con-

stitutes a courageous step by the people of two honorable tribes toward coexistence in peace and mutual respect.

The settlement is a consensual resolution of an age-old problem. It creates a way for Navajo families now residing on Hopi land to lawfully remain at the homesites where their families have lived for many generations. At the same time, it preserves the Hopi Tribe's right to exercise jurisdiction over its land. It is based on principles of self-determination for the Tribes and human dignity for all tribal members. With this settlement, both tribes now will be able to devote their efforts and resources to important educational, health, and economic development programs for the Navajo and Hopi people.

The settlement was achieved only through the concerted efforts of many people. I take this opportunity to express appreciation in particular to Hopi Tribal Chairman Ferrell Secakuku and Navajo Nation President Albert Hale for their commitment to a peaceful resolution. I also wish to thank the Navajo residents of the Hopi Partitioned Lands—who have dedicated countless hours to negotiating these difficult issues. Further thanks are in order for the residents and the State and local governmental representatives of Arizona who have worked with the negotiating teams, and to the Department of the Interior. Finally, I want to acknowledge the role of the Department of Justice, which took the lead for the United States in these negotiations.

This bipartisan bill and the historic settlement it ratifies give us great cause for hope. The Navajo and the Hopi have embarked upon a course of reconciliation concerning an issue—religious and historical claims to land—that has led to disharmony in other places across the globe. We should build upon this success as we plan for a future together based on cooperation and mutual respect.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 11, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1973, approved October 11, was assigned Public Law No. 104–301.

The President's Radio Address
October 12, 1996

The President. Good morning. Today is Columbus Day, marking the day an Italian explorer came upon the New World. It's a day that holds special significance and much pride for Italian-Americans, Spanish- and Hispanic-Americans, and all Americans who dare to dream and reach for new horizons. All of these people have shaped who we are, and today we all celebrate their contributions.

We can only imagine the beauty of the land the explorers found. In the centuries since as we grew, our environment and resources often paid a price. Some have been depleted, destroyed, endangered, and some, thankfully, have been preserved, restored, and replenished. This doesn't just happen. Every generation must work to ensure that the next generation can enjoy the blessings of America in clean air and pure water. We must work to pass upon to our children the Earth that God gave us.

In just a few moments, I'll sign into law a bill to help us protect our environment, the Water Resources Development Act. And with me here in the Oval Office is someone who has devoted much of his life to a better environment, our Vice President, Al Gore. I'd like him to tell you what this bill will do.

[*At this point, Vice President Gore explained that the bill would advance the administration's commitment to save the Everglades and Florida Bay by ensuring clean and abundant water, strengthening the relationship between the Federal Government and the State of Florida, and giving the Army Corps of Engineers new tools and authority to protect the Nation's water resources.*]

The President. Thank you, Mr. Vice President.

This new law reflects our commitment to manage wisely our Nation's water resources and preserve the environment even as we balance the budget, but our work is not done. Today I am also announcing my intention to sign the parks bill which Congress has approved. This

bill will create or improve almost 120 national parks, trails, rivers, or historical sites in 41 of our States. It will preserve the historic Presidio, a former Army post in San Francisco, by creating a nonprofit trust to run it as a national park.

This bill will save the Sterling Forest on the New York and New Jersey border, just 40 miles from midtown Manhattan, where families go for recreation and which millions of people depend upon for clean water. This forest was denuded a century ago by industry, but it grew back, and we must protect it.

And this bill will help to restore 11,000 acres of the tallgrass prairie in Kansas, an ecosystem of grass as tall as 9 feet, trees, flowers, birds, and other wildlife. This bill will bring back other overlooked natural sites all around our Nation.

These are our national treasures. When we maintain our national parks, nourish our wildlife refuges, protect our water, and preserve places like the Everglades, we are standing up for our values and our future, and that is something all Americans can be proud of. God created these places, but it is up to us to care for them. Now we are, and we're doing it the right way, by working together.

I'm pleased that Congress turned aside confrontation to enact these laws in a bipartisan manner and in the public interest. Five hundred years ago, no one could have imagined the greatness that would bloom between our shores, nor foreseen that the nation born here would become the model for people of all kinds working together for the common good. Preserving our environment and restoring its wonders are for our common good.

Let us truly celebrate this day as a day of rediscovery, a day in which we pledge to keep working across the lines that divide us to make America more beautiful and better than ever.

Thanks for listening. Now I will sign the Water Resources Development Act.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 8:38 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. S. 640, approved October 12, was assigned Public Law No. 104–303.

Remarks to the Community in Denver, Colorado

October 12, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. I must tell you, I have heard a great deal about this magnificent place, but nothing I have heard could have prepared me for how beautiful it is and how beautiful you are. Thank you for being here.

I want to thank the schools who are here, the people who are here from Red Rocks Community College, the people who are here from Red Rocks Elementary School. I want to thank Hazel Miller and the band who entertained us before we came here. They were good. I thank all of those who join me here, those who have spoken and others who are back there: Mrs. Romer, Mrs. Webb, the county commissioners, the legislators, Lieutenant Governor Schoettler, and others.

Let me just say that, first of all, I was profoundly impressed with what Karoline Smith had to say and with the life that she has made for herself. And I thank her for that. Last month the First Lady was here, and Hillary had a chance to visit Red Rocks Community College school-age child care program at the Stevens Elementary School. And I want to say more about this in a minute, but I want you to keep in mind what Karoline said, because whether you believe what she said—or remember the story your county commissioner and candidate for Congress, Betty Miller, said about she and her husband coming from families that didn't own cars and what they made of their lives—I want you to remember these stories because they embody a decision that you have to make about the future of America.

I want to thank Governor Roy Romer for being my friend and being your Governor and being a true inspiration to people all across America who believe in the nobility of public service and the possibility of educational improvement. I thank Mayor Wellington Webb for

so many things, for being a great mayor and for—I want to thank him especially for the nice letter he wrote to Senator Dole before he came out here, detailing all the things that we had done together to make Denver a greater city. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. I like that.

I want to thank Representative Pat Schroeder for her service to America in the Congress. Thank you. I want to thank David Skaggs for his fight for the environment of our country, for the education of our children, and for standing up with me against the budget that would have divided our country much more than it did when it shut the Government down. Thank you, David Skaggs, for being there when these people needed you.

I want to thank Tom Strickland—I'll say more about him in a minute—but I'm proud to be running on the same ticket as Tom Strickland and David and Betty.

Audience members. Joan!

The President. Joan, I mean—I'm sorry. I heard you.

I want to talk to you now a minute about the stories I asked you. I had all these notes; I'm not going to use them. I want you to think about it. You know, in this great debate we're having here, much more is at stake than whether I become President or Senator Dole does. What is really at stake here is what our country will look like when we start into that new century in a new millennium. It's what our Nation will look like when these children are their parents' age and when their children are their parents' age.

And there are these two different views about how we should go forward. The one view is that the Government is basically the problem in America and you are the solution and you know better than the Government how to do everything. And that makes a lot of sense, except that this is a democracy. The Government is you. It belongs to you.

The other view at one time might have been that most of our problems had to be solved by Government, but we've abandoned that long ago. I wanted to break out of this old debate when I became President and ask Americans to look to the future with common sense and a compassionate heart, to create a future in which there is opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and in which we all have a role to play and a place in this mosaic of America's community. And to me, what we need is a Government that is smaller and less bureaucratic. And we have, by the way, reduced the size of the Government and the burden of its regulations by more than our friends on the other side did in the 12 years they had to do it.

But the difference is, I believe that the Government should be smaller and less bureaucratic, but there are some things that we can do together better than we can do them alone. Sometimes we do them in our work units. Sometimes we do them in our religious institutions. Sometimes we do them in our organizations, our clubs, our charities, our nonprofits. Sometimes we do them in city and county government. Sometimes we do them in the State government. But there are some things that we do better together as a nation; we do. And that's the difference.

I think this is a better country because we made a national commitment to low-cost student loans that are even better and more affordable than they were before. That is not something you could have done on your own.

I believe this is a better country because we gave people like Karoline Smith a chance to move from welfare to education to work, to succeed at home as a parent and in the workplace. I think that's a national obligation. I think we're better.

I think this is a better country because we took action to protect Yellowstone National Park from a gold mine, because I signed a bill just this morning before I flew out here to continue our work to recover and preserve the Florida Everglades, because a few days ago I followed in the steps of Theodore Roosevelt and took Executive action to protect the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in Utah. I believe it's a better country because of that.

I believe this is a better country because we have invested more in research, because in the last 4 years we have uncovered two of the genes which cause breast cancer among women and which may permit us not only to cure it but to prevent it in the future. That's something we had to do together, and we did it together.

I believe we're a better country because of the money we put into research in dealing with drugs to help deal with HIV and AIDS, and the life expectancy has more than doubled in just 4 years. We are a better country because of that. We are a better country because of that.

Many of you just heard at the Democratic Convention in Chicago Christopher Reeve's moving address calling for a recommitment to medical research. About the same time, for the very first time ever, a laboratory animal whose spine had been completely severed had movement in its lower limbs because of nerve transplants to the spine from other parts of the body. This is a better country. And if we can do that for people, it will be a much better country. And you can't do that by yourself; we have to do that together. We're a better country because of that.

So this election is whether we're going to build a bridge to the future that we can all walk across together, or we're all going to try to build our separate little bridges. This election is whether we are better off saying you're on your own and anybody you elect to office immediately becomes your enemy and a big part of the problem, or whether you think my wife was right, it does take a village to build a country and bring us together and go forward.

It is true, as Tom Strickland said, that we're better off than we were 4 years ago. And I'm grateful for the chance to have been a part of that. You deserve a lot of the credit. Our role was to create the conditions and give you the tools to make the most of your own lives. But we do have more jobs, lower unemployment, much higher incomes—average income finally going up for the first time in a decade, about $1,600 after inflation in the last 2 years alone for middle class people.

I'm especially proud that last year we had the biggest drop in inequality among all classes of people who are working for a living in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, and the lowest poverty rate among American senior citizens ever recorded. I'm proud of that. We're moving in the right direction.

I'm proud that the crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row. And I know and you know that most of the credit goes to the people who are out there on the street, the police officers, the others in the criminal justice system, the citizens of this country, and I might add also, the teachers, the parents, the community leaders who are trying to keep our kids out of trouble in the first place. I'm proud of that.

But we had 30 years of evidence. In 30 years before I became President, the violent crime rate tripled; the police forces of this country increased by only 10 percent. We were right to say this is something we should do together as a nation to put 100,000 more police on the street, to pass the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban to make this a safer country. It was the right thing to do; we're a stronger, better country because of it.

Now, I know when we did some of these things, a lot of people thought it was wrong in Colorado. And a lot of people thought it was wrong in my native State of Arkansas, where half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both—actually, more than half. And they were all told—I got all these calls in Washington from people who still call me Bill, or worse—[*laughter*]—from home saying, "They say you're going to take my guns away." I said, "I'll tell you what, I'll buy you a new rifle if you miss a single hunting season because of the Brady bill or the assault weapons ban."

Well, it's been 2 years, and you heard the statistics: tens of thousands of felons, fugitives, and stalkers lost their handguns. We didn't take any hunting rifles away; we took weapons away. And now people who beat up their spouses and their children can't buy handguns either. And I think we're a better country because of it. I think we're a better country because of it.

So I ask you to think about the future. Think what happened—I think most everybody instinctively knows that it's right—look what happened in the last couple of weeks when your voices began to be heard in Washington; then an agenda that I had been advocating for 2 years all of the sudden became popular. We said you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family's been sick. We said insurance companies can't force hospitals to kick women and their newborn babies out of the hospital after a day. We're finally going to help families that have—families that need some help with mental health coverage to get that.

We are finally going for the—we did something else that I'm particularly proud of for the very first time in history.

Audience member. Let me hear it. [*Laughter*]

The President. That's good. Keep doing that. That's good. [*Laughter*]

For the very first time in history, in a bill I signed just a few days ago, we are giving benefits to the children of American veterans who were injured because of their parents' service, because a lot of servicemen in Vietnam were exposed to Agent Orange and, terribly, some

of their children got spina bifida. Finally, after all these years we're going to give them health care and disability payments that they need. And I'm proud of that. That's something we had to do together.

I think we did the right thing to raise the minimum wage for 10 million people. I think we did the right thing to say that we heard the cries of small-business people. We made every small business in the country eligible for a tax cut if they invest more in their business. We made it easier for them to take out pensions and for their employees to do so and to keep those pensions when they move from job to job—really important. Most of you work for small business today, and only half the American people have a good pension plan. And we made people who were self-employed eligible for a bigger tax deduction if they have to insure themselves. I'm proud that we did that. I think we're a stronger country.

I'm also glad we gave a $5,000 tax credit to people who will adopt children. There are lots of children out there that need homes, and we did the right thing.

So I guess Karoline was right: We started building that bridge to the 21st century 4 years go, but we've got a ways to go. Yes, we've reduced the deficit by 60 percent, 4 years in a row, first time that's happened in this century. I'm proud of that. But we ought to go on and balance the budget because that will keep interest rates down and America growing and prosperity coming. But we have to do it in a way that protects our obligations to each other, the things that we should be doing together.

We should reform Medicare, not wreck it. We should not walk away from the guarantee Medicaid gives to help working families whose parents are in nursing homes, who have children with disabilities. We should not walk away from pregnant women and little children. We should continue that. And we definitely should not undermine our investment in our future by cutting back on education, the environment, research, and technology.

Because the economy is strong and the deficit has been reduced, we should build on the tax cuts that have been passed in the last 4 years. We cut taxes for all small businesses, for 15 million of our hardest pressed working families. We can do more. But we ought to pay for it line by line. We shouldn't promise you we can do something we can't pay for and then blow up the deficit, wind up seeing bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed, weakening our economy.

So I want tax cuts that are paid for in my balanced budget, targeted to the things you need the most, to childrearing, to education, to buying a first home, not paying taxes when you sell your home, investing in health care. These are things we can afford. We ought to have them, and we will have them if you'll help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

We have more work to do in helping people to succeed at home and at work. I'm very proud the first bill I signed was the family and medical leave law. Again, I say, this is a classic example of this dilemma. If you believe that the Government is them and you are us, and you know best and people you elect don't know anything, that the minute you vote for them they lose all sense of connection with you, then you might agree with my opponent that the family and medical leave law was a terrible idea.

But I believe the biggest challenge we face today as a people is helping good, hard-working people to meet the conflicting demands of parenthood and work. Most parents are working. We're a stronger country because 12 million people got to take some time off when a baby was born or sick, or a parent or a spouse was sick, without losing their job. We're a better, stronger country, and our economy proves it. That's the kind of thing we ought to be doing, and we ought to build on it and make it stronger.

We passed this welfare reform bill after we had reduced the welfare rolls by 1.9 million—Karoline's one of them—1.9 million people moving into a more productive life, becoming educated, becoming taxpayers instead of receivers of tax dollars.

The new law says this—this is the challenge for the Governor and others in State government and for the county commissioners here and people in local government—it says we will continue to guarantee to people who are poor health care for themselves and their children and nutrition and, if they go to work, more for child care than ever before. But the portion of the Federal money that used to go to people in a monthly check will now be sent to the States, where they and the local communities will have 2 years to figure out how to turn everyone who's like Karoline into Karoline, to move people from welfare to work. That is the right thing to do. And I have a plan to help

create a million jobs for those people. You cannot make people go to work unless they have work. Will you help me do that and build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

But if you think about the future of Colorado and you look around here in this hallowed place, no two issues more define the future of this State than the decisions we make as a people on the environment and, even more, on education.

You know, when I was talking to Tom Strickland before we came out here, I said, "I can't go out there and ask them to vote for you just because you're a Democrat. Most people don't care that much about it. Why do you want this job? Why do you want this job? Why are you doing this? This other guy's a Member of Congress. He's got all this money. He's hard to beat. It's a rigorous endeavor. Why are you doing this?"

And he said, "Because I want my children to grow up in a State and a nation that preserves instead of destroys its natural heritage and because I want every child in this country to have the same chance my kids are going to have. And we cannot afford to continue the direction that the present Congress tried to take to undermine the environment and to walk away from our common obligation to educate all our people." That's a pretty good reason to vote for somebody for the United States Senate. That's a pretty good reason.

Folks, those Senators get a long term. They get 6 years. That's longer than the President gets. And they get to run more than once which means they get to serve longer than a President can serve. And there's something I think you all ought to think about, whatever your party or philosophy is, when you look at somebody who wants to go the Senate and says, "Give me a 6-year term, and by the way, I might ask you for another one and I might ask you for another one after that," you have to imagine what will happen to this person in those 6 years. Does this person have the capacity to continue to absorb all the changes that are going on in America, to feel the needs of all the people in this country, to understand when to say yes and when to say no and to grow into greatness in that role? I think Tom Strickland does. And that's another good reason to vote for him for the United States Senate, and I hope you will.

So let me say to you, the air and the drinking water is cleaner than it was 4 years ago. Our food safety standards are higher than they were 4 years ago. We saved an attack on our national parks, and we've done everything we could to expand them with new important preservation of our previous heritage. But we have more to do.

Do you know that two-thirds of our toxic waste dumps are very serious and that 10 million children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump? So if you'll give us 4 more years, among other things we'll do on the environment is clean up those 500 dumps, so our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And the last thing I want to ask you to do is to help me implement our education agenda. Their education agenda, the other side, their education agenda was to cut Head Start, cut back on college loans, eliminate the AmeriCorps program, the national service program——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——and eliminate the Department of Education. That was their agenda.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. My agenda is as follows: Expand Head Start and keep doing it until all the kids who need to be there are there; recognize that 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country still cannot read independently and mobilize an army of reading volunteers to make sure by the year 2000 every 8-year-old can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

I want to hook up every single classroom and library in this country to the information superhighway so that every child has access to the same information every other child has. And I intend to open the doors of college to every American of any age who wants to go.

We ought to say—there's been a lot of cheering here for Red Rocks Community College. But let me tell you, in the next 4 years, if we have the will and vision to do it, we can make 2 years of education after high school just as universal as a high school diploma is today. And I know how to do it. I want to give the American people a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their taxes for the cost of the typical community college tuition in America. It would be the best money we ever spent. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*] And will you help me give the American people a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition at any level for people of any

age, 40, 50, 60, if they need to go back? [*Applause*]

Folks, that's what this election is about. Does it take a village, or are you on your own? Does everybody want to build their own little bridge, or do you want to build a bridge to the 21st century wide enough, big enough, and strong enough for every single one of us to walk across?

Now, remember, this election is not in 24 days for you; for you, it starts Tuesday. Vote early, bring others, and lead the way in Colorado for all of America to walk in to the best days we have ever known.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:55 p.m. at Red Rocks Amphitheater. In his remarks, he referred to entertainer Hazel Miller; Gov. Roy Romer's wife, Bea; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver and his wife, Wilma; Lt. Gov. Gail Schoettler of Colorado; Betty Miller, Jefferson County commissioner; Representative David Skaggs; Colorado senatorial candidate Tom Strickland; and Joan Fitz-Gerald, candidate for Colorado's Sixth Congressional District. S. 640, the Water Resources Development Act of 1996, approved October 12, was assigned Public Law No. 104–303. The proclamation of September 18 establishing the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Statement on Signing the Accountable Pipeline Safety and Partnership Act of 1996

October 12, 1996

Today, I have signed into law S. 1505, the "Accountable Pipeline Safety and Partnership Act," a law that will protect public safety and the environment and help create a government that works better and costs less.

This bipartisan bill will improve pipeline safety and provide the Department with the flexibility to develop innovative approaches to pipeline safety regulations.

To ensure that the bill is carried out in a way that protects public safety and the environment, I am directing the Department of Transportation to put in place certain safeguards for implementation of the bill's risk management provisions. I note that the bill's risk assessment and cost-benefit provisions codify current Department of Transportation practices and, as Senators Glenn and Levin have made clear, are not to have any precedential effect for other programs.

The Department also will ensure that risk management demonstration projects—new experiments in how to achieve safe pipelines—are approved only for superior performance by companies with a clear and established safety record. In addition, the Department will ensure that its programs protect all of our natural environment.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 12, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1505, approved October 12, was assigned Public Law No. 104–304.

Statement on Anticrime Initiatives

October 13, 1996

All Americans can be pleased with today's report that our Nation's crime rate is at a 10-year low and we have reduced murder and violent crime rates to their lowest levels since 1989. Our anticrime strategy—to put more police on the street while working to get drugs, gangs, and guns out of our neighborhoods—is working.

We can be proud of the progress we have made, but there is still much work to be done. We must bear down even harder on violent

juvenile crime. Last May, I submitted to Congress the Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Control Act of 1996. Enacting that bill's tough, new measures is my top anticrime priority.

NOTE: This statement was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 11, and it was embargoed for release until October 13.

Remarks on Departure From Denver
October 13, 1996

Good morning. I'd like to thank Mayor Webb; Chief Michaud; Sheriff Pat Sullivan from Arapahoe County; the Denver DA, Bill Ritter; Pat Alstrom; Aries Zavaras; the members of the Denver Police Department; and the Arapahoe County Sheriff's Office for being here with me today.

Today I sign legislation to crack down on criminals who employ illegal drugs in a sick attempt to facilitate their violent crimes. This law will strengthen penalties against anyone who uses the date rape drug, Rohypnol, in connection with violent crime.

Even though Rohypnol is already illegal to produce or prescribe in the United States, sometimes it is illegally obtained by criminals who use it to incapacitate their intended victims. We must do everything we can to stop it. In March, I ordered the Secretary of the Treasury and the customs department to seize all Rohypnol coming across our borders, and we are succeeding in cutting off the supply. Now we'll have the power to come down hard on those who use the date rape drug in pursuit of their own illegal goals.

This legislation is another example of what we can do in Washington to help law-abiding citizens and local law enforcement officials fight crime in their own communities. Today we have more evidence that this strategy is working. The FBI reports that America's crime rate is at a 10-year low. Here in Denver, overall crime is down 13 percent since 1993. The murder rate and the overall crime rate—violent crime rate—are at their lowest levels in the United States since 1989.

This is good news for Americans. It shows that law-abiding citizens working with our police can take back our streets. It also shows that we can help. After years of Washington finger-pointing and rhetoric over who was to blame for rising crime, we came to Washington and started out with a different question: What can we all do together to help people in their local communities fight crime and lower the crime and violence rates, put more police on the beat, put tougher penalties on the books, get guns off the street, and steer our young people away from crime and drugs and gangs in the first place?

Our plan is putting 100,000 police officers on our streets. We've already funded nearly half of those since 1994. I understand that all these who are here with Sheriff Sullivan are among those who have come into law enforcement since the crime bill passed with those funds.

We banned deadly assault weapons, but not one hunter in Colorado, Arkansas, or any other State lost his hunting or sporting weapon. Sixty thousand felons, fugitives, and stalkers were stopped from buying a gun because of the Brady bill. We made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land. We passed the death penalty for drug kingpins and cop killers. In the last month we extended the Brady bill to prevent anyone convicted of beating up a spouse or a child from buying a handgun, and we required drug testing for all parolees and prisoners as a condition of getting Federal prison construction funds.

Today's news shows that we are on the right track, but we have so much more to do. Crime and violence in our country are still too high. Even juvenile crime is starting to go down, but it's still too high. We've taken a special aggressive effort to deal with the problems of domestic violence and violence against women, but there is still too much of it. There is too much killing, too much violence, too much gang-related criminal activity.

We must tackle the violent street gangs that rob too many children of their futures. We must break the vicious cycle of crime and drugs. We have to finish putting those 100,000 police offi-

cers on the street. We should ban cop-killer bullets that are designed for one reason only, to pierce the bulletproof vests that police officers wear and kill them. And we have to work to create an environment for our children to grow up in free of crime, drugs, violence and free from the influences that make them more likely to get involved in those things or less sensitive to violence and crime when they occur.

One of the most remarkable things about the crime statistics—I'd just like to say in passing that I commend all of you—is the percentage of people who are now killed by people who don't know them. Just 20 years ago, about two-thirds of all killings in our country were people who knew their victims, family members, friends, others who had deep, personal feuds. Then in 1990, it had dropped to just a little over half. In these latest crime statistics, 55 percent of all the people who were killed in this country were killed by people who did not know them, who were the victims of crimes, drive-by shootings, random acts of violence. We have got to do what we can to continue to change the environment in which our children grow up as well.

I know we will never eliminate crime completely, but we proved we can turn it around. Four years in a row, the crime rate has dropped. It's now at a 10-year low. If we can bring it down for 4 more years, maybe we will create an America which at least when people come home from work and turn on the television news, if the leading story is a report of a violent crime, they will be shocked, instead of numb to it as too many are today. That's the kind of America we can build if we work together.

And again, let me close with my heartfelt thanks to the law enforcement officials and the other officials from the city and the State and the county who are here with me today for the work they do to make our streets safe, our homes safe, our schools safe, our businesses safe, and the people they represent all across the United States. We have demonstrated, all of us working together, along with all the citizens who work in these citizens groups around America, that we can lower the crime rate. We need to keep going until we can bear it and feel that we're living in a safe country again.

Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:12 a.m. on the tarmac at Denver International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver; David Michaud, Denver chief of police; Pat Alstrom, executive director, Colorado Department of Public Safety; and Aries Zavaras, executive director, Colorado Department of Corrections. H.R. 4137, the Drug-Induced Rape Prevention and Punishment Act of 1996, approved October 13, was assigned Public Law No. 104–305.

Remarks to the Community in Albuquerque, New Mexico
October 13, 1996

The President. Thank you. Hello, New Mexico! Thank you for making me feel so welcome. Well, you know, they asked me back in Washington why I was going to Albuquerque to prepare for my debate, and I said, "Well, we've done an exhaustive amount of research all over America, and Mayor Chavez was holding this balloon event, and there were going to be 800 balloons in the air at the same time. And it seemed to me that that meant that there was more hot air here already than any other place in the country, and a little more wouldn't do any harm." [*Laughter*] So I thought I should be here.

I want to thank all of you for coming out today in this magnificent crowd, stretching out in all of these directions. I want to thank those who are here who entertained us, the Danita Native American Dancers, the God's Way Community Church African-American Choir, Perla Padilla, the Rio Grande High School Marching Band, the New Mexican Marimba Band, and Francisco LeFebvre who painted the murals in front of the armory. Let's give them all a hand. They were great, and I thank them. [*Applause*]

I am honored to be here with our candidates today, with John Wertheim, Shirley Baca, Art Trujillo, my good friend Eric Serna. I hope you

will support them in this election just 23 days away. Will you do that? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

I want to thank your mayor for his friendship and support and for being one of the most innovative mayors in the entire United States. Thank you for that. I thank Secretary of State Stephanie Gonzalez for all that she said up here, for knowing and caring and supporting the work we are doing to try to build strong families and protect our children and give them a better future.

I want to thank my good friend Senator Jeff Bingaman, and I want to say one thing about that. Just the other day we announced—a couple of days ago—a major, major new contract for Los Alamos here, to build a new supercomputer with Cray, a new Cray supercomputer that will create a huge number of good paying jobs for our country, move us forward. And I want you to know not only that Jeff Bingaman had a lot to do with that contract, but more importantly, when our friends on the other side finally got ahold of the Congress and they proposed among other things to close down the Energy Department——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——and it was far enough away from election that they didn't come back and say, "Oh, I didn't mean New Mexico"—it's interesting, isn't it; you get close to the election, it's amazing how people's positions improve—[*laughter*]—Jeff Bingaman said, "I will stand with you to the very end." We are going to save the laboratories of the Department of Energy, including Sandia and Los Alamos and the others as well.

I want to thank Bill Richardson for so many things, but you in New Mexico should be terribly proud of him that while working to represent his constituents and this State, he has also put in double time so that he could go all around the world on behalf of the United States in the cause of peace and freedom. There is no Member of the House of Representatives who has done as much to make this a safer world for our children as Bill Richardson. And you should be very proud of that.

Well, folks, I made a joke a minute ago about the debate, but they're deadly serious. You've already seen two of these three debates, the first one with Senator Dole and me and then the Vice President's debate with Congressman Kemp. And Al Gore did a good job, didn't he? I was proud of him. [*Applause*]

What these debates reveal are two very different visions about how we should move forward as a nation into the 21st century. Do we believe that we ought to build a bridge big enough and wide enough for all of us to walk across?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Or are they right that all these efforts don't amount to anything, and we ought to just say, "There's a river. You figure out how to get across it"?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do we believe we're better off being told, "Well, you're on your own, but we hope everything will work out for you. Good luck"?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Or was the First Lady right when she said it does take a village to raise our children and build our country and move forward?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. These views have dramatic practical consequences that affect us all. And sometimes, I think, my fellow Americans, we spend too much time arguing that our opponents are in the grip of some special interest which takes hold of their minds and makes them do something they don't want to do.

The truth is that we just look at the world in different ways. And you can see it. Their budget would have cut Head Start; I just signed a budget that expanded Head Start. I believe we were right. They did everything they could to kill the family and medical leave law; I signed it because I thought it would make us stronger, and it has. We're better off because of it.

When I tried to change the college loan program to make it more affordable and to make it easier for our young people to repay their loans and to limit how much they could be required to repay in a year to a percentage of their income so that more of our young people could borrow money to go to college, they fought against it tooth and nail. We prevailed. Now millions of young people can do it. I think we were right and they were wrong.

Four years ago, this debate we had was somewhat theoretical, and you took me in New Mexico on faith. But now there's a record. Now you don't have to guess anymore. I see in the audience there are a couple of people who actu-

ally knew me. Besides the folks on the stage—my former colleague, Governor Anaya, former Governor Apodaca, Senator Harris—there are a few people here I knew. But most of you didn't know anything about me, and you couldn't be sure this would work.

You don't have to guess anymore; we've got a record now. There are 10½ million more jobs than there were 4 years ago. New Mexico has a much lower unemployment than it had 4 years ago. We've got record numbers of new businesses and new exports. We are moving in the right direction.

We learned last week that we had the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years last year—we're moving in the right direction—the biggest drop in the inequality of working people in 27 years.

[*At this point, the audio system malfunctioned.*]

The President. Is it on? It is now.

And the census department told us that we have now the lowest rate of poverty among senior citizens in America since we started keeping statistics. We're moving in the right direction, and we ought to keep going.

Now, folks, today we learned that the FBI reports that come out every year say that our crime rate is at a 10-year low. The crime rate's gone down for 4 years in a row in this administration. I am proud of that. There are one million fewer victims. We're moving in the right direction. Our children should not be afraid in their homes, in their schools, and on the streets.

You deserve a lot of credit for what's happened. When you stood with me and Jeff Bingaman and Bill Richardson when they shut the Government down to try to force their budget eliminating the Department of Education and the Department of Energy and the Department of Commerce, which gave us our ability to compete for business abroad, cutting back on Medicare and Medicaid at unacceptable levels, reducing our commitment to education, crippling our ability to protect our environment, you stood with us, and you said, "We think they're right, and those folks that shut the Government down to try to force their budget on America to divide us and weaken us are wrong." And I thank you for that. You deserve the credit for it.

So we began to do sensible things again right before the Congress was over. Ten million Americans got an increase in their minimum wage. Right before the Congress was over, 25 million Americans will potentially benefit from the bill we passed that says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you change jobs or someone in your family has been sick. Just before Congress was over, we finally passed a bill that did something you had already done in New Mexico, ending those drive-by deliveries. Insurance companies can't force mothers and their newborns out of the hospital after only a day anymore in this country.

So we're moving in the right direction. And we're better off than we were 4 years ago, but we have to do more. And let me say to you, one of the things that I have tried to do is to change the way we think about our purposes and working together as a people, the way we think about our responsibilities as citizens. I don't think like all that debate that goes on, or did go on in Washington for 10 or 12 years: liberal this, conservative that; this is a Democratic issue, that's a Republican issue; this is on the left, that's on the right.

You know, if I could go to dinner with any of those 42 people or 67 people Bill says have invited me to dinner—I'd like to do that, by the way—[*laughter*]—if I could do that and I could just sit there and not say a word, I'll bet you $100 that we wouldn't have that kind of sterile rhetoric. People would be talking about their hopes and their dreams for their children, the challenges they face on the job, how they can succeed in raising their kids and succeed in the work place, what's this country going to be like in 20 years. So that's the way I'm trying to get folks to talk and think in Washington.

And my program is simple: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community that includes all of us without regard to our race, our gender, or when we showed up because, except for the Native Americans in the crowd, the rest of us are all immigrants. That's what I want to do.

So I say to you, that means that this old argument about Government that's been raging in Washington for 12 years doesn't have any relationship to your life. Yes, the Government cannot solve all your problems with a big bureaucracy. That Government is gone. It was our administration—not our friends in the other party, our administration—with the support of Jeff Bingaman and Bill Richardson, and the opposition of our friends in the other party, that cut the size of the Federal Government to its lowest since John Kennedy was President and

reduced more regulations in 3 years than they did in 12. We did that.

But I'll tell you what, I believe that the National Government's responsibility is to do those things that we must do together. My opponent says, "Oh, the President thinks the Government knows best." But I think you know best. Now, if we fall for that one again, we ought to be ashamed of ourselves. Their theory is, you know, that once you get elected to public office you no longer belong to the people, you lose all your common sense, and you become the enemy, unless you're a Republican, in which case you don't. [*Laughter*]

Their theory is that the Government is always the enemy. Read the Constitution: "We the people . . ." The Government is you. It belongs to you. It is a reflection of what you want. It is nothing more or less than yours. And I believe that our role is to create the conditions and then give you the tools to make the most of your own lives. I believe that we're supposed to help communities to fulfill their dreams and individuals and families to do the same. I'm glad to support more communities in doing what Albuquerque had done, for example, in establishing a curfew that's lowering juvenile crime and keeping our kids safer. I think that's one of my jobs.

I want to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street. All we're doing is funding it. Those police are working for you on the streets in all the communities of this country, and that's one of the reasons we've got a 10-year low in crime.

Those are the things that we are doing. The family and medical leave law has helped 12 million American families to get a little time off from work without losing their jobs when a baby is born or a baby, a spouse, or a parent is sick. And we have a stronger economy because of it, not a weaker economy. That's one of our jobs.

I believe there ought to be a national program to guarantee that every young person, and now not-so-young people, who want and need to go to college—every single person who is willing to work for it ought to be able to go. I think that's a good thing for our country.

I believe we were right to fight against our friends in the other party when they tried to cut the funds for safe and drug-free schools. I think we need to help our kids in the beginning and help them stay out of trouble so we won't have to spend as much time and money and heartbreak and blood when they get in trouble. The safe and drug-free schools program is a good program, and I think we were right.

And let me say, because I believe we have to build a bridge to 21st century that will take us into a time full of greater prosperity and greater possibility than we've ever known, a bridge that's big enough for all of us to walk across, I want to say a special word of thanks to another community group that is here. We have hundreds of young people here today from the Bridge Builders to the 21st Century. Hold your hands up, everybody that's here. These young people have joined together to pledge that they will do everything they can to make their schools drug-free and to encourage every single citizen of the State of New Mexico to vote on election day. Let's give them a big hand. I'm proud of them. [*Applause*] Thank you.

So I say to you, there are big consequences to which path we choose to take. My bridge-building calls for the following path: Should we balance the budget? You bet we should. It keeps interest rates down, keeps the economy growing, takes the burden of debt off these children. But we have to do it in a way that honors our obligations to each other and continues to invest in the future. So, yes, balance the budget, but we can do it without wrecking Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, or abolishing the laboratories of the Department of Energy and undermining our research budget.

We should cut taxes, but we shouldn't embrace a big tax scheme that actually raises taxes on 9 million of our hardest working people, blows a hole in the deficit which will increase interest rates and weaken the economy and require bigger cuts than the budget I vetoed when they shut the Government down. Let's try my tax cut. It's targeted to education, to childrearing, to buying a home, to dealing with a medical emergency, and not paying taxes on your home when you sell it if there's a gain. We can pay for that, and we need it.

One of the biggest differences I had with our friends on the other side was their obsession with weakening our ability to work together to protect our environment. They said we were hurting the economy by protecting the environment. Well, all I know is that the air is cleaner, the drinking water is safer, we have raised the standards for food safety, we've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than the previous

administrations did in 12. And we've still got faster job growth than any administration under the previous party had since the 1920's, in 70 years. It's a good thing to protect the environment, and I intend to continue to do it.

Finally, and most important of all, we have got to build a bridge to the 21st century in which the education of every single American is our highest priority. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Forty percent of the third graders in America still cannot read a book independently. I want to mobilize 30,000 volunteers, AmeriCorps volunteers, reading specialists, to work with parents and teachers so that in 4 years, when we start that new century, every 8-year-old in this country can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help me do this? [*Applause*]

I want to make sure we connect every single, solitary classroom and library in America to the information superhighway; to make sure we have the computers, the educational materials, the trained teachers; and most important, that all these classrooms are connected to the Internet, the World Wide Web, all these networks.

Now, if you're not a big computer person, you may not understand exactly what that means. Let me tell you what that means in practical terms. It means for the first time in history, children in the poorest rural school districts in America, children in every Native American schoolroom, children in every inner-city school, children in every suburban school, children in the poorest, the most middle class, and the wealthiest schools, public and private, in America for the first time ever, they will all have access to the same information in the same time in the same way. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, we can make a college education available to all Americans. And I propose to do it in three ways: Number one, I want you to be able to save in an IRA but withdraw from it without any penalties if you're spending your savings for a college education or medical costs or buying a first-time home. Number two, I propose to make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today by simply saying, "You can take off of your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition for 2 years." Will you help me do that? [*Applause*] And finally, I believe you ought to be able to deduct from your taxes—you ought to be able to deduct up to $10,000 a year from your taxable income for the cost of college tuition, any kind of college, for people of any age. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, we are better off than we were 4 years ago and not just in economic terms, for this is not just about the economy. This is about what kind of America we want our children to live in. And I think every day—every day I think, what do I want my country to be like when we start that new century? What do I want my country to be like when my daughter is my age, when her children are my age?

And before you vote, I hope you will take just a little time and see if you can ask yourself, "Can I say in 30 seconds or a minute what I want America to be like when we start that new century, when my children are my age, when my grandchildren are my age?" If you will ask the question, I bet you will get an answer not very different than mine.

And then we will build that bridge to America's best days. There are 23 days left. I ask every one of you here today to take some time not only to vote but to reach out to others, to be a good citizen, to influence those whom you can influence and say, "Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century?"

Thank you. God bless you. Thank you, New Mexico.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:52 p.m. in front of the KiMo Theater. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Martin Chavez of Albuquerque; John Wertheim and Shirley Baca, candidates for New Mexico's First and Second Congressional Districts, respectively; New Mexico senatorial candidate Art Trujillo; Eric Serna, candidate for New Mexico corporation commission; and Toney Anaya and Jerry Apodaca, former New Mexico Governors.

Statement on Signing the Water Resources Development Act of 1996
October 12, 1996

Today I am signing into law S. 640, the "Water Resources Development Act of 1996," which authorizes water resources development projects and programs in support of the Department of the Army's Civil Works mission.

I am very pleased that the Congress has passed this important legislation. It represents the culmination of a 4-year effort on the part of the Administration and the Congress to enact legislation to preserve and develop water infrastructure needs critical to the Nation's safety, environment, and economic security. It will serve to improve the Nation's water-related infrastructure, create new jobs for Americans, and encourage both economic growth and environmental restoration and protection.

This bill represents another important step forward for the Florida Everglades—one of America's richest treasures. Three years ago, my Administration made the Everglades one of our highest environmental priorities, establishing a special task force to coordinate Federal activities in the area. In February of this year, the Vice President announced our comprehensive program to restore the Florida Everglades. Several weeks later, I signed a Farm Bill that provided a $200 million downpayment on Everglades restoration; it was sponsored by the Florida delegation with support from Republican and Democratic leaders in the Congress. I called on the Congress again to enact our comprehensive Everglades restoration plan.

This legislation enacts the majority of that plan, establishing the Everglades and South Florida Ecosystem Restoration Program. It directs the Secretary of the Army to work in partnership with various State and Federal agencies participating in the South Florida Ecosystem Restoration Task Force to coordinate a long-term restoration effort. It authorizes a number of projects to restore and protect the South Florida ecosystem.

After decades of decline in the Everglades, the people of South Florida and the Nation should take great pride in the steps we have taken together to bring them back. Restoration will take many years of hard work and cooperation, but we know we are on the right track.

Apart from the Everglades provisions, this legislation also includes revisions to cost sharing, which require non-Federal interests to provide a minimum of 35 percent of the costs of both flood control projects and environmental protection and restoration projects authorized in the future. I would have preferred that the non-Federal share be increased to 50 percent and that the new cost sharing apply to projects authorized in this bill. Nevertheless, the changes here represent a significant first step toward greater non-Federal participation in key water resource projects of the future. These changes also represent recognition of the need for non-Federal beneficiaries to share more fully in the cost of such projects in these times of Federal fiscal constraints. Flood control cost-sharing provisions also require the non-Federal project sponsors to develop flood management plans that will help reduce the potential for future flood damages.

I am concerned about the potential overall Federal cost of the bill. Under existing budget constraints, many projects and initiatives authorized by this bill cannot be funded within a reasonable timeframe. Thus, such authorizations may raise unrealistic expectations for non-Federal sponsors who expect timely project initiation and completion. I am also concerned about certain provisions of the bill that assign responsibilities to the Federal Government that more appropriately belong to State and local governments or the private sector, that are inconsistent with established cost-sharing rules, or that authorize projects that are not economically justified.

On balance though, this is important legislation that will not only help save the Everglades, but also promote responsible water resources projects and programs. I appreciate the diligent efforts of all involved to produce a bill that continues the vital role of the Army Corps of Engineers in building and maintaining a strong water resources program. This legislation will continue and in many ways strengthen the Federal/non-Federal partnership principles started in 1986. It will also allow the Army Corps of Engineers to maintain an orderly program for

the construction of productive water resources projects.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 12, 1996.

NOTE: S. 640, approved October 12, was assigned Public Law No. 104–303. This statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 14.

Remarks on Signing the Wildfire Suppression Aircraft Transfer Act of 1996 and an Exchange With Reporters in Albuquerque

October 14, 1996

The President. Thank you, Senator Bingaman and Congressman Richardson. I want to thank the representatives of New Mexico's firefighting community here from the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the volunteer firefighters, the New Mexico State forestry office. And of course, we've got some folks from the Albuquerque Fire Department over there, as well.

I'm delighted to be staying here for the next few days. As you look around New Mexico you can't help being awestruck by the awesome, the breathtaking natural beauty of this State and of the entire West, the deserts, the mountains, the play of light and color. We have to do everything we can to protect the treasures of New Mexico. The beauty we see here and, indeed, throughout the West is very deep, but it's also fragile. We know that wildfires can ravage the landscape, threaten people, devastate homes and farms and businesses.

This has been the worst year for wildfires in nearly four decades. I think I need to emphasize that because that is the importance of the legislation we signed today and the efforts that these firefighters and those whom they represent have made—the worst year in almost 40 years. The brave men and women who are with us today and the thousands of their colleagues put their lives on the line to protect their fellow citizens, our natural environment, as they battle these blazes. We owe them our thanks, and we should be deeply grateful that during this past year, despite the huge rash of wildfires, not a single firefighter lost his or her life in a wildfire. That's because their training, their dedication, and because of the equipment that they have been provided.

We have to make sure that they have the very best possible equipment at their disposal. We can't tolerate a situation where any firefighter is unable to protect the public or themselves because of a lack of equipment, especially the air tankers that can muster such force and power to fight fires.

The legislation I have just signed will help these and other firefighters to do a better job with more safety, especially when they're faced with wildfires. Today, the Forest Service and other agencies rely on an aging and shrinking fleet of 39 air tankers to fight fires throughout our Nation. With this measure, we allow the Department of Defense to sell excess military aircraft to private contractors for conversion into air tankers that then can be leased to our Government to drench the fires from the sky.

This is a public-private partnership in the best sense, providing a vital service to the American public and its safety, using the skills and resources of the private sector to maintain a full fleet of modern air tankers for use by the Forest Service. It's especially fitting that this becomes law at the end of National Fire Prevention Week, a time we honor fallen firefighters and redouble our own efforts to be prudent and prevent fires from happening in the first place.

Again, I want to thank those brave men and women who are here with me today. I thank Senator Bingaman for his leadership. I thank Congressman Richardson, whose district has been especially affected. I'd also like to thank Senators Kempthorne and Craig for what they did and Senator Lott for making it possible for us to bring up this bill late in the congressional session and get it passed eventually in both Houses on a voice vote. This was a good thing for America, and I was glad to sign the bill.

Thank you very much.

1996 Election

Q. Mr. President, Newt Gingrich yesterday——

Q. Mr. President, Dole says he may make a renewed effort in California. Do you believe the race in California has tightened within 10 points?

The President. Well, I can't answer that question. I don't know. But I will say this: If California is to become a battleground in the last 3 weeks of the election, that is something that I would welcome, because I believe the people there are fundamentally fair-minded and forward-looking. And when I became President, California had the weakest economy in the country. Since I've been President, they've had to endure earthquakes and fires and floods. And in spite of all of that, they have shown a remarkable turnaround in so many areas, and I'm very proud of the partnership we have had.

No administration in history has worked as hard on so many fronts to make so much progress as we have. So if that's going to be the issue for the last 3 weeks, I would be happy to engage in that discussion, and I believe I know how it will come out.

Q. What are you going to do if Bob Dole goes negative?

The President. I can't—I'm going to do what I always do. I'm preparing to do my debate, to answer whatever questions may be asked. As I understand it, the people who are coming are picked from undecided voters, a fairly small percentage of people who still have questions on their minds. Whatever they ask I'll do my best to answer. But Senator Dole will decide his strategy, and I will decide mine, and we'll see what the people have to say afterwards. There's nothing else to say.

I look forward to it, just as I looked forward to the last one, and the most important thing, I hope, is that it will be something that people will feel better about when it's over. Many people said to me after the last debate that they thought that it had been fundamentally positive and that people had really learned from the debate what the differences between us are and what practical impact that would have in the next 4 years. That's all any of us could hope for, and that's what I hope will come out of this debate.

Thank you.

Q. What's your reaction to Newt Gingrich, sir?

Q. Mr. President, you said FBI numbers show lowest crime rate, but here in Albuquerque we've had a record number of homicides.

Q. Any comment on Newt Gingrich?

The President. It's election time.

Q. It's a waste of time, did you say?

The President. It's election time, I said.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:03 a.m. outside the Holiday Inn Pyramid Hotel. S. 2078, approved October 14, was assigned Public Law No. 104–307. A portion of the exchange could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting an Executive Order To Revise Procedures for Processing Export License Applications

October 12, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In order to take additional steps with respect to the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order 12924 of August 19, 1994, and continued on August 15, 1995, and August 14, 1996, necessitated by the expiration of the Export Administration Act on August 20, 1994, I hereby report to the Congress that pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(b) ("the Act"), I have today exercised the authority granted by the Act to issue an Executive order (a copy of which is attached) to revise the existing procedures for processing export license applications submitted to the Department of Commerce.

The new Executive order relates to my decision to transfer certain commercial communications satellites and jet engine hot-section technology from the United States Munitions List

administered by the Department of State to the Commerce Control List administered by the Department of Commerce. Specifically, when I made that decision I also decided to amend Executive Order 12981 of December 5, 1995, which set forth procedures for the interagency review and disposition of dual-use export license applications.

The new Executive order is designed to provide that the first-level license determination for the affected commercial communications satellites and jet engine hot-section technology would be made by majority vote, instead of by the Chair of the Operating Committee of the Advisory Committee on Export Policy. This change assures that national security and foreign policy considerations will be fully taken into account with respect to license processing in these two sectors.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 15. The Executive order of October 12 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks on the Second Annual Report on Television Violence and an Exchange With Reporters in Albuquerque

October 15, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. I want to thank Dr. Cole for being here today and for the extensive study that he has conducted. I want to thank Senator Paul Simon and the executives of the four major networks who agreed that this study should be done and then saw to it that it was done.

Nothing is more important than strengthening our families and helping our parents to teach their children good values. We know that television can be a positive force or a destructive force in the lives of our children. Every parent knows that exposure to TV violence can be numbing and send the wrong message to their kids. And parents whose children grew up watching programs like "Sesame Street," as our daughter did, know that television can teach as well as entertain.

Parents need our help to protect their children from harmful or inappropriate forces from outside the home and help them pass on their values to their children. This is something our administration cares deeply about. Tipper Gore sounded the first alarm almost a decade ago in her book "Raising PG Kids In An X-Rated Society." And Hillary wrote eloquently about this in her book. Today's comprehensive report shows that where broadcast television is concerned we are moving measurably in the right direction, away from violence and toward more programming for children. We have a long way to go, but we are making progress for our children.

The study notes several positive trends over the past year, including a decrease in the number of TV series and made-for-TV movies with frequent violence; fewer broadcasts of violent films originally released in theaters; fewer children's series with sinister combat violence; an increase in the use of advisories about violence. The picture is not all bright. Theatrical movies are still the most violent programs when they're broadcast on television. Even promotional ads for these films are violent. Some primetime specials have begun to feature real and staged animal attacks. Emerging broadcast networks are showing a higher percentage of violent shows.

So there is work still to be done. But this work has been begun, and it is bearing fruit. Everyone has a responsibility in bringing this kind of change: parents, the entertainment industry, government, each of us as individuals. Step by step, working together, our administration, especially the Vice President and I, have worked to make television better for our families, since my first year in office when I commended the leaders of broadcast television for their decision to include parental advisories on violence. We have challenged the entertainment industry to find their way back to family pro-

gramming, and challenged parents to do their part as well.

We insisted that the Telecommunications Act require new TV sets to include a violence chip, a V-chip, that will give parents the ability to screen out violent or inappropriate programming for their young children. In my State of the Union Address, I challenged broadcasters to develop voluntary rating systems that would enable the V-chip to work. And earlier this year in a conference at the White House, the entertainment industry showed very good citizenship in agreeing to set up a voluntary rating system.

Over a year ago I asked the FCC to broadcast air at least 3 hours of educational children's programming each week. Last July, I invited the leaders of the entertainment industry and children's television and others to meet me in the White House to discuss how to improve the quality of children's television. As a result, I reached agreement with the broadcasters on a proposal under which each broadcaster now will air 3 hours a week of educational children's programming. The FCC adopted the proposal, and the market for educational television for children is now booming.

I want to commend the entertainment industry for stepping up to this issue. And of course, I want to thank the thousands of parents across our country who served as a conscience and a prod for so long. The progress we're making shows how we can best meet our challenges: working together, employing common sense, and finding common ground.

It accomplishes nothing simply to rail against violence. That's like yelling at the TV or the movie screen alone in a room. We will continue to sit down, to work with entertainment leaders, to fight for the public interest. I'm confident we will continue to make progress for our families, and again, I want to thank Dr. Jeff Cole for the fine work that he has been doing. I'd like to ask him to come up now and make a few remarks about the report.

Dr. Cole?

[*At this point, Dr. Jeffrey I. Cole, director, UCLA Center for Communication Policy, gave a brief update on the study.*]

1996 Election

Q. Mr. President, Bob Dole says that you are willing to take responsibility for doing things like this or even the drop in the crime rate but not for problems, especially ethical ones, within your administration, things like firing the Travel Office figures or even towards acceptances of questionable campaign donations by the Democrats and by the campaign. I wonder what your response to that is?

The President. Well, we're going to have a debate tomorrow night. But I have not only tried to take responsibility for the things that I have some responsibility for, good and bad, but also to share responsibility for the good news with the American people who are responsible for helping to create the 10½ million more jobs and bringing the crime rate down, and in the case of where we're going to be tomorrow night, in San Diego County, reducing the problem of illegal immigration. So I tried to follow a balanced report.

Senator Dole takes the position if it's good, I didn't have anything to do with it, and if it's bad, I must have stayed up all night planning it. So that's just politics, and we'll see some more of that, I'm sure. But we'll have time to discuss that in the debate.

Q. Will your campaign contributions be returned?

Q. Mr. President, I'm wondering if you're worried about TV violence tomorrow night. Specifically, what goes through your mind when Senator Dole, as he is in a speech right now, questions your personal integrity and that of the administration itself?

The President. Well, he's been doing quite a lot of that, and I'll have a chance to answer that at the appropriate time.

Q. Nothing——

The President. No, what I—again I will say, you know, my view is this country is better off than it was 4 years ago. And we have worked hard to make it so. And we've worked hard by concentrating on ideas and issues, not insults. We've spent very little time worrying about our opponents. And we spent a lot more time being concerned about the American people. I expect to do that tomorrow: issues, ideas, not insults. And the American people can simply make up their own mind. They'll have a lot of time to evaluate it; they can make up their own mind.

Q. He just finished his toughest attack so far on your integrity. He called your administration self-righteous, self-serving, arrogant, swaggering. It says you personally do not keep your word. Are you worried about this new tactic they're using?

The President. No.

Television Violence

Q. Does Senator Dole get some credit for speaking out against Hollywood violence? Would he be entitled to some of the credit for this plan?

The President. Well, this project in particular was underway well before Senator Dole ever said anything. I think that anybody who speaks out in a constructive way is doing a responsible thing.

You know, I went to California in December of '93 and challenged the entertainment industry to work with me to reduce violence and to improve the quality of programming. We had people from all the networks meeting with me in early '94, and then they reached this agreement to work with Senator Simon and Dr. Cole in doing something which I think is quite important.

So I would hope that all Americans would be continually coming to grips with this, because we want to have total first amendment freedom of speech, but we also want to have a society in which the culture supports families in raising their children. There is no more important job; there is no more important agenda. So I think anyone who speaks out in an affirmative way can make a positive contribution.

And again, I want to say that, Dr. Cole, it's rather remarkable to me that this unusual partnership with all of the networks and Senator Simon and UCLA has worked out well, because you can tell by what he said today that nobody's attempted to censor him. He's been given full freedom to evaluate these programs, to report on them, and to say what he thinks.

Do you want to say anything about that?

Dr. Cole. No, I appreciate that, and it has been an absolutely independent project. We also extended an invitation to Senator Dole to be fully briefed on this if he would like, and we're waiting to hear if he's interested. But he has every opportunity to be briefed in the same way the President has been.

The President. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m. at the Holiday Inn Pyramid Hotel.

Remarks on Receiving the Endorsement of Native American Tribal Leaders and an Exchange With Reporters in Albuquerque

October 15, 1996

The President. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Congressman Richardson, for what you've said about the record that we have worked hard to make in partnership with the Native Americans. Thank you, Mayor Chavez, for being here. I want to thank the Native American leaders who have come here today to offer their support. And I thank President Hale and Governor Garcia for the words that they have given.

Let me say that there are many wonderful things about having the great honor of being President of the United States. But being able to be President of a country that includes the Native American tribes, to have the opportunity to work with them in a spirit of genuine respect, to work to improve the recognition of the integrity of their religious practices, to work to try to increase the level of independence and reduce the level of patronizing practices in the relationship of the Native American tribes to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, all these things are very, very important to me.

As the 42d President, I was honored to be the first President since our fifth President, James Monroe, in the 1820's, to invite the leaders of every tribe in the United States to meet with me at the White House. We have worked hard to expand tribal sovereignty and self-determination. We have worked hard to make sure every Federal agency knows that it should consult with tribal governments at any time we're making decisions that affect American Indians and Alaskan natives.

By working together, we have moved forward. We have kept some bad things from happening, but we have also made some good things happen. We have a lot more to do. But we can be proud of what has been done in protecting self-determination, in preserving natural re-

sources, in providing educational and economic opportunity, in defending tribal rights to protect children, families, and culture.

America is going in the right direction in no small measure because every American and every American family and every American ethnic, racial, and religious group knows that in our America, they are all entitled to be treated with dignity and equality. But I am especially grateful for the Indian nations for standing with us as we have fought to preserve our common values, as we have worked to balance the budget without crippling our investments in people and our obligations to one another.

Now we have to continue the progress and build upon it. The endorsement of the leaders here and the work we will do together will be critical to keep our country moving into the right direction as we move into the 21st century. I value their friendship. I value their partnership, and I look forward to working with them.

Thank you all very, very much.

Gambling on Indian Reservations

Q. Mr. President—[*inaudible*]—meeting, and can your administration do anything, any more to resolve the current logjam?

The President. No. There are some Indian gaming issues around the country that we still have the capacity to resolve. But the ones here are in the courts. And there's really nothing more for us to do except to let them work their way through the courts.

Q. Mr. President, the so-called dean of Native American leaders is not here today, Mescalero Apache President Wendell Chino. And he wants you to fire U.S. Attorney John Kelly, the man who shut down his casino and so do, frankly, some people on the stage with you today. Is that going to happen, sir?

The President. This issue is in the courts now, and I have no further comment.

Campaign Financing

Q. Mr. President, do you seek, in fact, the disputed $450,000? Everyone in the administration said there's nothing illegal, but there's some ethical issues been raised. We haven't heard you say much about it.

The President. Well I—first of all, I expect to have the opportunity to discuss that tomorrow night. But I believe that the political parties should not give back contributions that were legally made and legally received. And if they made a mistake and took any money that shouldn't have been taken, then they ought to give that back. I think that there are clear FEC rules on this. There's a law on this. That's what we've got a Federal Election Commission for. And we know they're capable of doing their job because they've taken action this year already.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:40 p.m. at the Holiday Inn Pyramid Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Martin Chavez of Albuquerque; Albert Hale, president, Navajo Nation; and Gov. Leonard D. Garcia, Pueblo of Santa Ana, Southern Pueblos.

Exchange With Reporters on the Presidential Debate in San Diego, California

October 16, 1996

Q. Can you tell us what you're thinking about—[*inaudible*]—today?

The President. It's been a long time since I've done one of these townhalls, so I'm looking forward to that. I'm interested to see what the people have on their mind, and I'm looking forward to it. I've done my best to prepare. I've still got some reading to do. I'm going to go back and do a little work now.

Q. If Bob Dole goes real negative, how are you going to respond to that today, Mr. President?

The President. Well, we're going to respond to the people who are in the audience. That's the way this was designed, and we'll just see what happens. I'm going to do my best to re-

spond to their questions and to talk about what I'm going to do for the next 4 years.

NOTE: The exchange began at 12:30 p.m. en route to the debate site. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Presidential Debate in San Diego
October 16, 1996

Jim Lehrer. Good evening from the Shiley Theatre at the University of San Diego, San Diego, California. I'm Jim Lehrer of the "NewsHour" on PBS. Welcome to this second 1996 Presidential debate between Senator Bob Dole, the Republican nominee, and President Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee. It is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates.

We will follow a townhall-type format tonight. The questions over the next 90 minutes will come from 113 citizens of the greater San Diego area. They were chosen in the past week by the Gallup organization to represent a rough cross-section of voters as to political views, age, gender, and other factors. Each said he or she is undecided about this Presidential race.

They were told to come tonight with questions. Nobody from the Debate Commission or the two campaigns has any idea what those questions are; neither do I. We will all be hearing them for the first time at the same time. I met with this group 3 hours ago, and we spoke only about how it was going to work tonight. They are sitting in five sections. I will call on individuals at random, moving from one section to another with each new question, alternating the questions between the two candidates. My job is to keep things fair and the subjects as clear and as varied as possible.

The rules, drawn by the campaigns, are basically the same as they were for the Hartford and St. Petersburg debates: 90-second answers, 60-second rebuttals, 30-second responses for each question. The candidates are not allowed to question each other directly. There will be 2-minute opening and closing statements. The order for this evening was set by coin toss.

We begin now with Senator Dole and his opening statement.

Senator Dole.

Opening Statements

Senator Bob Dole. Thank you very much, Jim.

Let me first give you a sports update: the Braves, one; Cardinals, nothing—early on.

I want to thank you and I want to thank everybody here tonight, and I want a special thanks to my wife, Elizabeth, and my daughter, Robin, for their love and support, and thank the people who are listening and watching all over America.

In 20 days, you will help decide who will lead this country into the next century. It's an awesome responsibility. And you must ask yourself, do you know enough about the candidates? You should know as much as possible about each of us. Sometimes the views have been distorted—and millions and millions of dollars in negative advertising spent distorting my views—but I hope tonight you'll get a better feel of who Bob Dole is and what he's all about.

And I think first you should—I should understand that the question on your mind is, do I understand your problem? But I understand it if—it occurred to me and I might just say that I'm from a large family. I've got lots of relatives, and they're good, average, middle class, hard-working Americans. They live all across the country. They're not all Republicans—maybe all but one. [*Laughter*]

But in any event, I understand the problems, whether it's two parents working because one has to pay the taxes and one has to provide for the family; whether it's a single parent who just barely pays the pressing bills; or whether you're worried about an education for your children—are they going to the best schools; or whether you're worried about safe playgrounds, drug-free schools, crime-free schools.

This is what this election is all about. And hopefully tonight when we conclude this debate, you will have a better understanding and the viewing and listening audience will have a better understanding. Thank you. [*Applause*]

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President, 2 minutes, opening statement.

The President. I was going to applaud, too. [*Laughter*]

Well, thank you, Jim, and thanks to the people of San Diego for giving us this opportunity to have another discussion about the decision we all face in front of people who will make the decision. Again I will say, I'll do my best to make this a discussion of ideas and issues, not insults. What really matters is what happens to your future and what happens to our country as we stand on the brink of a new century, a time of extraordinary possibility.

I have a simple philosophy that I've tried to follow for the last 4 years: Do what creates opportunity for all, what reinforces responsibility from all of us, and what will help us build a community where everybody's got a role to play and a place at the table.

Compared to 4 years ago, we're clearly better off. We've got 10½ million more jobs; the deficit's been reduced by 60 percent; incomes are rising for the first time in a decade; the crime rates, the welfare rolls are falling; we're putting 100,000 more police on the street; 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have been denied handguns.

But that progress is only the beginning. What we really should focus on tonight is what we still have to do to help the American people make the most of this future that's out there. I think what really matters is what we can do to help build strong families. Strong families need a strong economy. To me, that means we have to go on and balance this budget while we protect Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment.

We should give a tax cut targeted to childrearing and education, to buying a first home and paying for health care. We ought to help protect our kids from drugs and guns and gangs and tobacco. We ought to help move a million people from welfare to work. And we ought to create the finest education system in the world, where every 18-year-old can go on to college and all of our younger children have great educational opportunities. If we do those things, we can build that bridge to the 21st century. That's what I hope to get to talk about tonight.

Thank you.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, let's go now to the first question from this section, and it's for Senator Dole.

Yes, ma'am? Yes?

Q. Hello, Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Hi.

Leadership To Promote Unity

Q. My name is Shannon MacAfee. I'm a beginning educator in this country, and I really think it's important what children have to say. They're still very idealistic, and everything they say comes from the heart. I have a quote for you from "If I Were President," compiled by Peggy Gavin. A sixth grader says, "If I were President, I would think about Abraham Lincoln and George Washington and what they did to make our country great. We should unite the white and black people and people of all cultures. Democrats and Republicans should unite also. We should all come together and think of the best ways to solve the economic problems of our country. I believe that when we are able to come together and stop fighting amongst ourselves, we will get along a lot better."

These are the ideals and morals that we are trying to teach our children in these days, yet we don't seem to be practicing them in our Government, in anything. If you are President, how will you begin to practice what we are preaching to our children, the future of our Nation?

Senator Dole. Well, I would say, first of all, I think it's a very good question, and I appreciate the quote from the young man.

There's no doubt about it that many American people have lost their faith in government. They see scandals almost on a daily basis. They see ethical problems in the White House today. They see 900 FBI files of private persons being gathered up by somebody in the White House; nobody knows who hired this man. So there's a great deal of cynicism out there.

But I've always tried, in whatever I've done, to bring people together. I said in my acceptance speech in San Diego about 2 months ago that the exits are clearly marked. If you think the Republican Party is someplace for you to come if you're narrow-minded or bigoted or don't like certain people in America, the exits are clearly marked for you to walk out of, as I stand here without compromise because this is the party of Lincoln.

I think we have a real obligation, obviously, public officials. I'm no longer a public official; I left public life on June 11th of this year. But it is very important. Young people are looking to us. They're looking to us for leadership.

They're watching what we do, what we say, what we promise, and what we finally deliver. And I would think—it seems to me that there are opportunities here. When I'm President of the United States, I will keep my word. My word is my bond.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President?

The President. One of the reasons that I ran for President, Sandy, is because not just children, a lot of grownups felt that way. If you remember, 4 years ago we had not only rising unemployment but a lot of rising cynicism. I'd never worked in Washington as an elected official. It seemed to me that most of the arguments were partisan: Republican, Democrat; left, right; liberal, conservative. That's why I said tonight I'm for opportunity, responsibility, and community. And we've gotten some real progress in the last 4 years. I've also done everything I could at every moment of division in this country—after Oklahoma City, when these churches were burned—to bring people together and remind people that we are stronger because of our diversity. We have to respect one another.

You mentioned Washington and Lincoln; they were Presidents at historic times. This is an historic time. It's important that we go beyond those old partisan arguments and focus on people and their future. When we do that, instead of shutting the Government down over a partisan fight on the budget, we're a better country, and that's why we're making progress now.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator?

Senator Dole. Well, bringing people together again is obviously a responsibility we all have. I know you do it. Everybody here does it. You do a lot of things nobody knows about. I have a little foundation for the disabled called the Dole Foundation. We've raised about $10 million. We don't talk about it. We try to help people with disabilities. We bring them back into the mainstream of public life.

So it seems to me that there's also a public trust. When you're the President of the United States, you have a public trust, and you have to keep that public trust, as George Washington did and as Abraham Lincoln did. And I think now that trust is being violated. And it seems to me we ought to face up to it, and the President ought to say tonight that he's not going to pardon anybody that he was involved in business with who might implicate him later on.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, the next question from this section right here. Right there in the middle, sir. Yes, sir?

Health Care

Q. Dr. Robert Berkeley; I'm a cardiologist from Fallbrook, California. Mr. President, I'd like to know if you'd please explain your plans for—in a substantive fashion, for addressing the problems with the health care system in our country.

The President. I will. First of all, let me say what we have done: In the last 4 years, we've worked hard to promote more competition to bring down the rate of inflation in health care costs without eroding health care quality. The Government pays for Medicare and Medicaid, as you know, and that's very important.

Secondly, we've added a million more children to the ranks of the insured through the Medicaid program. We have protected 25 million people through the passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or if someone in your family's been sick. We just recently ended those drive-by deliveries, saying people couldn't be kicked out of the hospital by insurance companies when they'd just had babies. So this is—that's a good start.

In the next 4 years, I want to focus on the following things: Number one, add another million children to the insured ranks through the Medicaid program; number two, keep working with the States, as we are now, to add 2.2 million more people to the insurance system; number three, cover people who are between jobs for up to 6 months—that could protect 3 million families, 700,000 kids; and number four, make sure we protect the integrity of the Medicare program and the Medicaid program and not do anything in cutting costs which would cause hundreds of hospitals to close, as could have been the case if the $270 billion Medicare cut that I vetoed had been enacted into law.

Senator Dole. First, let me say there you go again, Mr. President, talking about a Medicare cut. Now, I've heard you say this time after time, and I've heard you say on one TV appearance, "The media made me do it." You were trying to defend your cut, which was not a cut either—a reduction in the growth of spending. And we always had at least 7 percent. You've said publicly that it's now 3 times the rate of inflation, we ought to cut the growth to twice

the rate of inflation. That's about where we are now. So let's stop talking about cutting Medicare. In my economic plan we increase it 39 percent.

Don't forget what he tried to do with health care: 17 new taxes, spend $1.5 trillion, 50 new bureaucracies. Can you believe that? You couldn't even have been a cardiologist because they had quotas. You had—you couldn't—you're a cardiologist; it wouldn't affect you. But if somebody wanted to be a cardiologist 10 years from now, you'd have to be certain that you complied with some of the rules in this extreme medical plan the Government was going to take over for all Americans. There are things we can do like the Kassebaum bill, that retains many provisions I authored, to cover preexisting—existing—portability. And there are other things we can do. We still need to cover about 20 million people and a lot of children.

The President. I don't have time in 30 seconds to respond to fix all that. But let me just say, the American Hospital Association said that the budget I vetoed could have closed 700 hospitals, not me. And on a per-person basis, it did cut way below the rate of inflation in medical costs.

But the important thing is, what are we going to do now? We need to help people who are between jobs. We need to cover more kids. We need to provide more preventive care. My balanced budget covers mammograms for ladies on—women on Medicare and also gives respite care to the million-plus families who have someone with Alzheimer's. These things are paid for in the balanced budget plan. It will move us forward.

Mr. Lehrer. The next question is for Senator Dole from here. Yes, sir?

Armed Forces

Q. Senator Dole, my name is Jason Milligan, active-duty military and a small-business owner. And my question is, what is your position on closing the gap between military and civilian pay scales?

Senator Dole. Jason, I appreciate that very much, being a former military man myself.

You know, we have 17,000 men and women today wearing our uniform that receive food stamps. It shouldn't happen in America. We have men and women wearing our uniform in substandard housing. It shouldn't happen in America. And it's time we take a look at the pay scales. You did get a 3 percent increase this year, but that's not enough.

If we're going to ask young men and young women to protect us and defend us around the world, and we've had more deployments under this administration than any time in history—50 times we deployed troops around the world. Every time you do that, you take a risk—somebody you know, maybe your son, maybe your grandson, maybe somebody else. But I think anybody who wears a uniform is a great American. Remember Vietnam, remember when people almost used to walk across the street rather than have contact with somebody who was in Vietnam—that's all behind us now, and it should be behind us—and the forgotten war, the Korean war. But I guess, I can just answer you very plainly, Jason: Thank you for doing what you're doing. America owes you a debt of gratitude.

The President. May I ask you a question? What kind of—which service are you in?

Q. I'm in the United States Navy, sir.

The President. And what kind of small business do you have?

Q. I have an Amway business.

The President. Good for you. Well, let me say—Senator Dole mentioned this. I just signed a bill that we got through Congress to increase the amount of pay increase we could give for military personnel and to make sure the pay increase this year was above the rate of inflation. I also had presented to the Congress, and they adopted, a large package of quality-of-life improvements which are very important. I've spent a lot of time talking to military families, as well as military members, all over the world and in bases all across the United States. And I became convinced, after talking to the families and the personnel in uniform, that we needed to not only have the pay raise but we needed to invest more in child care, housing, and other things to support families, especially when there are longer deployments because of the downsizing of the military.

So we're going to do better, and we'll do better still. But this is a commitment I think that all Americans share, without regard to party.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. Well, Jason, I don't disagree with anything the President said except he waited 4 years to do these things. And my view is it ought to be—it'll be done on day one.

We'll start working on it on day one in the Dole-Kemp administration. This is important. Now, we only have 10 divisions now; we used to have 18. We had 25 fighter wings; we're down to 13. We had 536 ships; we're down to 336 ships. I mean, we've cut defense spending too much in the first place. The President told you in '92 he would cut it $67 billion; he cut $112 billion. So we're right on the edge right now. But the last thing we ought to do is make those who wear the uniform sacrifice.

Mr. Lehrer. Next question here for President Clinton. Yes, ma'am, here on the front row.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. President Clinton, my name is Cecily Kelly. Yesterday Yasser Arafat said in Palestine that he thinks the key to success in the Middle East is the commitment of Americans. Would you, as President, send American troops to Israel or the West Bank as peacekeepers?

The President. Let me just take 2 seconds of my time, because I'm the Commander in Chief, to respond to one thing that was said. I propose to spend $1.6 trillion on defense between now and the year 2002. And there's less than one percent difference between my budget and the Republican budget on defense.

Now, on the Middle East, as you know, I've worked very hard for peace in the Middle East. The agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis was signed at the White House. And the agreement, the peace treaty with Jordan, I went to Jordan to sign that, to be there. But—and I think the United States could do whatever we reasonably can.

I can say this: I do not believe Yasser Arafat wants us to send troops to the West Bank. We have never been asked to send troops to the West Bank.

I saw the agreement that Prime Minister Rabin and Yasser Arafat signed on the West Bank. It had 26 separate maps they had to sign, literally thousands of delineations of who would do what on the West Bank. And I believe if the parties will get together and in a good faith manner make that agreement, that they'll be able to do it. We cannot impose a peace on the Middle East.

My position has always been that the job of the United States was to minimize the risks of peace. You know, if they ask me to be part of some monitoring force—as we are in the Sinai and have been since 1978 to monitor the peace between Egypt and Israel—frankly, I would have to think about it; I would have to see what they wanted to do. But I don't believe that will be the request. I think what Mr. Arafat wants us to do is to make sure that everybody honors the agreements they've already made. That's why I brought the leaders to Washington a few days ago. I think they will, and I think we'll get there. Don't be too discouraged.

Senator Dole. Well, let me, Jason, come back to you a minute because there is a big difference in the defense budget. We had $7 billion this year, and $10 billion more than the President. He puts his money in the out years—even if he were reelected, you know, he'd be gone before anything happened. And nothing's going to happen, because we don't have modernization now. If we don't build more B–2 bombers in California—and we lost about 500,000 jobs out in California because of this devastation, these big, big cuts. We had to make cuts; we didn't have to make the cuts the President promised he'd make and then he doubled. And so I think we need to go back and take a look. We're increasing defense reasonably, not too much but we are increasing defense some, because we want to be prepared in case somebody here gets called up, Jason.

I would say I didn't hear what Yasser Arafat had to say, but I don't want to—you know, I think foreign policy is something we want to be very careful about. And I'm not here to argue about the President on some ongoing foreign policy matter. What I want the President to do, and I think he may have done it in his last statement, is call for an unconditional end to the violence and have the parties keep on talking as they should talk and have a resolution. The last thing we want to do is commit more forces anywhere.

But let's sort of keep this out of politics, because it's pretty dicey right now.

The President. When the change of government occurred in Israel, the people of Israel were saying, "We don't want to abandon the peace process. We want more security." Then, a lot of mutual distrust developed. A lot of things happened which maybe shouldn't have happened.

When I asked Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Netanyahu to come to Washington and got them together and they talked alone for 3 hours, I was convinced that they had to have a chance to make that peace. Again, I'd say if they ask

us to play some reasonable role, I don't know how I would respond. It would depend entirely on what they ask us to do. But the real secret there is for them to abide by the agreements they've made and find a way to trust each other. And they're going to have to spend some time and trust each other.

Prime Minister Rabin gave his life believing that that trust could be materialized, and I still think it can be.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, next question from this section, and it is for Senator Dole. Back in the back. Yes, sir, right there. Yes, sir.

Tobacco

Q. Senator Dole, Oscar Delgado.

Senator Dole. Oscar.

Q. Ex-smoker for 30 years. About 30 years ago I was a pack-plus-a-day man, okay? You mentioned in a statement, you said some time ago that you didn't think nicotine was addictive. Would you care to—you still hold to that statement, or do you wish to recant or explain yourself?

Senator Dole. Oh, that—that's very easy. My record going back to 1965 in the Congress, the first vote we had was whether or not you should put a little notice on cigarettes that they may be dangerous—I voted—I voted for everything since that time.

In fact, in 1992 we had a bill come before us that all the States had to comply or they're going to lose certain money. We sent it to the Clinton administration for implementation. They waited 3½ years. And during that period about 3,000 young kids every day started smoking. If you add it up, that's about 3 million—not until again 1996.

I don't want anybody to smoke. My brother probably died partly because of cigarettes. I was asked a technical question: Are they addictive? Maybe they—they probably are addictive. I don't know; I'm not a doctor. You shouldn't smoke. You ought to be glad you quit, Oscar—30 years?

Q. Yes.

Senator Dole. And it seems to me that what we need to do is to talk about not only tobacco but drugs, because drug use in 12- and 17-year-olds has doubled in this administration, the last 44 months. Marijuana use is up 141 percent; cocaine use, up 160 percent. They're your kids. It's all happened in this administration because they cut funding and they cut interdiction.

When I'm President of the United States, we're going to use the National Guard and whatever resources we need to stop some of the drugs coming into America. If you stop the drugs, nobody is going to use the drugs. So don't smoke, don't drink, don't use drugs. Just don't do it.

The President. Oscar, the question of what the Federal Government should do to limit the access of tobacco to young people is one of the biggest differences between Senator Dole and me.

We did propose a regulation 6 months after I became President under the law he mentioned. It simply says all these States—it made it illegal for kids to smoke—now they have to try harder if they want to keep getting Federal funds. Then we took comments, as we always do, and there were tens of thousands of comments about how we ought to do it. That's what drug it out.

Meanwhile, we started, also in '93, to look into whether cigarettes were addictive enough for the Federal Food and Drug Administration to ban the ability of cigarette companies to advertise, market, and distribute tobacco products to our kids. No President had ever taken on the tobacco lobby before. I did. Senator Dole opposed me. He went down and made a speech to people who were on his side, saying that I did the wrong thing. I think I did the right thing.

On drugs, I have repeatedly said drugs are wrong and illegal and can kill you. We have strengthened enforcement, and everybody in San Diego knows we've strengthened control of the border. We've done a lot more; I hope we get a chance to talk about it.

Senator Dole. Well, they also know, if they live in San Diego, Mr. President, if you're caught with 125 pounds of marijuana or less, you go back to Mexico; you're not prosecuted. You have a U.S. Attorney here that sends them back home. So I think that's pretty important. That's a lot of marijuana. That's a big supply.

But don't—you know, don't get into this smokescreen here, Oscar. The President, in the election year, decided, "Well, I ought to do something. I haven't done anything on drugs. I've been AWOL for 44 months. So let's take on smoking."

But see, they haven't even done it. They haven't said what's going to happen, whether they're going to have it declared addictive; it's

going to apply just to—once it's a drug, does it apply only to teenagers or to everybody in America?

Nobody should smoke, young or old. But particularly, young people should not smoke. And my record is there. It's been there. I've voted 8, 10 times since 1965.

Mr. Lehrer. The next question is for President Clinton, and it comes from right here. Yes, sir?

Social Security and Medicare

Q. President Clinton, my name is Jack Fleck. I'm a retired Air Force pilot. Sir, it's officially forecast that our annual Medicare and Social Security deficits are measured in the trillions of dollars next century. Depending upon who you listen to, Social Security will be bankrupt in either 2025 or 2030. I feel this is grossly unfair, especially to our younger generations, who are losing faith in the system.

My question is this: Assuming you agree that our entitlement programs are on an unsustainable course, what specific reforms do you propose?

The President. First of all, they're two different things. Social Security and Medicare are entirely different in terms of the financial stabilities. Let's talk about them separately.

Social Security is stable until, as you pointed out, at least the third decade of the next century. But we'd like to have a Social Security fund that has about 70 years of life instead of about 30 years of life.

What we have to do is simply to make some adjustments that take account of the fact that the baby boomers, people like me, are bigger in number than the people that went just before us and the people that come just after us. And I think what we'll plainly do is what we did in 1983, when Senator Dole served—and this is something I think he did a good job on—when he served on the Social Security Commission and they made some modest changes in Social Security to make sure that it would be alive and well into the 21st century. And we will do that. It's obvious that there are certain things that have to be done, and there are 50 to 60 different options. And a bipartisan commission, to take it out of politics, will make recommendations and build support for the people.

Medicare is different. Medicare needs help now. I have proposed a budget which would put 10 years on the life of the Medicare Trust Fund; that's more than it's had a lot of the time for the last 20 years.

It would save a lot of money through more managed care but giving more options, more preventive care, and lowering the inflation rate in the prices we're paying providers without having the kind of big premium increases and out-of-pocket costs that the budget I vetoed would provide. Then that will give us 10 years to do with Medicare what we're going to do with Social Security: have a bipartisan group look at what we have to do to save it when the baby boomers retire. But now we ought to pass this budget now and put 10 years on it right away so no one has to worry about it.

Senator Dole. Well, again, you know, if you're somebody thinking about the future, I think it's fair to say that it'll be—we'll work it out. I mean, this is a political year, and the President's playing politics with Medicare. But after this year's over we'll resolve it just as we did with Social Security in 1983. It was a nonpartisan commission. Ronald Reagan got together with Tip O'Neill and Howard Baker—two Republicans and one Democrat—and they formed a commission. I was on that commission. We resolved—we rescued Social Security. We suggested—I think it's been over a year ago now—we do the same with Medicare, and the White House called it a gimmick. Now last week, I guess it was, Donna Shalala said, "Well, we'll cut Medicare a hundred billion, and we'll appoint a commission."

It will probably have to be done by a commission. Take it out of politics. I think if I were a senior citizen I'd be a little fed up with all these ads scaring seniors, scaring veterans, and scaring students about education. But when you don't have any ideas, when you don't have any agenda, and all you have is fear, that's all you can use. We have ideas in the Dole-Kemp campaign, and we'll rescue Medicare as we did Social Security.

The President. Their idea was to have the poorest seniors in the country pay $270 more a year this year. Their idea was to budget—that the American Hospital Association said could close 700 hospitals. Their idea was to charge everybody more out-of-pocket costs in their budget that I vetoed—not in an election year, sir, I told them in early '95.

Senator Dole said 30 years ago he was one of 12 people that voted against Medicare and he was proud of it. A year ago he said, "I

was right then; I knew it wouldn't work." American seniors have the highest life expectancy in the world. We need to reform it, not wreck it.

Mr. Lehrer. Next question from here, and it's for Senator Dole. Yes, ma'am, right here.

Q. Me?

Mr. Lehrer. Yes.

Welfare Reform

Q. Senator Dole, my name is Suzanne Gonzalez, and I would like to know what you are—what would be your first step in reforming welfare.

Senator Dole. Well, we've taken the first step. We took it three steps. Twice we sent welfare reform to the President, and he vetoed it. On the third time we sent welfare reform to the President, he signed it but announced he would change it next year. And the Vice President said they were going to do something else through the line item veto, which I've never understood, but that's sort of inside baseball.

What we need to do is make certain we try to return people to work. And I'm standing here as someone who a long time ago—as the county attorney in Russell, Kansas, one of our jobs every month was to go through all the welfare checks and sign them. And three of those checks were my grandparents'. So I know what it's like to have to look welfare head-on.

Obviously some people are going to need help. This is the United States of America. You're not going to go without food, and you're not going to go without medical care. This is America. But at the same time, if you want to get off Medicare, get back in the mainstream, we're going to provide jobs. We're going to say you have a 5-year limit that you can be on welfare. You've got 2 years to look for a job. We provided more money for day care in the bill that passed the Senate and was vetoed. Then it came back, and the President signed pretty much the same bill.

But this is an important issue. I don't think we ought to be giving welfare payments to illegal immigrants. I mean, it puts a heavy burden on a State like—except for emergencies. It puts a heavy burden on States like California. It costs California taxpayers $3 billion a year.

Mr. Lehrer. President Clinton?

Senator Dole. I'll get out of your way here.

The President. It's illegal right now and has been for years for illegal immigrants to get welfare benefits.

Let me say that this is one of the most important issues in the world to me. I started working on welfare reform in 1980 because I was sick of seeing people trapped in a system that was increasingly physically isolating them and making their kids more vulnerable to get in trouble. So I'd been working on it when I was a Governor for a long time.

When I became President, I used the authority I had in this law to get out from under certain Federal rules to help States move people to work. We've reduced the welfare rolls by 2 million already. Now I've got a plan with this new welfare reform law to work with the private sector to give employers specific tax incentives to hire people off welfare and to do some other things which will create more jobs in the private sector, at least a million, to move more people from welfare to work. It's very important. And I hope we get a chance to talk about this more. There is not a more important issue.

I still remember a woman that I met 10 years ago who said she wanted to get off welfare so her kids could tell—give an answer when they say, "What does your mother do for a job?" I met that woman again. She's got four kids. One's got a good job; one's studying to be a doctor; one's in technical school; one's an honor student in high school. I want to make more people like that woman, Lillie Harden. So I've got a plan to do it. And it's just beginning.

Senator Dole. Well, another thing we can do—we talk about growth—we've got a great economic package which I hope we'll discuss later: across the board tax cut; child credits, $500 per child under 18; reduce the capital gains rate; create more jobs and opportunities for people on and off welfare.

And we have other provisions: less litigation. The trial lawyers—big supporters of the President—the trial lawyers, of course they like lawsuits, so every time they have a bill that they want vetoed, the President vetoes it for them.

We've got to understand in America that we've got to have growth, create more jobs and more opportunities in the private sector. The President takes credit for all of these people off welfare—the Governors did that. Federal Government doesn't do that. And the Govern-

ment doesn't create jobs, they're created in the private sector.

Mr. Lehrer. This section, question? Yes, ma'am, on the back row. This is for the President.

Capital Gains Tax

Q. Mr. President, my name is Pamela Johnson, and I'm a landlord. My question is, does your party have any future plans to reduce the capital gains tax, especially for retired Americans?

The President. First of all, we have a big plan to reduce the capital gains tax when people sell their homes. Part of my tax package, which is paid for in my balanced budget plan, would exempt up to half a million dollars in gains for people when they sell their home, which I think is the biggest capital gains benefit we could give to most ordinary Americans.

We also have a capital gains now for people that invest in new small businesses and hold the investment for 5 years. It was part of our other economic plan. And these are things I think that will go a long way toward helping America build a stronger economy and a better tax system.

I think the most important thing to emphasize, though, is that we also have to help people in other ways to build a stronger economy. And we can't have any tax cut that's not paid for. One of the big differences between Senator Dole and myself is that I told you how I'm going to pay for every penny of the tax cuts I recommend. We've worked hard to bring this deficit down, and that's helped people in the real estate business, because the interest rates are lower. We've got homeownership at a 15-year high. We've got this country going in the right direction.

So we can have a tax cut, but my priority would be to help the families who need it with childrearing and education and buying a first-time home and helping for health care costs. So from your business, helping in buying the first-time home, exempting the capital gains on the sale of the home would be the most important things that you asked about. Thank you, Pamela.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Well, Pamela, what the President didn't tell you is that all his tax cuts expire at the year 2000, but all his increases go on forever. That's the liberal approach. You know, give you a little tax cut, give you a couple of years, then make the tax increases go on forever. So the net tax increase in his plan is somewhere between $60 billion and $80 billion.

We have in the Dole-Kemp economic plan, unless your home is worth over $500,000—and if it is, I appreciate it, congratulate you—but in any event, no tax. And it's a good idea. They saw it, and they picked it up and put in theirs, but it's only temporary. Ours is permanent.

Ours is a good plan: create jobs and opportunities; capital gains rate, cut it in half, cut it from 28 percent to 14 percent. There are $7 trillion in assets locked up in America. If we cut the capital gains rate—I'm told every day—I got a letter from a former constituent in Kansas saying, "I want to sell property in California, put it in my business in Kansas. I can't because the capital gains rate is too high."

We need to get the economy going. That will help Social Security. That will create more jobs. That will help people who want to get off welfare. It's the American way.

The President. Before Senator Dole left the Senate, he and Mr. Gingrich also were recommending that we pass these tax cuts only insofar as we could pay for them. And we all assume that the tax cuts will be permanent, but we have to prove we can pay for them.

After he left the Senate, we abandoned that. That's why most experts say that this tax scheme will blow a huge hole in the deficit, raise interest rates, and weaken the economy. And that will take away all the benefits of the tax cut with a weaker economy. That's why we have to balance the budget. And I'll tell you how I'm going to pay for anything I promise you, line by line. You should expect that from both of us.

Mr. Lehrer. All right. The next question is for Senator Dole. Yes, ma'am, right there.

Responding to American Youth

Q. My name is Melissa Lydeana, and I'm a third-year student out at UC-San Diego. And I just want to say that it's a great honor representing the voices of America. My question is concerning you, Mr. Dole, all the controversy regarding your age. How do you feel you can respond to young voices of America today and tomorrow?

Senator Dole. Well, I think age is very—you know, wisdom comes from age, experience, and intelligence. And if you have some of each—

and I have some age, some experience, some intelligence—[*laughter*]—that adds up to wisdom.

I think it also is a strength; it's an advantage. And I have a lot of young people work in my office, work in my campaign. This is about America. This is about—somebody said earlier, one of the first questions, we're together. It's one America, one nation.

I'm looking at our economic plan because I'm concerned about the future for young people. I'm looking about drugs. The President's been AWOL for 4 years. I'm looking about crime. He'll claim credit now for crime going down, but it happened because mayors and Governors and others have brought crime down. Rudy Giuliani, the mayor of New York, brought crime down 25 percent just in New York City, but of course the President will take credit for that.

My view is we want to find jobs and opportunities and education. This year the Republican Congress, as far as student loans, went from 24 billion to 36 billion over the next 6 years—a 50 percent increase; the highest appropriation ever, $6 billion for Pell grants. Very, very important. And we also raised the amount of each Pell grant.

In our economic plan, the $500 child credit can be used for young people. Rolled over and over and over—of course, not this age, but if you have a child 2 years old, 7 percent interest, it would be worth about $18,000 by the time that child was ready for college.

The President. I can only tell you that I don't think Senator Dole is too old to be President. It's the age of his ideas that I question.

You're almost not old enough to remember this, but we've tried this before, promising people an election-year tax cut that's not paid for——

Senator Dole. We tried it last time you ran.

The President. ——telling you you can have everything you got—and let me just say this: Did you hear him say the Congress just voted to increase student loans and scholarships? They did, after he left. The last budget he led cut Pell grants, cut student loans. I vetoed it when they shut the Government down.

My plan would give students a dollar-for-dollar reduction for the cost of the typical community college tuition, a $10,000 deduction a year for the cost of college tuition, would let families save in an IRA and withdraw tax-free to pay for the cost of education. And it's all paid for.

My whole administration is about your future, it's about what the 21st century is going to be like for you. And I hope you'll look at the ideas in it.

Thank you.

Senator Dole. Well, when you don't have any ideas, I guess you say the other person's ideas are old. As I said earlier, they don't have any ideas. Their idea is to raise taxes and spend more money. That's the liberal philosophy. If that's what you like, you've got a perfect candidate.

President Clinton came to California in 1992 and said, "The centerpiece in my first 4 years is going to be a middle class tax cut." Now, to all you who got that tax cut, congratulations, because you got a big tax increase. You got a $265 billion tax increase. And he stands here and says politicians who make promises like that ought to be ignored. Well, he made the promise.

I keep my word, and you'll have a tax cut. It will help you in whatever you're going to do in the next few years. Thank you.

Mr. Lehrer. Next question is for President Clinton, and it's from—yes, ma'am? Yes?

Affirmative Action

Q. Hello. My name is Chessie Sanders, and my question is do you feel that America has grown enough and has educated itself enough to totally cut out affirmative action?

The President. No, ma'am, I don't. I am against quotas; I'm against giving anybody any kind of preference for something they're not qualified for, but because I still believe that there is some discrimination and that not everybody has an opportunity to prove they are qualified, I favor the right kind of affirmative action.

I've done more to eliminate programs—affirmative action programs that I didn't think were fair and to tighten others up than my predecessors have since affirmative action has been around, but I have also worked hard to give people a chance to prove that they are qualified.

Let me just give you some examples. We've doubled the number of loans from the Small Business Administration, tripled the number of loans to women business people—no one unqualified. Everybody had to meet the standards. We've opened 260,000 new jobs in the military to women since I've been President, but the Joint Chiefs say we're stronger and more competent and solid than ever.

Let me give you another example of what I mean. To me, affirmative action is making that extra effort. It's sort of like what Senator Dole did when he sponsored the Americans with Disabilities Act that said to certain stores, "Okay, you've got to make it accessible to people with wheelchairs." We weren't guaranteeing anything—anybody anything except the chance to prove they were qualified, the chance to prove that they could do it.

And that's why I must say I agree with General Colin Powell that we're not there yet. We ought to keep making those extra-effort affirmative action programs the law and the policy of the land.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole.

Senator Dole. Well, we may not be there yet, but we're not going to get there by giving preferences and quotas. I supported that route for some time, and again, I think it gets back to experience—a little experience, a little age, a little intelligence. And I noticed that nobody was really benefiting except a very small group at the top. The average person wasn't benefiting. People who had the money were benefiting. People who got all the jobs were benefiting.

It seems to me that we ought to support the California civil rights initiative. It ought to be not based on gender or ethnicity or color or disability. I'm disabled. I shouldn't have a preference. I would like to have one in this race, come to think of it. But I don't get one. Maybe we can work that out. I get a 10-point spot. [*Laughter*]

This is America. No discrimination. Discrimination ought to be punished, but there ought to be equal opportunity. We ought to reach out and make certain everybody has a chance to participate. Equal opportunity, but we cannot guarantee equal results in America. That's not how America became the greatest country on the face of the Earth.

The President. I have never supported quotas. I've always been against them. They don't favor equal results. But I do favor making sure everybody has a chance to prove they're competent. The reason I have opposed that initiative is because I'm afraid it will end those extra-effort programs.

Again I say think of the American with Disabilities Act. Make an effort to put a ramp up there so someone in a wheelchair can get up. You don't guarantee that they get the job; you guarantee they have a chance to prove they're competent.

And as I've said, this is not a partisan thing with me. General Powell, Colin Powell said the same thing. He fears that the initiative would take away the extra-effort programs. No preferences to unqualified people, no quotas, but don't give up on making an extra effort till you're sure everybody has a chance to prove they're qualified.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, the next question is for Senator Dole, and it comes from this section right here. The back row, there, in the blue shirt. Yes, sir.

Senator Dole's Tax Cut Proposal

Q. My name's Tim David. I'm a mechanical engineer. Senator Dole, how do you reduce taxes and balance the budget?

Senator Dole. Oh, I'm glad you asked.

The President. So am I. I am too.

Senator Dole. What's your first name? Tim?

I first want to say the President didn't quite give you all the stuff on quotas, because the Justice Department entered what we call the Piscataway case up in New Jersey. It's pretty clear that was a quota case. And just because one teacher was white and one teacher was black and they had the same qualification, you know, they decided who would stay there. It shouldn't be that way.

Now, the President can say, well, he wants to mend it, not end it. There are 168 Federal programs that allow quotas. He ended one.

Now this economic package, Tim, I'm glad you asked because you look like the type that might be able to benefit from the 15 percent, across-the-board tax cut and $500-per-child tax credit or, you know, estate tax relief, which you're not interested in right now, but capital gains rate reduction—if you're taking care of an elderly parent, you get a $1,000 deduction. We think that's very important because a lot of people take care of their parents.

How do we pay for it? We're going to have a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, which the President opposed and defeated. He twisted arms, got six Democrats to vote with him. We lost by one vote. We're going to balance the budget by the year 2002.

The President wants to spend 20 percent more over the next 6 years; I want to spend 14 percent more and give that 6 percent back to the people. Remember, it's your money. It's

not his money, and it's not my money. It's your money, and you shouldn't have to apologize for wanting to keep all you can of it, but he ought to apologize for wanting to take more and more. He wants to give you sort of a Government tax cut which really doesn't mean anything.

The President. You know, one of the responsibilities of growing older, it seems to me, is being able to tell people something they may not want to hear just because it's truth. When they had a $250 billion tax scheme—that is half the size of this one, this one is 550—they passed a budget that had $270 billion in Medicare cuts, the first education cuts in history, cut environmental enforcement by 25 percent, took away the guarantee of quality standards in nursing homes, took away the guarantee of health care to folks with disabilities.

Don't take my word for this. The Economist magazine polled lots of economists. Seven Nobel Prize winners have said, if this tax scheme passes, it will require huge cuts—40 percent—in the environment, in law enforcement, in education. It will require bigger cuts in Medicare than I vetoed last time. My targeted tax cut gives tax cuts for education, childrearing, buying a first-time home, paying for health care costs, and it's paid for. And I've told you how I'll pay for it. He won't tell you because he can't.

Senator Dole. Your targeted tax cut, Mr. President, never hits anybody. That's the problem with it. Nobody ever gets it.

But I must say I'm a little offended by this word "scheme." You talked about—last time you talked about a risky scheme, and then Vice President Gore repeated it about 10 times in St. Petersburg. If I have anything in politics, it's my word. My colleagues, Democrats and Republicans, will tell you that Bob Dole kept his word. I'm going to keep my word to you. I'm going to keep my word to the American people.

We're going to cut taxes and balance the budget. We're not going to touch Medicare. It's going to grow 39 percent, and Social Security is going to grow 34 percent.

Now, the President doesn't have any ideas so he's out trashing ours. This isn't going to blow a hole in the deficit. He promised you a tax cut in 1992, and if you got one, you ought to vote for him.

Mr. Lehrer. Sir.

The next question is for the President.

Yes, sir, right there—white shirt.

Family and Medical Leave Act

Q. My name is Dwayne Burns. I'm a martial arts instructor and a father. Mr. President, could you outline any plans you have to expand the family leave act?

The President. Thank you.

Well, first let me say that I signed the family leave act. It was my very first bill, and I'm very proud of it because it symbolizes what I think we ought to be doing.

I don't take credit for all the good things that have happened in America, but I take credit for what I've tried to do to work with others to make good things happen.

The most important good things that happen in America happen in families. Just about every family I know, the main concern is how am I going to succeed at work and still do right by my children? Family and medical leave has let 12 million families take a little time off for the birth of a child or a family illness without losing their job. I'd like to see it expanded in two ways: I'd like to say you can also take a little time off without losing your job to go to a regular parent-teacher conference or to go to a regular doctor's appointment with a family member; I'd also like to see the overtime laws change so that we could have some more flextime so that at the discretion of the worker—the worker—if you earn overtime you could decide whether you want that time to be taken in cash or in time with your family if you've got a family problem.

I never go anywhere, it seems like, where I don't meet somebody who's benefited from the family leave law. In Longview, Texas, the other day, I met a woman who was almost in tears because she had been able to keep her job while spending time with her husband who had cancer. One of the people who's here with me today met a woman in the airport saying that her son just was able to be present at the birth of his child because of the family leave law.

So yes, I think it should be expanded. We have to help people succeed at home and at work.

Senator Dole. Well, 88 percent of the people the President claims, or 11 million, are already covered. And only 5 percent—keep in mind, only 5 percent of the employers were even affected by the family leave act.

We had a better idea. We didn't win, but we had a better idea. Now we have a majority; we need to get a President. That was a tax credit to the employer. Instead of the Federal Government reaching out, we had a tax credit to pick up some of the cost, because if you have to hire a replacement worker, that's a cost. This is the way it ought to work. Give more power back to the States and back to the people, back to the taxpayers, not always the long arm of the Federal Government.

But keep in mind this bill covers 5 percent of the employers; 95 percent of the employers and all those employees they employ are not covered in this act. And according to Investors Daily, which I read just a couple of days ago, 88 percent of the people he claims credit for were already covered in collective bargaining agreements or other agreements.

We had family leave in our office. I'm certain—I see my friend Senator Mitchell. He had family leave. I work every day with people. I spent a lot of time in hospitals. I know what it's like to be in a hospital. Sure, we want family leave, but there's a better way to do it.

The President. I only have 30 seconds. I can't fix the statistics. It covers the majority of the work force. Employers of under 50 are exempted. The bill originally covered employers of 25 and more, but because of opposition, we went up to 50. Senator Dole led the opposition to it. He filibustered it. He said it was a mistake. He said it would hurt the economy. We've had record numbers of new small businesses and 10½ million jobs. It didn't hurt the economy. He still believes it's a mistake. I believe it was right. You can decide which of us you think are right. It's up to you.

Mr. Lehrer. Next question for Senator Dole. This side. Yes, ma'am.

Domestic Manufacturing

Q. Hi. My name is Bridget Gianotti, and I'm a wife and mother of two sons from Carlsbad. And my question for you, Senator Dole, is as the wife of a San Diego business owner, I see one of our biggest problems is the U.S. does not manufacture enough of our own products. How would you help this problem out?

Senator Dole. Well, right, we've lost 357,000 manufacturing jobs. And the Bureau of Labor Statistics said today that they made a mistake, it's probably going to be a much, much higher figure. So we're talking about all these new jobs, we'd better wait and see what the results are.

We're going to do that with a more aggressive trade policy. We're going to do that with an economic package. We're going to do that with regulatory reform. You know, regulations cost the average family—right here, Democrat or Republican—about $7,000 a year—7,000. It's like a tax. Put a lot of people out of business.

I met a lady in Colorado Springs about 7 weeks ago, now. She had a small business with 63 employees. She finally gave it up. Why? Because of paperwork and regulation. Congress passed the Paperwork Reduction Act. The President exempts the IRS, which creates three-fourths of the paperwork.

We're going to have regulatory—we're going to have litigation reform. You know, I fell off a platform out in California, in Chico, a while back. Before I hit the ground, my cell phone rang, and this trial lawyer says, "I think we've got a case here." [*Laughter*] You know, we've got to stop some of these frivolous lawsuits. They're putting people out of business, men and women. Get the economy going, cut the capital gains rate, create more jobs and opportunities for everybody in America—that's what we will do, and my word is good. I keep my promises. I don't break my promises after the election, and I don't make new promises on an election year.

We're going to get it done; we're going to grow some of these jobs in America because we need to get it. They're going the wrong way.

The President. Let's look at the facts. We lost a lot of manufacturing jobs in the 12 years before I became President. We've gained manufacturing jobs since I've been President. We've negotiated over 200 separate trade agreements.

Let's just take California. In California, we made $37 billion worth of telecommunications equipment eligible for exports for the first time. We're selling everything from telephones to CD's to rice in Japan. We're selling American automobiles in Japan now. I visited a Chrysler dealership in Japan. We're number one in automobile manufacturing, production, and sales around the world again for the first time since the 1970's. Why? Because we've had tough, aggressive trade policies, and because we got interest rates down, and we had a good, stable economic policy, because we've reduced the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time in the 20th

century that a President's done that in all 4 years.

And that's why I don't want to see us blow a big hole in the deficit with a tax program we can't pay for so your interest rates will go up and you'll have to pay back in higher interest rates what you allegedly will get in a tax cut.

So I say keep working on expanding the markets. More than half of these 10½ million new jobs were in higher wage areas, and we'll have more manufacturing and more sales at home and around the world.

Senator Dole. Well, you may think the biggest employer in America is General Motors, but I've got news for you. It's manpower services, hiring people temporarily who've lost their jobs and they go to work for 30 days or 60 days. That's a good economy? I don't think so. They're setting new records this year.

We have the worst economy in a century. We have the slowest growth, about 2.5 percent. The President inherited a growth of over 5 percent. We don't have the S&L crisis anymore. Republicans have cut $53 billion in spending. That's why the budget can look good. It didn't look too good the first 2 years when we had a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

Mr. Lehrer. The next question is for President Clinton. Yes, sir?

Gay Rights

Q. I'm Bob Goldfarb. I'm a travel agent. And can you please explain your policy on the employment nondiscrimination act that would have prohibited discrimination, would have prohibited people from being fired from their jobs simply for being gay or lesbian?

The President. I'm for it. That's my policy. I'm for it. I believe that any law-abiding taxpaying citizen who shows up in the morning and doesn't break the law and doesn't interfere with his or her neighbors ought to have the ability to work in our country and shouldn't be subject to unfair discrimination. I'm for it.

Now, I have a little time left, so let me just say that I get attacked so many times on these questions it's hard to answer all those things. In February—Senator Dole just said we had the worst economy in a century. In February he said we had the best economy in 30 years—just February. And I don't want to respond in kind to all these things. I could; I could answer a lot of these things tit for tat. But I hope we can talk about what we're going to do in the future. No attack ever created a job or educated a child or helped a family make ends meet. No insult ever cleaned up a toxic waste dump or helped an elderly person. Now, for 4 years that's what I've worked on. If you'll give me 4 years more, I'll work on it some more.

And I'll try to answer these charges, but I prefer to emphasize direct answers to the future, and I gave you a direct answer.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. Well, I'm opposed to discrimination in any form, but I'm—but I don't favor creating special rights for any group. That would be my answer to this question. And I'm—you know, there'd be special rights for different groups in America, but I'm totally opposed to discrimination, don't have any policy against hiring anyone—whether it's lifestyle or whatever, we don't have any policy of that kind, never have had in my office, nor will we have in the future.

But as far as special rights, I'm opposed to same-sex marriages, which the President signed well after midnight one morning, in the dark of night—he opposed it.

But I'll get back to the economic package because again, I think this is very important. If there is anything that's going to change America, it's get the economy to grow. The President inherited a good economy—sure. The S&L crisis ended, we were selling assets, we had a Republican Congress cutting spending finally, and he says we've had the best 4 years ever. That's not true. We've had over 1.2 million bankruptcies—set a new record. Credit card debt has never been higher. I just told you about this manufacturing job loss which is going to increase.

We need a good, strong economic package. Let the private sector create the jobs. And they can do it.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President?

The President. If you believe that the California economy was better in 1992 than it is today, you should vote for Bob Dole. I have worked so hard out here to help turn this economy around.

Let me just give you one tiny example. In San Diego, where we had some defense cutbacks, we funded a project with the University of California, San Diego to use airplane composite materials to build lighter, stronger bridges—

a little project, and a program that Senator Dole opposed—and that composite now is going to be built around the bridges on the Santa Monica freeway to help minimize the impact of earthquakes and create more jobs. That's just one tiny example. Maybe we'll talk about some more before it's over.

Mr. Lehrer. The next question is for Senator Dole and it's from this section.

Yes, ma'am? Yes?

Health Care

Q. Senator Dole, I am Verda Stratigus, and I work in health care. And it's truly an honor to be here tonight to address both of you.

Senator Dole. Thank you.

Q. Being in health care—we have talked a little bit about health care tonight, but mainly MediCal and Medicare have been mentioned, but the private sector is a problem. Managed care is taking over, especially in California, and because of that, the quality of care is going downhill. There are many, many people who cannot get the tests that they need when they need them. And because of that, they are dying needlessly. There are many, many more lawsuits being presented against the managed care industry because of this. And I think it's a real problem that needs to be addressed. What would you do if you were President?

Senator Dole. Well, one thing I did was to oppose the Government takeover of health care that President Clinton offered in 1993, which created 17 new taxes and 50 new bureaucracies and price controls, because we were afraid the very thing you mentioned would have happened. Everybody would have been forced into managed care. You couldn't have chosen your own doctor. And that would have been the end.

And I think right now we've got to go back—I know they've appointed a commission to take a look at managed care. Maybe that's part of the answer. But it seems to me, if we start to take choices away from people and if we drive them into one type care, if we eliminate fee-for-service altogether or eliminate the fact you can go to your own doctor, you've got to go somewhere else, then I think we've taken a giant step backward in the United States of America.

We have the best health care delivery system in the world, and we want to keep it that way. That's why we opposed the Government takeover health care plan that President Clinton tried and tried and tried to get through Congress.

Didn't get it done. When it ended up we had more votes than he had, then they decided to pull the plug. It was a big, big mistake. Now, whether or not he'll do that again, I've heard some of the people say, "Well, that's the model we ought to use." And if he's reelected, maybe he'll come back and try it again. I hope not. I hope not in both cases. But it does seem to me that you've raised a very important point that needs to be addressed. We're going to have to watch it, going to have to take a look at all the managed care going on in California, or we're going to end up losing our best care that we have in the world.

The President. I'm just curious. How many of you are under managed care plans? Raise your hand if you're in managed care.

Senator Dole. Probably the young people here.

The President. How many of you like it? Well——

Senator Dole. Two.

The President. One of the things that I tried to do was to make sure that everybody in the country who was under a managed care plan should at least have three choices of plans and would have the right to get out without penalty every year. Now, that's not a Government takeover, that's like the family and medical leave law. It just tries to set the rules of the game.

I'm strongly in favor of a Federal bill to repeal the—any gag rules on providers. In other words, I believe that doctors should not be able to be kicked out of managed care plans just because they tell the patients what they need and what more expensive care options might be.

If we're saving money and managing resources better, that's a good thing. If we're saving money and depriving people of care, that's a bad thing. A good place to start is to say no managed care provider can gag a doctor and kick the doctor out of the managed care plan for the doctor telling the patient, "You need a more expensive test, you need a more expensive procedure. Your health requires it."

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. Well, I don't have any quarrel with that. I think that would help. But I think what we want to avoid is falling back into this nationalized health care system that President Clinton wanted to give us in 1993. If that isn't

a liberal idea, I've never heard one: 17 new taxes; price controls; 50 new bureaucracies. We'd have that trouble all over America.

We need to deal with managed care. It not only happened in California, it's happening in other States that we visit too. It's a national problem, not just a State problem.

Mr. Lehrer. The next question is for President Clinton, and in this section. Yes, ma'am. Yes.

Participation in Electoral Process

Q. All right, I'd sort of like to—Coleen O'Connor. I teach history and political science at San Diego Mesa College right up the road here. And I'd like to tee off from the original question by another teacher and speak for those people that aren't here tonight. Sixty-three percent of the American people are not participating, that are eligible to vote, not even participating in the process. Several parties can't even get into the debate: the Green Party, the Reform Party, the Natural Law Party. All of these people have basically opted out of what we're still participating in.

And if we in fact are going to bring the country back together and be all faces around the table, the new American family, what do you see as something the President can do to begin that process to bring them back in?

The President. First of all, I think it's important to make voting more accessible. That's why I strongly supported the motor voter law. There was a big story, I think, in USA Today about the millions of people who've now registered because of it.

Secondly, I think we need to look at making the elections more accessible. You know, several States now are letting people vote over 3 weeks. A lot of people are busy, and it's hard for them to just get there and vote.

The third thing I think we need is more forums like this, which is one of the reasons I have so strongly supported campaign finance reform, because if you want to cut the cost of campaigns, you have to open the airwaves, because what drives the cost of a campaign are the costs of advertising on television, radio, newspaper, mass mailing. And if you open the airwaves to more things like this—you see, it's not just you that are participating here. For every one of you who stood up here and asked a question tonight, I promise you, there's 100,000 Americans that said, "I wish I could have asked that question."

So I think we have to change the nature of politics. The last thing I think we should do is something I've been trying to do since I've been President, is every time I do something in a public way, I try to have a real American citizen there who is directly affected by it so that people can see the connection of what happens way across the country in Washington with more police on the street in San Diego, clean up the sewage here in San Diego, doubling the border guards here in southern California, that there is a connection between what we do way back there and what we do here.

Those are my best ideas about it.

Senator Dole. Well, I don't know of any perfect solution. I've been in politics for some time, and I worry about people who don't vote. And I wonder if it's our fault, the candidates' fault. People say "I don't care. One vote doesn't make a difference." I can give you hundreds of cases—you can probably give me 200 cases where one vote made a difference. I know it made a lot of difference many times in the Congress. Campaign finance might help, might help contributions coming in from Indonesia or other foreign countries, rich people in those countries, and then being sent back after the L.A. Times discovers it—$250,000.

But maybe there ought to be more debates. I'd be willing to have another debate this year where we'd invite all of the candidates and talk about the economy. If we don't get the economy to grow, if we don't cut taxes, and give people child credits, and cut the capital gains rate, and get this economy growing, we're going to limp into the next century. If we grow the economy, it's going to help Social Security, it's going to help jobs, it's going to help everything.

The President. Let me make one other suggestion. As you're a teacher, you can have an impact on that.

One of the things I think that really frustrates people is that so often, political campaigns seem to be more about the politicians that are running than the people. Now, there is a connection, and I think what we have to do is convince people there's a big difference. If you vote one way, you will have a Department of Education in the 21st century; if you vote the other way, you won't. If you vote one way, you'll have an expansion of family leave; if you vote the other way, you'll be lucky to save it.

But these are important questions, and people have to decide. I think that the American people

also need to be a little more responsible and think about whether there's a connection in their lives and what we do in Washington.

Mr. Lehrer. For Senator Dole, in this section. On the back row, yes, ma'am.

Social Security and Alternatives

Q. I'm Iris Seiffert, and I'm unemployed.

Senator Dole. Iris?

Q. Iris. Senator Dole, we talked about Social Security for us baby boomers, but shouldn't we be saving and investing for our own retirement as well? Are you planning any incentives to encourage us to take care of ourselves rather than to rely on the Government and on Social Security when we retire?

Senator Dole. Well, we have in our economic pack individual retirement accounts where we think it'll encourage savings. You could also use those accounts for health care or education or a first home. We're doing that precisely. And I think one thing sooner or later we're going to have to consider is to take a look at the Social Security system, because we've got a lot of people advocating that, well, we don't want to put our money into Social Security. Now, you've got to be very careful about that, because you have to protect the people who are already in the pipeline. But it's something you might consider. I'm not suggesting it will be done, but at least we ought to look at it.

It's been looked—when I was chairman of the Finance Committee, which handles Social Security, we looked at all these options, and one thing we've got to make certain—when I used to go home, my mother would tell me, "All I've got is my Social Security; don't touch it." And we didn't touch it. We preserved it.

And I'm an optimist. Your Social Security is going to be there when you retire. We'll fix it. It will probably happen in the year 2012 or 2015. In 1983, we thought we had a 75-year fix. It didn't work—much, much less. But at least we fixed it for some time, and 37 to 40 million people get their checks on time.

So we need to preserve the system, and we need to make it stronger. But we also need to look at some options whether or not we—it would depend on what the options are. In fact, they've got a commission right now in Congress, a bipartisan commission, looking at all the different options they're going to present to the next Congress. So I think we'll wait and see what they present, take a look at it.

The President. This is one where we have some agreement, I think. Only about half the people in this country have pension plans, and Social Security is not enough for a lot of people to live on, or at least it's not enough for them to maintain anything like their previous lifestyle. So we've got to figure out how we're going to have more people with pension plans. And pension coverage has been declining as more and more people work for small businesses and fewer people work for big businesses.

So what is in my plan—and I think it's almost identical to what's in Senator Dole's plan—is we make more people than are now eligible to save in an IRA, and we'd let couples—married couples save more, and then they could withdraw from it tax-free if they needed to for medical emergencies or to buy a home or for an education, but they could also save to supplement their retirement.

In addition to that, we just passed a sweeping small business reform that makes it easier for small-business people to take out 401(k) plans for themselves and their employees and then much easier for employees to carry it from job to job. My best friend from grade school is a computer software salesman, and he told me last time he changed employers it took him 9 months to figure out how to transfer his 401(k) plan. Now, none of that will happen anymore. And so I hope that over the next 10 years you'll see a big increase in the percentage of people that have pension plans plus a secure Social Security System.

Senator Dole. Did you say you're unemployed? The first thing we ought to do is get you a job. And that's the economic package again: Create jobs and opportunities, reduce the capital gains rate, reduce regulatory reform, stop some of this senseless litigation, and let people work in America. And I think that's the thrust we will make.

Obviously, Social Security is a very important program. It'll be preserved—Democrats or Republicans. It'll be preserved. We want to make certain we protect those in the pipeline, just as we did back in 1983. And we did it on a bipartisan basis. We took it out of politics. People get so tired of politics. And we ought to do the same with Medicare. Maybe we could make a deal here tonight.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, the question is for President Clinton. Does anybody have a foreign affairs question in this section? Yes, sir.

Trade With Japan

Q. Good evening. I'm Michael Smith. I'm an electronics technician in the Navy. My question was how you plan to deal with the trade deficit with Japan?

The President. Let me tell you what we have done. We have concluded with Japan 21, about to be 22 trade agreements now. And since we did that, in the areas where we concluded trade agreements, our exports to Japan have gone up by 85 percent in the last 4 years, and our trade deficit with Japan has gone down. Until about 5 months ago, the Japanese economy was in a deep recession. It's coming back now, so they can buy even more American products, and I think it'll go down more.

But I'm very—that's one of the real success stories here of the work we've done. We're selling Japanese rice from California for the first time. I visited a Chrysler dealership in Tokyo. I visited a Jeep plant, the oldest auto plant in America, in Toledo, Ohio, where they're going to export 41,000 right-hand-drive Jeeps this year, and they've got 700 new jobs because of it.

There is no easy way to do this. When you're dealing with an economy that's traditionally been more closed and one that's traditionally been more open, you just have to gut it out issue by issue by issue. We agreed in principle on our insurance agreement, and we're working on three or four other areas now. But the way you have to do it is make sure you're competitive—we're the most competitive country in the world now—and then just fight to open those markets and go try to make the sale. And that's what our trade ambassador, our Commerce Secretary, and all the other people in our administration have tried to do.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator?

Senator Dole. Well, the bottom line is we've got to stop exporting jobs. We need to keep jobs here. I said there are 357,000 good jobs, manufacturing jobs, which were lost. And I assume some of those because of our trading partners; we didn't have access to their markets. We ought to insist on access. If we don't have access to their markets the same way they have access to our markets, we ought to say, "Wait, that's enough. Time out. When you give us access, we'll give you access."

It's very hard to get into the Japanese market, as everybody knows. They want to get into our market. They sell a lot of automobiles here, create a lot of jobs—those who sell exports. And it's very important to the economy. But I think we want to make certain.

I supported the President's trade policy, but we've got to be more aggressive. Once you have a policy, then you've got to go out and be aggressive and enforce that policy. There are American jobs that are being lost. This is what Ross Perot complains about. And I'd say to the Reform Party, take a look at the Republican Party. We're the reform party, and we're going to make things better. And one of the things we're going to do is stop exporting jobs in America.

The President. Let me say again, we've had over 200 separate trade agreements in the last 4 years, by far the largest number in American history, not just the big ones you've read about but a lot of smaller ones. And now what we have to do is to focus on those things we're real good at and make sure we're getting a fair deal.

We just had a pretty serious dispute with China because they were copying our CD's and costing thousands of jobs in places like California. But we said, "You know, if you want to keep doing business and selling your products over here, you're going to have to quit pirating our CD's." And they agreed to do a number of things and to let us verify that they'd done it. But I think they're going to make the problem much better.

But there is not a simple, easy answer. You just have to work on this day-in and day-out, every month, every year, every issue to make sure that we have not only free trade but fair trade. I'm proud that we're better off on that than we were 4 years ago.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, the next question is for Senator Dole, and it's in this section. Yes, sir.

Religion and Values

Q. Ron Kite, minister.

Senator Dole. Hi, Ron.

Q. This great Nation has been established by the Founding Fathers, who possessed very strong Christian beliefs and godly principles. If elected President of the United States, what could you do to return this Nation to these basic principles? And also, do you feel that the office of the President has the responsibility to set the role example to inspire our young people?

Senator Dole. Well, no doubt about it, our Founding Fathers had a great deal of wisdom. And in addition to what you mentioned, they also were concerned about this all-powerful central Government in Washington, DC, that would in effect confiscate your property. So I carry around in my pocket—I can't pull it out, I'd violate the rules—a copy of the 10th amendment, which says that we ought to return power to the States and power to the people—people here. You ought to make more decisions.

Honor, duty, and country: that's what America is all about. Certainly the President of the United States, in the highest office in the world, the most important office in the world, has a responsibility to young people, as we talked about earlier—to everyone, by example. And when it comes to public ethics, he has a responsibility. When you have 30-some in your administration who've either left or are being investigated or in jail or whatever, then you've got an ethical problem. It's public ethics—I'm not talking about private, we're talking about public ethics—when you have 900 files gathered up by some guy who was a bouncer in a bar and hired as a security officer to collect files. In Watergate, I know a person who went to jail for looking at one file, one FBI file. There are 900 sequestered in the White House—900—people like you. Why should they be rifling through your files?

So the President has a great responsibility. And it's one that I understand and would certainly carry out.

The President. This is the most religious great country in history, and yet, interestingly enough, we have the most religious freedom of any country in the world, including the freedom not to believe. And now we have all these people—just up the road in Los Angeles County we've got people from 150 different racial and ethnic groups, and they've got tons of different religions. But the fundamental tenets of virtually every religion are the same. And what I've tried to do is to support policies that would respect religion, and then help parents inculcate those values to their children. Let me very briefly give you some examples.

One of my proudest moments was signing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which says the Government's got to bend over backwards before we interfere with religious practice. So I changed a Justice Department effort to get a church to pay back a man's tithe because he was bankrupt when he gave it.

I've supported character education programs in our schools, drug-free schools programs. I've supported giving parents a V-chip on their television so if they don't want their young kids to watch things they shouldn't watch, they wouldn't have to. That's the kind of thing we need to do, give people like you and our families the power to give those values to our children.

Senator Dole. Well, I think it's—you know, before I came in tonight, my wife and daughter and I had a prayer because if it's God's will, whatever happens—if it's God's will, it will happen.

A constitutional amendment for voluntary prayer in school in my view would be a great idea. I support it, and the President opposes it. I mean, it seems to me the President, whoever the President may be, this is one of his highest responsibilities. People look to the President of the United States more than any other person in America. And that's the way it's always been, and that's the way it always will be.

Mr. Lehrer. All right, this is our last question. It goes to President Clinton, and it's from this section.

Yes, ma'am?

"Special Rights"

Q. My name is Evette Duby, and I too am a minister; I'm with the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches.

President Clinton, perhaps you can help me with something tonight. I've heard Mr. Dole say several times, "all of us together." And when he was asked if he would support equal rights in employment for gay and lesbian people, you said that you favored that, and he said that he did not believe in special rights. And I thought the question was equal rights for all people, and I don't understand why people are using the term "special rights" when the question is equal rights. Could you help me in understanding that?

The President. I want to answer your question, but let me say one other thing. We don't need a constitutional amendment for kids to pray. And what I did was to have the Justice Department and the Education Department, for the first time ever, issue a set of guidelines that we gave to every school in America saying that children could not be interfered with in religious advocacy, when they were praying, when they

were doing whatever they could do under the Constitution just because they were on a public school grounds. And I think anyone who has experienced this would tell you that our administration has done more than any in 30 years to clarify the freedom of religion in the public square, including in the public schools.

Now, I think I have to let Senator Dole speak for himself. It wouldn't be fair for me to do that. I would wind up—I mean, it's the last question, and I'd mischaracterize it to try to make you happy.

Let me tell you what I feel. We have a lot of differences in our country, and some of us believe that other people's decisions are wrong, even immoral. But under our Constitution, if you show up tomorrow and obey the law, and you work hard, and you do what you are supposed to do, you're entitled to equal treatment. That's the way the system works.

All over the world, people are being torn apart—Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi, you name it—because of all their differences. We still have some of that hatred inside us; you see it in the church burnings. And one of the things I've tried hardest to do is to tell the American people that we have to get beyond that, we have to understand that we're stronger when we unite around shared values instead of being divided by our differences.

Mr. Lehrer. Senator Dole?

Senator Dole. Well, I hope I made my answer clear. I said I'm opposed to discrimination. You know, we've suffered discrimination in the disability community. There are 43 million of us. And I can recall cases where people would cross the street rather than meet somebody in a wheelchair.

So we want to end discrimination. I think that answers itself. No discrimination in America. We've made that clear. And I would just say that it seems to me that that's the way it ought to be. We shouldn't discriminate—race, color, whatever, lifestyle, disability. This is America, and we're all proud of it. But we're not there yet. What we need is good, strong leadership going into the next century.

I'm sorry we didn't have a foreign policy question, because just this week Secretary Christopher said, "Well, we really didn't know much the first couple of years about foreign policy." Now, that was quite an admission. It underscores what I had to say in the Hartford debate, that there is really no foreign policy in this administration. It's sort of ad hoc: "Whatever comes up, we'll deal with it." Unfortunately, we didn't have more questions on that.

The President. Let me say again, there is no more important responsibility for the President than to say, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, that's all we need to know. And you can be part of our America, and you can walk across that bridge to the 21st century with us."

And we are not well served when we attack each other in a kind of an ad hominem way. It doesn't create jobs. It doesn't educate children. It doesn't solve problems. We need to be disagreeing on ideas honestly and talking about the future. The future will be the greatest time in this country's history if we can beat this division that is bedeviling the whole rest of the world.

Closing Statements

Mr. Lehrer. All right. Now we go to the closing statements. Senator Dole, you're first. Two minutes, sir.

Senator Dole. Well, let me thank everybody here at the university, and Jim, thank you, all the people who may still be watching or viewing. This is what it's all about. It's not about me. It's not about President Clinton. It's about the process. It's about selecting a President of the United States.

So we have our differences. We should have our differences. I mentioned other parties. They have their differences. If we all agreed, it'd be a pretty dull place. We should have more debates. Maybe we'll have another debate on the economy.

But I would just say this: This is the highest honor that I have ever had in my life, to think that somebody from Russell, Kansas, somebody who grew up living in a basement apartment, somebody whose parents didn't finish high school, somebody who spent about 39 months in hospitals after World War II, somebody who uses a buttonhook every day to get dressed, somebody who understands that there are real Americans out there with real problems, whether soccer moms or the single parents or families working or seniors or people with disabilities, whoever it may be.

But there are some very fundamental differences in this campaign. President Clinton opposes term limits. President Clinton opposes a

constitutional amendment to balance the budget. President Clinton opposes a voluntary prayer amendment. He opposes an amendment to protect the flag of the United States of America. People give their lives—a couple of servicemen here—they sacrifice, they give everything for America. We ought to protect the American flag with a constitutional amendment.

But beyond that, we need to address the economy. And I would just say, with my time running out here, it's a very proud moment for me. And what I want the voters to do is to make a decision. And I want them to be proud of their vote in the years ahead, proud that they voted for the right candidate, proud that they voted, hopefully, for me.

And I'll just make you one promise. My word is good. Democrats and Republicans have said Bob Dole's word is good. I keep my word. I promise you, the economy is going to get better, we're going to have a good economic package, and we're going into the next century a better America.

Thank you.

Mr. Lehrer. Mr. President.

The President. Thank you, Jim. And thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and all the people who are watching.

One thing I'd like to say is I agree with what Senator Dole said. It's a remarkable thing in a country like ours that a man who grew up in Russell, Kansas, and one who was born to a widowed mother in Hope, Arkansas, could wind up running for President, could have a chance to serve as President. So the first thing I want to say is thank you for giving me the chance to be President.

This election is about two different visions about how we should go into the 21st century. Would we be better off—as I believe—working together to give each other the tools we need to make the most of our God-given potential, or are we better off saying, "You're on your own"? Would we be better off building that bridge to the future together so we can all walk across it, or saying, "You can get across yourself"?

If you don't leave this room with anything else tonight and if the people watching us don't leave with anything else, I hope you'll leave with this: This is a real important election. The world is changing dramatically in how we work and how we live, how we relate to each other—huge changes. And the decisions we make will have enormous practical consequences.

So we've talked about our responsibilities tonight. I want to talk about your responsibility and your responsibility. Your responsibility is to show up on November 5th, because you're going to decide whether we're going to balance the budget now but protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. You'll decide whether we're going to keep fighting crime with the Brady bill, the assault weapons, and finish putting those 100,000 police; whether we're going to move a million people from welfare to work; whether we're going to give our families more protection for their kids against drugs and tobacco and gangs and guns; whether we're going to give our children world-class education where every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old can go to college.

If we do those things, we'll build that bridge to the 21st century, and the greatest country in history will be even greater.

Thank you.

Mr. Lehrer. Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Mr. President.

This concludes—this is the last of the three 1996 Presidential and Vice Presidential debates.

NOTE: The debate began at 6 p.m. at the Shiley Theatre at the University of San Diego. In their remarks, the candidates referred to Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel.

Remarks to the Community in San Diego, California

October 16, 1996

The President. Thank you, San Diego. Thank you for being here tonight. Thank you for your support and your concern for our country. You had a pretty good seat at the debate, didn't you?

Audience members. Yes!

The President The first thing I want to say is, I hope you were proud of your fellow Californians who were the citizens on that debate. They did a good job. They asked good questions and made me feel good about it.

I want to thank the people who are here with us tonight. Thank you, Deputy Mayor Valerie Stallings, for your comments and for being here. Thank you, Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis. Thank you, Congressman Bob Filner, the best advocate this county ever had. If you had any idea how much time Bob Filner spends burning my ear about something for this area, you would double his pay and cut his hours. It's amazing what he does. I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Peter Navarro, who is also running for Congress, and I want you to help him get elected. Stand up, Peter. We have some other congressional candidates in the audience. I know Dan Farrell, Rita Tamerius, Darity Wesley—are they here still? Good for you. Thank you for running.

Thank you, Howard Wayne, for running for the Assembly. I know you're here. Thank you, Representative Richard Katz, for being here. And Susan Davis, thank you for being here. Thank you, State senator and the leader of the State senate, Senator Lockyer. Thank you for being here. And thank you, Kathleen Connell, for your leadership in the State controller's office.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want you to join me in thanking the people who provided our music. The Lincoln High School Gospel Choir, where are they? The Scripps Ranch High School Marching Band—that's how we build a crowd, you know. You bring a band and all their relatives come and their friends. It's great. And Little Feat, weren't they great? Give Little Feat a hand. [*Applause*] They were terrific.

Folks, I'm so glad to see you here tonight. I'm so glad to see so many young people here tonight. It's your future we're fighting for.

You know, I have had a lot of good and some very moving days in California since I have been President. I've had a lot of great days in this county since I first started coming here as a candidate. And I was thinking tonight—hoping that I would get some questions about it—but I want to say to you, the people of this county have worked with our administration, and that's why we've been able to double the border guards here, why we've been able to invest in cleaning up the environment here, why we've been able to help put more police on the street here, why we've been able to guarantee that there will be more contracts with that shipyard here, so that those folks who asked me not to forget them will have jobs into the 21st century. And I thank all of you who had anything to do with that.

You know, tonight you heard two very different visions of our future. And what you also heard was what I think is the last debate I'll ever be in as a candidate—unless I run for the school board some day. [*Laughter*] But while it was my last debate, I hope it was the beginning of a lot of conversations that all of you will have about what our country is going to be like in the 21st century. There are enormous practical consequences to the ideas that we have, to whether you really believe that we're better off on our own or whether we're better off when we work together to give each other the tools to make the most of our own lives and our families and our communities.

There's a lot of significance to whether you believe we should build a bridge to the future we can all walk across, or just show people the valley and say, "I hope you can find some way to get over it;" whether you believe that we're out there on our own because the Government is intrinsically our enemy or whether you think that the Government is just another part of this great partnership we call America. And Hillary was right: it does take a village to raise a child and build a community and build a future.

I want all of you to know, especially the young people that—I want you to know that, as someone who is not so young anymore, I am more idealistic today about the promise of this country than I was the day I took the oath of office as President. I have more confidence today in our ability to work together to make good things happen for America than I did the day I took the oath of office. I have more conviction today that our best days are still ahead. And I know that 20 days from now, if we decide that together we're going to build that bridge, that our best days are still ahead, and your best days are still ahead, and America will still be the greatest country in human history in the 21st century. Will you help me build that bridge? Will you help me do it for 20 more days? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:47 p.m. in the Organ Pavilion at Balboa Park. In his remarks, he referred to Peter Navarro, Dan Farrell, Rita Tamerius, and Darity Wesley, candidates for California's 49th, 48th, 51st, and 52d Congressional Districts, respectively; and Susan Davis, candidate for California State Assembly.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Narcotics Traffickers Centered in Colombia
October 16, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice to the *Federal Register* for publication, stating that the emergency declared with respect to significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia is to continue in effect for 1 year beyond October 21, 1996.

The circumstances that led to the declaration on October 21, 1995, of a national emergency have not been resolved. The actions of significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and the economy of the United States and to cause unparalleled violence, corruption, and harm in the United States and abroad. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to maintain economic pressure on significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia by blocking their property subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and by depriving them of access to the U.S. market and financial system.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 17. The notice of October 16 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks in Santa Ana, California
October 17, 1996

Thank you. Good morning. What a crowd! Thank you for being here. Thank you. Mayor Pulido, thank you for that wonderful welcome. Thank you for your leadership of this great city. And let me say that the mayor was a little too modest. I want to brag on him a little more. We have had a great partnership with this city. Among other things, our program to put 100,000 police on our street has brought 54 here, and the crime rate has gone down by 50 percent in Santa Ana. Thank you, Mayor, for your leadership and your work here. I'd like to thank Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis for being here. Senator Chris Dodd is here, all the way from Connecticut, the chairman of the Democratic Party. Thank you, sir, for being here. Thank you, Art Torres, our Democratic Party chair, for being here.

I'd like to say a special word of thanks to the mayor of Tustin, Tracy Worley, for being here. She spoke earlier. Thank you, Mayor. God bless you, and thank you so much. I'd like to thank the other congressional candidates who are here, Sally Alexander, Tina Louise Laine, Dan Farrell. I thank Stephen Weber for speaking earlier. And I want to thank the Santa Ana

High School Marching Band, the Saddleback High School Road Runners. Thank you both for being here. Thank you both. Thank you.

I'd like to thank all the young AmeriCorps volunteers who are here for the work you're doing to make our country a better place. Thank you, Lou Correa, for your speech and for what you're doing. Give him a hand, folks. He did a good job. [*Applause*] And I was watching Loretta Sanchez give her speech, and I thought, boy, I'm glad she's not running against me. [*Laughter*] Thank you for running for Congress. Thank you for your commitment to give this congressional seat back to all the people of this congressional district. Thank you, Loretta Sanchez.

Ladies and gentlemen, a lot of people have asked me what I thought about the debate last night. And what I thought was that everybody in California should be very proud of those 123 citizens from San Diego and the surrounding area. They did a fine job, and they spoke for all of America, and I was very proud of them. I know you were, too.

When I came to Orange County in 1992, many people said, "Why are you going there? It's the most Republican county in the country." And I said, "Because I'm trying to change our country, and Orange County has got to be a big part of America's future." I came because I was tired of the politics of blame and division and name calling that had dominated Washington for far too long, because people being put into little boxes and labeled gave everyone an excuse not to work together to solve our problems and move this country forward. I did it because I believed that you could go beyond the tired rhetoric of yesterday's politics, that the real issue was how you could be both good for business and good for working people, how you could both grow the economy and protect the environment. I believe that you could be a fiscal conservative and still be progressive enough to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow for all these young people in the audience. That's what I believed then; that's what I believe now.

And so, in 1992, I came to California and Orange County saying that I wanted to create a country in which there's opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community in which everyone has a place.

Do you feel that we're better off than we were 4 years ago? [*Applause*] You know 4 years ago, the people of California had to take me on faith, but now there is a record. There has never been a partnership between the National Government and the people of any State like the one we have forged over the last 4 years. A lot of it was born of necessity, of earthquakes and fires and floods, of the economic dislocation caused by defense cutbacks, of the terrible recession you were facing when I came here. But little by little, day by day, month by month, we worked together to meet the challenges the people of California faced. And look at the difference 4 years can make.

Four years ago, we had high unemployment and rising frustration. We still have a lot of challenges, but compared to 4 years ago, we have lower unemployment, 10½ million new jobs, a 15-year high in homeownership, the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years, the biggest drop in inequality among working Americans in 27 years, the lowest rates combined of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgage interest rates in 27 years. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

After inflation, the typical family's income is up over $1,600. Nearly 2 million people have moved from welfare to work. The crime rates have gone down for 4 years in a row. And we have invested more money in education and research and in environmental protection while holding Government spending to slower growth than my two Republican predecessors did. And we brought the deficit down every year for 4 years, the first time in the 20th century any administration has done that.

Our friends on the other side, they complain about Government all the time. They set it up as the enemy; it's Government versus the people. The last time I checked, the Constitution said, of the people, by the people, and for the people. That's what the Declaration of Independence says. That's why, even though we have abolished more regulations, ended more programs, and reduced the size of the Government more than our predecessors did, we have also done more to create opportunity, to reinforce responsibility, and to bring the American people into a community together instead of always dividing us. I am tired of that. I want us to go forward together, and I think you do, too.

Let me say, I was just looking at this magnificent new courthouse that's coming up up here, and I want to give special credit to one citizen of Orange County, a Republican, Roger John-

son, who worked in our administration and had a lot to do with the progress of the last 4 years. He's not here today, but I want to thank him for what he did.

Ladies and gentlemen, the FBI reported last week that our crime rate is at a 10-year low. In California, it's dropped to a 25-year low. We can change this country. You don't have to wonder anymore about whether what we do and you do together can make a difference to make life better. Four years ago, it was simply a matter of faith. Today you have a record.

Now, I'm glad we've got some of our friends in the opposition over there, and I understand why they have to try to shout us down every now and then, because for them the evidence hurts. But let's talk about the evidence and welcome them here.

But the question is not what have we done, but what will we do? Last night, I was so moved by the questions, because repeatedly what people wanted to know was, what are you going to do about this, that, or the other thing; how does what you do affect how I live; how does what you do, Mr. President, affect the world my children will live in.

And I was so impressed because the people who asked questions were not just concerned about what's going to happen next week or next month, they were also worried about what the world would be like in 20 years, in 30 years. And I tell you what I try to think about every day—and I recommend this to all of you, before you vote on November 5th, you ought to try this: Every day I ask myself, can I say in 30 seconds or a minute what my vision is for America in the 21st century? Can I say in a minute what I want my country to look like when my daughter is my age, when our children are our age? What do you want to be able to say about America and be absolutely sure it's true when we go roaring into this new century?

The young people in this audience today, many of them will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of them will be doing work that has not even been imagined yet. And what we have to do is to create a world that will enable all of them to live up to the fullest of their God-given potential, a world in which all citizens take responsibility not only for themselves and their own families but for bringing us together and moving us forward.

As I said, I think you saw two very different visions of the future last night, two honestly different visions. We need not say bad things about our opponents to say we just have different views. We just have different views.

I believe the most important things in all of our lives are the personal things—that your individual life, your family life is clearly the most important thing. I believe many things have to be done at the grassroots level by people in the private sector, by religious and community organizations and civic organizations, by local government. But I believe the National Government is not your enemy; it is your servant, your partner. I believe it does take a village to raise our children and build our future.

And let me say to you, what does that mean in practical terms? It means I'm proud of the fact that we lowered the deficit for 4 years in a row, but I want to finish the job of balancing the budget, to keep interest rates down and the economy growing. California has not come all the way back. Not everybody who wants a good job has one. We've got to balance the budget, but we do not have to wreck Medicare or Medicaid or cut education or environmental protection or research and turn our back on our future to do it. And we should not blow a hole in it with his $550 billion tax scheme. We should keep going.

I believe we have to help our families. I go all over the country talking to people, and whenever I go home, I also spend a fair amount of time talking to people I grew up with. Most of them are just solid middle class citizens leading the lives that we all assumed we would lead when we were children. And everybody I talk to, when they talk about their real concerns, somehow or another it always gets around to: Can I succeed at home and at work? Can I raise a successful family and have a good career? Will I be able to do well enough financially to take care of my family, but will I have enough time with my family so that the money means something to me? I hear it everywhere in different ways. That's why I'm proud the first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave Act, an honest difference between my opponent and me.

So what are we going to do about it? First of all, we ought to have a tax cut, but it ought to be one we can afford and still balance the budget, one targeted to childrearing, to education, to buying a home, to dealing with medical costs.

Secondly, we ought to keep working to protect our children from the dangers of crime and guns and gangs and drugs and tobacco. We need to finish the job. We have only funded about half of those 100,000 police. The opposition believes we're making a mistake putting these police on the street. The mayor knows better. I say let's finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

The second thing we ought to do—we passed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban and this country is safer because of it. But our police officers are not as safe as they ought to be, and we ought to ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests that police officers wear, and protect them.

We ought to continue to expand the safe and drug-free schools program so that in every grade school in this country there's a D.A.R.E. officer, there's somebody in a uniform telling our kids that drugs are wrong, drugs can kill you, giving them somebody to look up to. We shouldn't cut that program back for 23 million kids, as our adversaries tried to do. I say let's stay with the safe and drug-free schools program. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

We ought to continue until we have finally put into effect a set of legally binding rules that will stop tobacco companies from advertising and distributing tobacco to children. Three thousand kids a day start smoking illegally; 1,000 will die sooner because of it. It is illegal. It is wrong. We should not reverse course. That's another difference between me and our friends on the other side. Will you help us prevail in that fight? Will you stick up for our future? [*Applause*]

We ought to expand the family and medical leave law so parents can take a little time off from work without losing their jobs to take their children to regular doctors' appointments and to go to parent-teacher conferences at the schools. That's important, too, and our economy will be stronger if our parents are happier at work because they know their kids are doing better. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

We passed health care reform to say you can't have your health insurance taken away just because you changed jobs or someone in your family gets sick. Twenty-five million Americans could be helped by it. We stopped insurance companies from forcing hospitals to kick mothers and newborn babies out of the hospital after just a day. They can't do that anymore.

But we have more to do. Our balanced budget plan will provide coverage to families when they're between jobs for up to 6 months, will add another million children to the ranks of health-insured instead of uninsured, will provide mammograms for women on Medicare, and will help families who are caring for a member with Alzheimer's. And it's all paid for in the balanced budget. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

We've worked with States all over the country, without regard to party, including California, to move nearly 2 million people from welfare to work. I signed a welfare reform bill that says, we'll still guarantee to poor families health care and nutrition, but the money that the Federal Government used to send to the States for a welfare check now has to be turned into a paycheck within 2 years for able-bodied people. That's a good thing to say, but you have to have the jobs there if you're going to make people take them. I have a plan to say that this is the beginning, not the end of welfare reform. We have to create at least another million jobs in the private sector with tax incentives and other support. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

We have made the air and the water cleaner. We have made our food safer. We have cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. But 10 million American children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump, and that is wrong. We have a plan, paid for in our balanced budget plan, to clean up the 500 worst sites in this country so that we can say, by the 21st century, the children of America—rich, poor, or middle class—are going to grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, and most important of all, we have got to guarantee that every child in this country has access to the finest educational opportunities in the entire world. In part because we are more than ever a nation of immigrants, 40 percent of our children cannot read independently by the third grade. That means that everything they try to learn later on in life, they are handicapped in learning. It is wrong for us to permit children to leave the third grade not being able to read on their own.

I have a plan to mobilize 30,000 trained reading tutors, including AmeriCorps volunteers, to enlist a million volunteers across America so that

we can go into the schools of America and teach our children. We did this in a rural county in Kentucky, and within a year the average child had increased their reading level by 3 years—3 years. We can do this.

So I ask you, will you help me put a million people out there so that every 8-year-old can say, "This is a book, and I can read it all by myself"? Will you help me? Will you help us to hook up every classroom and library and every school in the United States—free access to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, so that every child in America can be part of this new technology age? [*Applause*] And to grownups here who aren't as expert in computers as a lot of the kids are, let me tell you what that means. That means—if we can say that every 12-year-old in America can log on to the Internet, let me tell you what that means in practical terms. It means for the first time in the entire history of the United States, for the very first time, we can say that every child in America—rich, poor, or middle class—in every community in America, now has access to the same learning at the same level of quality at the same time. It will revolutionize education in America. Will you help me do it? [*Applause*]

And finally, we must open the doors of college education to all Americans of any age who need further education. I want to give every family the ability to save for an IRA but withdraw tax-free if the money's used to pay for college or health care or buying a first home. I want to make 2 years of education after high school just as universal as a high school diploma is today. And we can do it in only 4 years if we'll simply say we're going to let you deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*] And we should make any college cost, any college tuition tax deductible up to $10,000 a year for any Americans of any age, including older people who need to go back and get school. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

Now, this election is 19 days away. And they always tell you when you're 19 days away, just come in like this, give a whoop-dee-doo speech, talk 3 minutes, leave—no more issues. But I'm telling you, the big question is 19 days is, who's going to show up. Are you going to show up? Are you going to show up? [*Applause*]

And example, after example, after example—some of which I was able to cite last night—the people of the State of California can say, "There is a direct consequences between the vote I cast, the person who is in charge in Washington, and the decisions made here on the streets of Santa Ana and every other city in this State that affect my life."

So I ask you—I talk a lot about our responsibilities—it is your responsibility to go vote, your responsibility as a citizen, your responsibility to be there, your responsibility to build that bridge to the 21st century. In 19 days let's do it.

Thank you, and God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:26 a.m. at the Old Orange County Courthouse. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Miguel Pulido of Santa Ana; Sally Alexander, Tina Louise Laine, Dan Farrell, and Loretta Sanchez, candidates for California's 45th, 47th, 48th, and 46th Congressional Districts, respectively; actor Stephen Weber; Lou Correa, State Assembly candidate; and Roger Johnson, former Administrator of General Services.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Amendment of the Generalized System of Preferences

October 17, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program offers duty-free treatment to specified products that are imported from designated developing countries. The program is authorized by title V of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended.

Pursuant to title V, I have determined that Malaysia should be graduated from the GSP program because it is sufficiently advanced in economic development and improved in trade competitiveness. I have also determined that certain products from Pakistan should be sus-

pended from duty-free treatment under the GSP program because it is not making sufficient progress in protecting basic labor rights. In addition, I have determined that Botswana and Western Samoa should be deleted from the list of least-developed beneficiary developing countries and Angola, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Zaire, and Zambia should be added to that list. Finally, I have determined that Cyprus, Aruba, Macau, the Netherlands Antilles, Greenland, and the Cayman Islands meet the definition of "high income" country as defined by the statistics of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and are subject to mandatory graduation.

The action regarding Malaysia and designation of least-developed beneficiary developing countries is effective January 1, 1997. The action against Pakistan is retroactive to July 1, 1996. The mandatory graduation of high income countries is effective January 1, 1998.

This notice is submitted in accordance with the requirements of title V of the Trade Act of 1974.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. The related proclamation of October 17 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri of Lebanon and an Exchange With Reporters

October 18, 1996

The President. Let me say first that I'm delighted to have the Prime Minister here today. The United States is strongly committed to the independence, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity of Lebanon. We look forward to supporting a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East that preserves that integrity, and a Lebanon that is free of foreign forces. We're also committed to supporting the reconstruction efforts that are so important in Lebanon after the difficulties of the last year. And I look forward to this conversation.

I should also say in front of the American press that the United States is very blessed by the contributions of large numbers of Lebanese-Americans, including members of our administration: Donna Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services; former Senator George Mitchell, who is now back in Northern Ireland or on his way back; and General George Joulwan, who is the commander of our forces in Europe. So we have a lot of ties with Lebanon, and we're looking forward to this meeting.

Campaign Financing

Q. Mr. President, speaking of contributions, what is your reaction today to Senator Dole's charge that when it comes to some of these foreign political cash contributions made to the DNC, that you personally haven't learned the lesson of that national nightmare called Watergate?

The President. Well, let me say two things. One—first is, Mr. Panetta and I have asked the DNC to review all the contributions, as we should have, as we've said, to make sure they were appropriate. And we'll have other opportunities to discuss this. This is not the appropriate forum for that.

U.S. Military Aid to Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, the Lebanese Government has asked the United States for various pieces of military equipment, including tanks—excuse me—helicopters or personnel carriers' aircraft. Do you view their request sympathetically, and if so, what would you expect to give them?

The President. Well, the Prime Minister and I haven't had our meeting yet, and the Secretary of State and he have discussed this. We'll review these things and see what is appropriate and make the appropriate decision. But we have been and continue to be very supportive of Lebanon and of the work that the Prime Minister is doing to strengthen his country and to give it a brighter future.

Q. Do they need more hardware to guarantee their territorial integrity?

The President. I don't have any other comment at this time.

1996 Election

Q. Are you going to let Senator Dole take California?

The President. The people of California will determine that.

Q. What was going to be your first answer? [*Laughter*]

The President. It belongs to them.

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Meeting With Prime Minister Hariri

The President. First of all, let me say that it is a great honor to welcome the Prime Minister back to the United States and especially to have him here at the White House. The United States strongly supports the independence, the sovereignty, the territorial integrity of Lebanon. And we look forward to working with the Prime Minister to build a future in the Middle East with a comprehensive, lasting peace and Lebanon free of foreign forces. We also want to be supportive of the reconstruction efforts in Lebanon, and I'm looking forward to having a discussion with the Prime Minister about that.

The other thing I feel I should say to the people of Lebanon is how deeply indebted the United States is for the contributions of Lebanese-Americans. My administration is especially indebted because of the presence of Donna Shalala in our Cabinet as Secretary of Health and Human Services, and former Senator George Mitchell, who is our envoy to the peace talks in Northern Ireland and who is leading them now, and General George Joulwan, who is the commander of all of our forces in Europe. So we have a lot of ties with Lebanon. We want to be as supportive of this Prime Minister in his vision for Lebanon's future, and I look forward to our discussions.

Mr. Prime Minister, do you want to say anything?

Prime Minister Hariri. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I am really honored and pleased to be here and to meet with President Clinton and Mr. Christopher. And I'm confident that President Clinton will help Lebanon in the next future to—and assist them to regain its independence and also will help them in the reconstruction effort.

U.S. Sanctions on Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, can we expect any change in the——

Q. [*Inaudible*]—is there any way—[*inaudible*]——

Q. ——status of the travel ban on Lebanon anytime soon?

The President. Well, we're going to—I'm going to discuss that with the Prime Minister. As you know, we do have numerous people from this country coming to Lebanon, and our concerns relate to the security. And we may be able to work together on that, and we're going to discuss that.

Q. Mr. President, is there any way you can separate between those restrictions imposed on Lebanon—the safety of Americans who wish to travel to Lebanon and those who are cut out, hurting the Lebanese economy and the efforts of the families to rebuild the country?

The President. We're going to talk about that. We want to be supportive of the Prime Minister's efforts. And we believe that there is a special need for people who support freedom and independence in the future of Lebanon all over the world to help in the reconstruction efforts.

Q. Elections are next month——

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, what can be done to make sure that there is no repetition of aggression on the Lebanese villages now that the humanitarian group found that Israel was really the aggressor?

The President. Well, I think the first and most important thing is to make sure that Lebanon is a genuine partner in the ongoing process of peace discussions in the Middle East and to get the reconstruction efforts going. If we do it in the right way, I think there will not be a repetition.

Q. Mr. President——

The President. One more, one more.

Q. Yes, Mr. President, about the Syria-Israeli negotiations and the Palestinian negotiations, they have been stalled for a long time. What is the United States prepared to do to move these negotiations ahead? And—we can do that with the Israeli position on the commitments that they already made to the Palestinians?

The President. Well, let me say, I think that, as a practical matter, the whole peace process needs to show some movement again before you can expect much to happen on the Lebanese front. There have been discussions; the Secretary of State has been to the region many, many times, and the United States is always concerned about the position of Lebanon. And let me say, I'm somewhat encouraged by the progress of the recent talks, the current ongoing talks with the Palestinians and the Israelis. If we can get the whole thing moving again, that's the best thing for Lebanon. We're working on it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:40 p.m. in the Residence at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Message on the Observance of the Anniversary of the Terrorist Attack in Beirut, Lebanon

October 18, 1996

Thirteen years ago, as dawn was breaking in Beirut, Lebanon, a suicide-bomber drove a truck filled with explosives into a compound that housed American Marines. More than 240 Americans were killed by this single act of hatred. Almost simultaneously, a similar assault claimed the lives of dozens of French soldiers.

Now, in this place of repose and respect, representatives from over thirty nations join to honor these victims and all the others around the world who have lost their lives at the hands of terrorists. We remember the passengers of Pan Am Flight 103, whose journey ended in the skies over Lockerbie, Scotland. We remember the victims of the World Trade Center bombing, and the 168 innocent people—among them helpless children—who were murdered in Oklahoma City. We remember those Americans in Riyadh and Dhahran, Saudia Arabia, who gave their lives in service to our nation. And we remember those murdered on the streets of Tel Aviv, or poisoned in the Tokyo subway, or killed by a car bomb on Canary Wharf in London, or assaulted on an Army base near Belfast, and so many others who have suffered the pain and outrage of a terrorist attack.

This remembrance ceremony is a fitting tribute to the victims of terrorism worldwide, and I want to thank Carmella LaSpada and the "No Greater Love" organization for their steadfast commitment to honor and remember those victims, as well as the brave men and women who have died in service to America. For all the positive advances of our time, the threat of terrorism looms larger in a world grown ever closer. That is why we must work together with other nations more than ever to prevent terrorists from acting and to capture them if they do. And we are doing just that.

But just as important as the strength of our policies is the strength of our spirit. To the family members gathered at Arlington National Cemetery, I know that no words can comfort you for the loss of your loved ones. The passage of time will never erode the place they hold in your hearts. But let us move beyond our sorrow and anger to find joy in the memories of those we honor here. Let us give thanks for the lives they lived, find inspiration in all they achieved, and together strive to realize the shining dreams they left behind. Let us unite the community of civilized nations to stand up for freedom and stand against the scourge of terrorist violence.

BILL CLINTON

NOTE: This message was read by Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Anthony Lake at the October 23 commemoration for victims of terrorism. It was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 18 but was not issued as a White House press release.

The President's Radio Address
October 19, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk to you about how we can demand responsibility from all our young people by taking firm steps to stop teens from driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs.

My vision is of an America where we offer opportunity to all, demand responsibility from all, and build a stronger community where everyone has a place. That's America's basic bargain. That's how we will keep our young people safe and give them the futures they deserve.

We've done a lot to expand opportunity for our young people: reducing the cost of college loans and improving the terms for repayment, expanding scholarships to college, creating millions of new jobs. We've preserved the summer jobs program and created AmeriCorps, which gives young people the opportunity to serve in their communities and earn money for college. I want to do more.

Our balanced budget plan can make 2 years of college after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today by giving people a deduction on their taxes, dollar for dollar, for the cost of the typical community college tuition. We offer a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for any college tuition and permit families to save in an IRA and then withdraw from it, tax-free, to pay for education for their children.

But we must demand the responsibility of our young people as well. Our responsibility is to teach them right from wrong and then to expect them to act accordingly. So in our welfare reform efforts, we've required teen mothers to live at home and stay in school or lose their welfare benefits. We went to court to support those communities that have decided to require drug testing for high school athletes. We've imposed a zero tolerance policy for guns in schools. We're taking on teen smoking and trying to stop tobacco companies from advertising and marketing cigarettes to our young people. We've encouraged communities to enforce their truancy laws and to adopt new programs like school uniform policies and to impose community curfews. We supported character education programs and drug-free school programs for children in our schools all across America. These are all ways for parents and teachers and law enforcement people to set rules, maintain order and discipline, and make schools places of learning, not violence and destruction.

Today we're taking another step. Too many teens pose a threat to themselves and others by drinking and driving. Just last year, 2,200 young people between the ages of 15 and 20 died in alcohol-related car crashes. Thanks especially to the leadership of groups like Mothers Against Drunk Driving and Students Against Drunk Driving, America has made real progress in reducing teen drunk driving over the last decade.

But there's more to do. We have pushed for a policy of zero tolerance for teen drinking and driving. If you're under 21 and you drink, you can't drive, period. Last year, when fewer than half the States had zero tolerance laws, I called on Congress to enact legislation making it the law of the land. Congress acted. Since then, 13 more States have adopted these strict rules.

Now we're taking final action to demand responsibility from teens in all 50 States. Today I am pleased to announce that we're issuing a new rule. Every State must pass a law making it illegal for anyone under 21 to drive with alcohol in their blood. If they're caught, their driver's licenses must be suspended. Under the new law passed by Congress, States that do not put this into effect will lose some of their Federal highway funds.

Now we should take the next step to increase responsibility among teenagers. Drug use is down all across America, but unfortunately, it is still rising among young people. That's why I have fought to expand the safe and drug-free schools program, to get more people out there, like D.A.R.E. officers, telling our children that drugs are wrong and drugs can kill you. That's why we're requiring parolees to pass a drug test or go back to jail. If they want to stay out of jail, they must stay off drugs.

I believe we should use the privilege of a driver's license to demand responsible behavior by young people when it comes to drugs, too. We're already saying to teens, if you drink, you aren't allowed to drive. Now we should say that teens should pass a drug test as a condition

of getting a driver's license. Our message should be simple: no drugs or no driver's license.

Today I am directing General Barry McCaffrey, the Director of our drug office, and Secretary Federico Pena, the Secretary of Transportation, to report back to me within 90 days with a plan for how to do this, including legislation if appropriate, and other ways to fight the problem of teen drug use and driving.

Let me make one thing clear: Even though teen drug use is up, all the evidence is that 90 percent of our children are drug-free. They are doing the right thing. They are not experimenting. So we're asking them, the 90 percent who are drug-free, to be responsible enough to participate in this drug-testing program to help us identify the 10 percent who are on the brink of getting in trouble and get them away from drugs before it's too late.

Our goal must be to help parents pass on their values to their children, to help their children to act responsibly, to take charge of their lives and their futures. If we offer our children more opportunity and demand of them more responsibility, America's best days are ahead.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 2:52 p.m. on October 18 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 19.

Memorandum on Reducing Teenage Driving Under the Influence of Illicit Drugs

October 19, 1996

Memorandum for the Director of National Drug Control Policy, the Secretary of Transportation

Subject: Reducing Teenage Driving Under the Influence of Illicit Drugs

Over the last 4 years, we have worked hard to keep drugs off our streets and out of the hands of our children. Indeed, the number one goal of the *1996 National Drug Control Strategy* is to motivate America's youth to reject illegal drugs and substance abuse. All Americans must accept responsibility for teaching our young people that drugs are illegal and confronting them with the consequences of using drugs. My Administration has elevated the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy to the Cabinet, supported drug testing of high school athletes before the United States Supreme Court, and defended the Safe and Drug Free Schools Program from congressional attempts to reduce its funding.

Despite the progress we are making in reducing overall drug use in this country, we continue to see increasing trends in drug use among teens that began in the early 1990's. We, therefore, must still do more to confront this deadly problem.

One of the critical areas where drugs threaten the health and safety of young people is on the roads. I have taken a tough stand against drinking and driving by young people—calling for and then signing into law a tough new "zero tolerance" policy that requires States to have laws allowing judges to take away the driver's licenses of young people who drive with any alcohol in their system.

It is equally important that we be tough on those young people who drive under the influence of drugs. Every driver has the responsibility to drive safely and not injure themselves or others. The driver's license is a privilege that should not be available to those who fail to demonstrate responsible behavior. Denial of driving privileges to those who engage in illegal drug use can be a powerful incentive to stay away from and off drugs, particularly for teenagers. I believe we should consider drug-testing all minors applying for driver's licenses and requiring them to be found drug-free before they can obtain driver's licenses. Young people must understand that drug use cannot and will not be tolerated. Making licenses conditional on the driver being drug-free may prove to be an important and effective way to send that message.

State and Federal laws recognize the relation between drugs and driving. It is illegal in every State to drive under the influence of drugs that impair driving performance. Seven States have enacted "zero tolerance" laws for drugs, which make it illegal to drive with any amount of an

illicit drug in the driver's body. Eighteen States suspend the licenses of persons convicted of drug offenses. And the Federal Section 410 program authorizes grants to States with aggressive laws and programs to detect and sanction driving under the influence of drugs.

To ensure that we are using every method possible to deter teenage drug use, I am directing you to develop a strategy to address the problem of young people driving under the influence of illegal drugs. Within 90 days, I would like you to report to me with recommendations on steps to be taken in at least the following areas:

(1) Drug testing for minors applying for licenses; in particular, please provide guidance on how this can best be implemented, including possible guidance to States;

(2) "Zero Tolerance" laws that make it illegal to drive with any amount of an illicit drug in the driver's body;

(3) License revocation for those who are found to be driving under the influence of drugs;

(4) License revocation as a sanction for other drug offenses;

(5) How to eliminate obstacles to more effective identification and prosecution of drivers impaired by drugs;

(6) Federal incentives for effective State programs to fight driving under the influence of drugs; and

(7) Identification of technologies to assist State and local law enforcement in identifying and deterring drug and alcohol impaired driving.

Your report should review current State and Federal laws and practices in these areas, the effectiveness of any such efforts in States to date, and any other areas that you believe would help to reduce the incidence of drug use by teens or driving under the influence of drugs generally. In preparing this report, you should consult with the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: This memorandum was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 18, and it was embargoed for release until October 19.

Statement on Signing the Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1996

October 19, 1996

I have today signed into law S. 1004, the "Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1996." This Act reaffirms our national resolve to maintain a strong Coast Guard presence on our navigable waterways and around the world to fight drugs and pollution, preserve life at sea, secure our ports, and ensure the vitality of our merchant marine and fisheries. This legislation also reaffirms our commitment to the brave men and women of the Coast Guard, who not only serve their country so well every day, but stand ready to aid in its national defense when called.

This Act will enhance the Coast Guard's ability to accomplish a number of important objectives.

The Act will strengthen drug interdiction by clarifying U.S. jurisdiction over vessels in international waters. In particular, the Act makes clear that persons arrested in international waters will not be able to challenge the arrest on the ground that the vessel was of foreign registry unless such claim was affirmatively and unequivocally verified by the nation of registry when the vessel was targeted for boarding. By eliminating this commonly raised jurisdictional defense, the Act strengthens the hand of prosecutors in drug smuggling cases.

The Act also strengthens the Coast Guard's own anti-drug program for maritime employees by authorizing civil penalties of up to $1,000 a day for violations of the service's drug-testing regulations.

The Act reinforces protection of the environment, including commercial and Native American subsistence fisheries, from plastic pollution and oil spills. It contains needed amendments to the Oil Pollution Act's financial responsibility requirements for "offshore facilities," which will enable the Federal Government to issue fair and workable regulations while ensuring that re-

sponsible parties provide adequate resources to pay for any oil spill-related costs. The Act fully preserves the Federal Government's right to recover the costs of oil spills from responsible parties.

The Act also contains new requirements for inspections of vessel waste reception facilities and requires additional safety equipment on non-self propelled barges. And it simplifies the regulatory structure for the Nation's only deepwater oil port without sacrificing safety. This port provides a means of transporting oil to the Gulf Coast that is environmentally preferable to transferring oil between vessels at sea. With these protections, our national fisheries will be better safeguarded.

The Act enhances the competitiveness of the U.S. maritime industry by adopting international safety standards for oceangoing vessels when such standards are comparable to Coast Guard safety standards. And it provides authority to the Coast Guard to take actions that will increase safety on the navigable waterways, including authority to provide rescue diver training to its helicopter crews and authority to transfer funds from the highway program to repair bridges that obstruct navigation.

Coast Guard efficiency and quality of life are also improved by this Act through initiatives for new housing, child development services, expanded recycling, health care services, and officer promotion and retention.

One section of the Act, Section 1002, raises a constitutional concern. This section establishes a committee empowered to select the entities to which certain historic lighthouses will be conveyed. Because the committee members will hold a Federal office and because this section vests them with significant authority, they must be appointed as officers pursuant to the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. The Act, however, provides that the Secretary of Transportation "shall" appoint four of the committee's five members from among persons recommended or designated by certain Maine officials or organizations. The Appointments Clause does not permit such restrictions to be imposed upon the executive branch's powers of appointment. Therefore, I will not interpret section 1002(d)(3)(A) of the Act as binding, and I direct the Secretary of Transportation to regard the designations and recommendations arising from it as advisory only.

In sum, this Act is good legislation that will enhance the ability of the United States Coast Guard to live up to its motto—"Semper Paratus:" always ready.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 19, 1996.

NOTE: S. 1004, approved October 19, was assigned Public Law No. 104–324.

Remarks at the New Hope Baptist Church in Newark, New Jersey
October 20, 1996

Thank you. Thank you so much, Reverend Carter, Reverend Thomas, Congressman Payne, Mr. Mayor, Mayor Collins, Congressman Torricelli.

Ladies and gentlemen, first of all I'd like to say, you know, about this time of year people in our line of work are tired on Sunday morning. [*Laughter*] They hurt from head to toe. I'm not tired anymore. [*Laughter*] I thank the choir for its magnificent music. And I'm glad to see all of you out here in this historic church. Dionne Warwick, it's good to see you.

Now, when Reverend Thomas said I lived in America's house and he made that remark about the White House—[*laughter*]—well, that got my attention. But I've tried to make it your house, too.

I want to say a special word of thanks to this church for something else, and that is that the chief operating officer of our whole national campaign is a member of this church, Ted Carter, and he's here with me today. Ted, where are you? Stand up. Where's Ted? There he is, back there. He's a very modest person that has such an important job, but you raised him up right here. Congratulations.

Ladies and gentlemen, the message we have already heard is the most important message

we will hear today. But when he was alive, President Kennedy used to say that we must always remember that here on Earth, God's work must be our own. And there are many questions before us now in this last Presidential election of the 20th century, and the first Presidential election of the 21st century. You know them all: Will we have more jobs; will we have better education; will we continue to expand health care; will we give the little children that came to the airport to visit me today a cleaner environment to grow up in, whether they're in the inner city or in small towns?

But there are two great questions in which all others can be answered. The first is whether we're going to keep trying to go forward to build a bridge to the future together, a bridge that everybody can walk across, or are we going to say, "You're on your own, New Hope; I hope you do well. I'll come back and see you every now and then"? Or are we going to say, "No, no, no, we're all in this together; we're going forward together"? We have to decide that.

The great British poet John Donne once said that "No man is an island. Every man's death diminishes me. Never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." We have to ask whether we believe that. I believe that. And I believe that all of us will be better when each of us has a chance to live up to our God-given capacity.

I am glad that there are 10½ million more people working than there were 4 years ago, but I'm not glad that there are so many million who still want to work who don't have jobs. And I won't rest until they do. I'm glad that there are more educational opportunities than there were 4 years ago, but I'm sad that there are still so many children who don't have what they need in their schools and for their future. And so I say to you, this will be a better country if that bridge to the future is wide enough and strong enough for everybody to walk across. Our obligation is to help each other live up to what God meant us to be. That's our obligation.

The second thing we have to do is to decide whether we think it is a blessing or a curse that we're all so different. That's really the meaning of the pastor's reference to the White House. [*Laughter*] You know, when Hillary and our daughter, Chelsea, and I went to open the Olympics in Atlanta, it was a wonderful thing. Maybe you saw it on television, where they're all walking out there and there were all these groups were going by, holding their flags, in their different uniforms. They were from 192 different nations and national groups. In our biggest county, Los Angeles County, in one county in America there are people from over 150 of those places. It used to be in America all the racial issues were black and white. Now, like everything else in life, it's hard to see black and white. That's another reason we need to show up in church, to be reminded what some things are.

So there we have it. Now, you look at the whole world. Pick up the paper this morning. Where are they fighting and killing each other around the world? Where are they even killing each other's children because they're of different religions, different races, different ethnic groups, different tribal groups? Is it in the Middle East, is it in Bosnia—no more, thank God—is it in Rwanda and Burundi, where tribal battles led people to slaughter each other's children and parents, or Northern Ireland, where the Catholics and the Protestants still fight over what happened 600 years ago?

And people say to me, why are you so upset because a few little churches burned in the South? Because I know that deep inside every heart there is a dark spot with a capacity to define ourselves and our lives not by who we are, as children of God, but by who we are not: Who can we look down on today, who can we feel better than today. It's a big issue in this country today. And everything I have said about every issue, whether it was affirmative action or immigration or education, has been driven by my vision that this country is blessed by God to have so many people in it from different places, different races, different religions, different points of view.

We are living in a global society. It won't be very long before the children in Newark will be getting on computers and they will be able to research their papers when they're in high school out of libraries in Australia or Asia. The world is getting smaller. What better place to live than the greatest democracy in human history that has people from everywhere in it, when the only thing you have to do to be American is to say, "I believe in the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. I will obey the law, and I will show up tomorrow for work." That's the other big question.

Now, whether it's me or Mr. Torricelli or Congressman Payne or the mayor or anybody

else, there's a thousand different issues. But the real question is, as we look toward that tomorrow of the 21st century, whether we're all going to go there together or just let those who already have it go there, and whether we believe that we still are one nation under God, even though we're one nation of many different faiths and religions and creeds and tribes and backgrounds. And if we make those two decisions right, everything else will come out all right. We'll make all the other decisions right.

This preacher up here preached a message today. He doesn't have to tell you the answer to every question. He told you, "You get the first question right, everything else will come out all right."

God bless you. On November 5th, be there. It is your responsibility. It is your responsibility. It is your responsibility.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. Joe A. Carter, assistant pastor, New Hope Baptist Church; Rev. Vincent L. Thomas, pastor, First Gravel Hill Baptist Church, Smithfield, VA; Mayor Sharpe James of Newark; and singer Dionne Warwick. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Brunch for Representative Robert Torricelli in Teaneck, New Jersey

October 20, 1996

The President. Thank you so very much.

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Thank you. Wait, wait, wait a minute, wait. Okay, wait, we've heard—we've got your message now. Do you believe in free speech?

Audience member. [*Inaudible*]—of Cuba or your blockade of Iraq.

Audience member. You were the one responsible and—[*inaudible*]——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Wait, wait, we've heard from you. Now it's my turn. It's my turn. Free speech. Have you ever noticed—it's very interesting; a lot of people want free speech for themselves but don't believe in it for anyone else. All right, it's my turn.

Audience member. Let the President speak.

[*The disturbance continued.*]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, I'll tell you what I'm going to do. I'm going to talk, and you can pay attention to her or you can pay attention to me. Now, let me, first of all, say——

[*The disturbance continued.*]

Audience member. Let's hear from the President.

The President. Let's talk about what she—number one, we have not killed a million people with our blockade of Iraq. The Iraqis—Saddam Hussein could have had food and medicine for his children 3 years ago, and he refused to take it. That's one of the biggest lies I ever heard. Saddam Hussein is oppressing his people, we're not. Secondly, Fidel Castro had Americans murdered illegally, and that was wrong, too. And I'm proud that we have a blockade against people who kill innocent Americans.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is a private event. Whoever is hosting it can let these people talk, or you can let me talk. You can do whatever you want to do. I want to ask——

[*The disturbance continued.*]

Audience member. Get her out of here!

The President. Wait, wait. Hey, wait, this might be interesting. She talked about the war on the poor. Facts are inconvenient. We had the biggest drop in child poverty last year in 20 years. Second fact: We had the biggest drop in poverty in households headed by women in 30 years. We had the biggest decrease in inequality among working people in 27 years. What else should we talk about? I like this. This is good.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Bye. Goodbye.

[*The demonstrators left the room.*]

The President. I have to tell you, folks, I don't mind people coming to our crowds to demonstrate; I just think that free speech should be a two-way street. I think it's fine if they come here and say whatever they want to say.

Let me thank Governor Florio and Congressman Payne for being here. Where's Donald Payne? I know he's here somewhere. He came in with us. Thank you, Don, for being here. Let me also say that we have, I believe, three other candidates for Congress here: Steve Rothman, Bill Pascrell, Chris Evangel. Thank you three for being here. I want to thank Senator Lautenberg for what he said and for what he's done and for helping me to stand against the onslaught of the last 2 years and particularly in his work to protect the environment. And I want to thank Bob Torricelli for his remarks. I was thinking, now would I say that for him if you just have one vote to give? [*Laughter*] Split it—[*laughter*]—vote twice.

What I would like to say to you is something similar, but I think the issue here is not one of party so much as country. And the question is what the direction of the country should be. And we are fortunate, really, all the voters in this country are fortunate in that there is a clear difference, so that people have a real choice. And what remains is for people to understand the choice, understand the practical consequences of it, and then to act on it. And that is really what must be done between now and November 5th.

All of you by coming here and expressing your support for Bob and for others who are running have helped to make that choice clearer for the people of New Jersey. I hope you will also do what you can between now and the election to talk to family members, friends, coworkers, people you know here and in other States as well, because this choice that we face is very profound and should have the input of every single American who is registered to vote.

One of the things that concerns me about campaigns when they become too negative is that a lot of people can then just get kind of turned off and say, "Well, maybe this doesn't have anything to do with me." And what I tried to do in that debate in San Diego was to keep going back and answering the questions the people were asking so they would see it does have something to do with them and with you.

And I have to tell you, I was very proud of our country when I met those 123 people in San Diego. I thought they did a terrific job. They were all undecided voters, and I thought they did a very good job of asking questions. I only wish that they had had a chance to ask 20 more, because they did a good job. And I bet if we'd had 120 people from New Jersey they would have asked similar questions. And that's the great thing about this country and the great thing about this process.

And I just want to say, there may be very little more I can say to all of you. This is Sunday, and in our church we used to call this preaching to the saved. I guess that's what we're doing here today. [*Laughter*] But I would like for you to just think about, again, the fact that there are some very big ideas which have huge practical consequences to people at issue in this election. I said that I wanted to create a country in which there was opportunity for everyone responsible enough to work for it and in which people were coming together instead of being divided by their differences, that I want to build a bridge to the future that's wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across.

The other side says they trust the people and we trust the Government. And what they want you to believe is that anybody who is elected to office becomes part of the Government and automatically sort of takes leave of their senses, their sensibility, their ability to listen to you. If that's what they think, why do they try so hard to stay in the Government? I don't understand that. [*Laughter*]

But this has enormous consequences. My view is that the Government is simply a partner, one partner in America's great mosaic. But there are some things that we can do better as a nation if we do them together than we can if we're left to do them by ourselves, if you believe, as I do, we should build a bridge to the future that all of us have a chance to walk across. That is the only question.

The fact is that, with the support of Senator Lautenberg and Congressman Torricelli, we reduced the size of the bureaucracy, the number of regulations, more than the two previous administrations did. We eliminated more programs, altogether, outright than the two previous administrations did. But we felt that we still

had some responsibilities together, which included protecting the environment; giving people a chance to get an education; investing in our common economic future, including research and technology; and growing this country together. And the choices are stark. You can see the choices we have made by working together.

Now, if you compare that to the budget that I vetoed, even when they shut the Government down, it's very interesting. Their idea of moving toward the 21st century, a time when learning is more important than ever before, was to enact the first budget that ever cut education—$31 billion—cut student loans, cut 50,000 people out of Head Start. We beat that and just added 50,000 people to the Head Start program. Big difference, huge consequences.

Their idea on the environment was to cut back on environmental enforcement and also to abandon the idea that the polluter should pay for the pollution that he or she caused, let the taxpayers pick up that bill while we cut back on further cleanups and further environmental protection. That's a huge difference. Our idea has been safer drinking water, higher standards for food, get chemicals out of air, give communities more right to know, clean up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than they did in 12. And we want to clean up 500 more in the next 4 years so our kids will all be growing up next to parks, not next to poison. That's a very great difference, and I think I know which side you're on.

On Medicare, you know, now they accuse of us being Medi-scare. Let me just remind you of what happened. When we realized we had to make some savings in the Medicare program to extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund, the trustees of the fund made a certain recommendation. This happens every 4 or 5 years. We adopted it and went a little beyond it. And we said, "Okay, we'll protect Medicare for a decade." They said, "We want to cut 2½ times that much." All the hospital associations in the country said we could put 700 hospitals in dire straits if you do that.

Now, those are the facts. When they had a chance, that was their approach. They said, "We're going to repeal 30 years of a commitment the National Government made to families with children with disabilities, to help those families stay in the middle class, keep working, and maintain their children at home. We're going to repeal the national nursing home standards. We're going to walk away from the help we're giving to middle class families whose parents have to go into nursing homes at an average cost of $38,000 a year."

Let's not forget what the real choices were here. Now, that was their preferred policy option. So it wasn't that we weren't willing to do the responsible thing; we have done the responsible thing; we will do the responsible thing. But I will never preside over a country, if I can stop it, that walks away from our common commitment to help people who are working hard to build strong families, do decent work, maintain their middle class lifestyles, even if they have a parent that needs to be in a nursing home or a child with a disability. I will never do that. And you shouldn't do that either.

So my message to you is simple: We tried our approach, and we're better off. We have more jobs, more new businesses, lower unemployment, higher homeownership than we've had in 15 years, 4 years of declining crime rates, declining gun violence rates. We're moving in the right direction.

The last thing we need to do is to go back to an approach which tells people they're on their own. Should we abandon the safe and drug-free schools program or the National Government support for it? I don't think so. Did we make a mistake to pass the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban and to expand the Brady bill's prohibition on handgun buying from felons to people who beat up their spouses and their kids? I don't think so. I think we did the right thing. Should we keep going? I think we should.

And so I want all of you to think about that and to think about what else you can do for Bob Torricelli, not because of Bob Torricelli but because of you and because of the people you care about and because of those little kids I shook hands with outside who couldn't get in here today. Some of them may never be able to go to a fundraiser, but they do deserve a right to get a good education, live in a clean environment, have a decent job, live on a safe street, and have a good future. That's what they deserve.

And we are changing dramatically in the way we work and live and relate to the rest of the world. That's going to happen regardless. We have to decide how we're going to respond to those changes. I want to respond to those

changes in a way that builds a bridge we can all walk across and that keeps us coming together around our differences.

So much of the world today is being torn apart because people can't get along because of their racial, their religious, their ethnic, their tribal differences. We have more diversity in the United States than any great democracy in the world. And it is our meal ticket to the future.

This is another example in life when by doing the morally right thing, we will all grow wealthier, we will all grow happier, we will all be rewarded by just doing what's right. And we can only do what's right if we're willing to give everybody an opportunity, if we're willing to rebuild communities and willing to give every family a chance to succeed. That's what's at issue in this election.

So I ask you again, when you think about us, do you think about all the efforts that have been made? Some of you have been coming to these events now all year long, and you're probably on your last leg. [*Laughter*] I can tell you this: There is a very high principle at stake here because even a lot of the good things that are happening in the world today are dividing people. Computers and technology and high levels of education, unless they are broadly shared, can help societies to become even more divided even as they become more prosperous. And I am determined to see America take advantage of these changes in a way that makes the whole country stronger and more coherent.

We were just over at the New Hope Baptist Church, Bob and I were, and we're sort of in a good humor now. [*Laughter*] And we've got our minds right. And I was just reminded walking up there—I don't know why I haven't thought about it in a long time—about the magnificent poem by John Donne, who said, "No man is an island entire of himself. Each is a part of the—a piece of the whole, a part of the main. Every person's death diminishes me. And therefore, send not to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." If you believe that, you should side with us because we believe we're in this together.

So I'd like to celebrate, scream, and shout, but it's not over yet. It's a long way from over. So I ask you again—I thank you for coming here; I promise we'll make it a good investment. We'll do the very best we can. But every one of you still has someone else in this State or in another State to whom you can talk between now and the election. Every one of you has someone who is on the margin of voting—"should I or should I not"—who needs to understand that there are huge, practical consequences to their lives in the outcome of these elections and that they need to show up and be counted.

So I ask you, if you want to help us build that bridge to the 21st century, build it every day between now and election day by finding somebody else who will be there, and be there for people who care about them and their future.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Marriott at Glen Pointe Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; President Fidel Castro of Cuba; and James J. Florio, former Governor of New Jersey.

Remarks at the Presidential Unity Fund Reception in New York City
October 20, 1996

The President. Thank you very much.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much, all of you, for being here. Let me begin by thanking the Members of Congress who are here, who were just introduced, Congressmen Nadler, Manton, Engel, Congresswoman Maloney. I know that Carl McCall and Speaker Silver and Martin Connor and Ruth Messinger I think is here and Mark Green. And Judith Hope, our State Democratic chairman—I think you're all here. Thank you.

Thank you, Harry Belafonte, for being great and for always being there for us. And I want to thank Harry Belafonte for another thing, the

early support and strong encouragement he gave me to restore democracy and freedom to the people of Haiti. Thank you, Harry Belafonte, for that as well.

I'd like to thank Whoopi Goldberg, who has been the most faithful supporter of our common efforts for the last 6 months in the United States. Whoopi emceed my birthday party, and she was a stitch, as always, and almost made it bearable turning 50, just listening to her. [*Laughter*] And she is a wonderful person behind all that good humor. And she doesn't have to do this. She does it because she loves her country and cares about what happens to other people and their lives. And I am very grateful to her for that.

And I'd also like to thank Marlo Thomas, who spoke earlier, who has been a wonderful, progressive force in our country for so long. And there's another terrific actor here who has come to a number of our events in the last few weeks. And I want to thank him for his support and say that I look forward for decades more of stellar performances. Mr. Kevin Spacey is here. Thank you, Kevin, for coming.

I want to thank Chairman Don Fowler and our general chairman, Chris Dodd. Thank you, Terry McAuliffe. Thank you, Senator Bob Kerrey, for not only raising a lot of money for the Democrats but for recruiting stellar candidates for the Senate. We've got a lot of folks out there that you're helping tonight you've never met. But believe me, you can be proud of them. They are good. I am proud of them, and I thank them.

To Tom Daschle and Dick Gephardt, let me say to all of you, a lot of you in this room know me better than you know Senator Daschle, who's from South Dakota—which if you've never been to South Dakota, I recommend a trip there someday. Last time we went to South Dakota, they delayed a high school football homecoming for an hour so I could have a rally in this little town, and 10,000 people showed up. It rained, they stayed, and then they went on to the football game. It's that kind of place. It was absolutely wonderful. But I want you to know that Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt have worked very hard to earn the trust of the American people, have worked very hard to make sure that we were working together to move forward in a prudent but progressive way, and I believe will fulfill their responsibilities in a way that will inspire an enormous amount of support even from people beyond the rank and file of the Democratic Party if the voters give them the chance to lead the Congress in the coming election.

Let me just say to all of you—I can be quite brief about this—most of you know what the consequences of this election are in specific terms. I mean, if you just look at the budget that was adopted in this last year, in the last couple of weeks right before the Congress had to go home and face reelection, as compared to the budget they wanted to adopt that I vetoed—they took 50,000 people out of Head Start; we put 50,000 more in. They cut the college loan program; we wound up with the biggest increase in Pell grants for needy college students in 20 years. That's the difference.

They cut environmental enforcement and ended the principle that the polluters should pay. We vetoed that, and they wound up fully funding our environmental program, setting aside the Sterling Forest here on the Atlantic seaboard. We're going to create three national parks in the Mojave Desert area of California. We're moving forward. But that's because the American people made their voice heard.

Now you've got these two different visions weighing in the balance. The big ideas, it seems to me, are pretty clear. Everybody knows that we're going into a time of greater possibility for people who are prepared for it than at any time in human history. There will be more opportunities for people in a position to seize them than at any time in human history. Within 4 or 5 years, it will be typical to see a kid in a school in Brooklyn doing a research project on a computer out of a library in Australia, for example. That will be typical. It will be usual. You'll have children who will be E-mailing each other from every African country that has an immigrant counterpart in a United States school. There will be unbelievable opportunities.

To give you some example, we've created 10½ million more jobs, we Americans have, since I became President. More than half of them are in high-wage categories. Why? Because they're tied to the rest of the world more closely and into the things that we do well, to the emerging information society.

We believe that we have two great ideas here that are very important, that should permeate every single policy decision we make. We think that we ought to be building a bridge to the future wide enough and strong enough for ev-

erybody to walk across who is responsible enough to do their own part. We believe that. We believe that we'll be a stronger, better country and all the rest of us will do better if we give everyone a chance to live up to their God-given capacities. That's why we make a decision different from them on something like family and medical leave or putting 100,000 police on the street or the Brady bill or the assault weapons ban or a better student loan program. We just have different views of that. We believe that we should do things that help people to go forward together.

The second thing we believe is that we should be one community in harmony with each other, in harmony with our environment, and insofar as we can, a force for peace and freedom throughout the world. And if you look around this room—just take a look, think about this. Just take a look around this room tonight. You've got people here whose ethnic heritage is in Europe, Asia, south Asia, the Middle East, and—maybe we've got some Native Americans here; there have been Native Americans in every other crowd I've been in for the last week—and every continent in the world. You live in a country which is basically bound together by a set of ideas embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the rest of our Constitution. And we say at our best points, "If you believe in these ideas and you show up and you obey the law and you respect your neighbors, you're part of our American community."

All over the world people are being convulsed by their ethnic, religious, tribal, racial hatreds. All over the world people are less than they ought to be. Children are being killed because one group has to be able to look down upon another group in order to look up to itself. All over the world, people are still taught the most ancient stupidity of all, that ultimately the most important thing about you is what you are not, when clearly the most important thing about you is what you are.

Now, we in the United States, we in this administration, and we on this stage, we believe that the best future for America is one that consists of our saying, "You may be different from us; you may even do things we don't think are right. We don't care as long as you believe in the same values embodied in the Constitution, you're willing to work, you're willing to be responsible, you're willing to treat your neighbors who are different from you with respect. You can be part of our country, you will be part of our community, and you will walk across the bridge to the 21st century with us." And that's important.

Now, if you believe that, it means that if we're going to balance the budget we can't do it in a way that hurts seniors who have no other way to take care of their health care needs except through Medicare and Medicaid. It means you can't walk away from working families that have children with cerebral palsy, for example, who couldn't stay middle class working families if they lost the guarantee that Medicaid gives them to buy those wheelchairs for their kids and so their kids can stay at home and stay in school and grow and do the very best they possibly can. It means you can't walk away from that.

It means you can't abandon the obligation the United States has to continue to clean up our environment while we grow the economy. It means you must invest more in education, not less, and open the doors of college education to all.

It means it's not enough to say that we're going to end welfare as we know it, give it to the States, and walk away. You can't require people to go to work unless you provide jobs for them and training for them and an opportunity to find their way to raise their children successfully the way everybody else does.

It means these things. It means you can't just look at children and say, "Stay off drugs," and then turn around and take away the funds that the schools are using to bring the police officers and the others into the schools to be role models, one on one, to these kids, not just a once-a-month speech but a daily positive presence in the lives of these children that give them a chance to reclaim their lives, look toward the future, and build something good for themselves.

So let me say this in closing: We do have just a few days left. The big danger in this election is that people won't show up who have the most riding on the outcome of it. And what I want to ask all of you to do is to promise yourselves that every day between now and election day you will contact somebody to tell them they ought to show up, to tell them there is a relationship between what we do in Washington and how you live here and in every other community around the country, that this country

is better off than it was 4 years ago, that we do have good ideas for the next 4 years, and that we need to go into the 21st century walking across a bridge and walking across it together. And the decisions we make in these elections will determine both those things: Are we going to build a bridge, number one, and number two, are we going to walk across it together?

The best days of this country are ahead if we answer the questions right. That means people have to show up. Will you help us do that? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. at the Sheraton New York Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to H. Carl McCall, State comptroller; Sheldon Silver, State assembly speaker; Martin Connor, State senate minority leader; Ruth Messinger, Manhattan borough president; Mark Green, New York City public advocate; musician Harry Belafonte; comedienne Whoopi Goldberg; actress Marlo Thomas; Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee; and Terence McAuliffe, finance chairman, Clinton/Gore '96.

Remarks at Cuyahoga Community College in Parma, Ohio

October 21, 1996

Thank you very much. Good morning. I won't let the rain bother me if you don't let it bother you; how's that? Thank you so much, all of you, for being here. I'm going to put on my raincoat. I cheat a little bit.

First let me thank Dr. Jerry Sue Thornton and all the people here at this wonderful community college for hosting us. Thank you, Senator Glenn. Thank you, Mayor Gerald Boldt. I'm glad to be back in Parma. Thank you, sir. I'm the only President in history who has ever come to Parma twice just to eat pierogies, but I'm—[*laughter*]. We're going to do a little work today.

Thank you, Cleveland Mayor Mike White. Thank you, Dennis Kucinich, for that great speech. He sounded like a Congressman to me. Thank you, Mayor Tom Coyne, for running for Congress. Thank you, Congressmen Tom Sawyer and Sherrod Brown, for being here. Thank you, Representative Jane Campbell, David Leland. Thank you, Mayor Dimora, for being here.

And let me say a special thanks to the Valley Forge High School Band for being here. I am not so old that I do not remember what it's like to try to play one of those instruments in the rain. It's not easy, and let's give them another hand. Come on. [*Applause*] I also want to thank all the other students who are here. There is a group of students back here—[*applause*]—there is a group of students in the back over there with a sign that says they got out of school and I have to sign their permission slip. So I will do that for the ones in the back.

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you all for being here. Thanks for that "Ohio Republicans for Clinton/Gore" sign. That looks good to me. I am delighted to be back here.

Let me say, all of you know that 4 years ago when I ran for President we had a time of high unemployment and rising frustration. And all of you know that compared to 4 years ago, we are better off. We have 10½ million more jobs. The unemployment rate in Ohio has gone from 7 percent to 4.8 percent. Average family income in the last 2 years is up $1,600 after inflation, after being stagnant for a decade. We are moving in the right direction. The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. The welfare rolls have dropped. Child support collections are up almost 50 percent. We're moving in the right direction.

This election will determine what direction we take into the 21st century. That is the decision before all of you. Will you help me build a bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

If you compare the work we've done in the last month since you had your voices heard, compared to the last 2 years, when I vetoed a budget that would have cut education for the first time in American history, weakened environmental protection, undermined the commitments of Medicare and Medicaid—and you stood by me and made your voices heard. Now, in the last month, we raised the minimum wage

for 10 million working Americans. We passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill that says you cannot lose your health insurance anymore because somebody in your family has been sick or because you changed jobs. We gave a $5,000 tax credit to families that would adopt some of these hundreds of thousands of children out there who need a home and support of a family. And we made it easier for small-business people to take out pensions for themselves and their employees. We are moving in the right direction.

But now you have to make a decision in about 2 weeks. Your vote will decide whether we balance our budget and protect Medicare and Medicaid, education and the environment, and give targeted tax cuts to families to help them raise their children and educate them, to help them save for that first-time home or deal with medical costs, or whether we blow a hole in the deficit with a risky tax scheme that will raise taxes on the 9 million working people, increase the deficit, and cut education again. I think the answer is clear.

Your vote will decide whether we continue to support families, whether we continue to fight crime, whether we really finish the job of reforming welfare. Yes, we passed a bill that says people on welfare have 2 years to turn that welfare check into a paycheck. Now we have to make sure the jobs are there so that they can take the jobs and build good families.

Your vote will decide whether we continue to clean up the environment or give in to those who say we have to weaken our environment to grow our economy. You know better than that. I want to clean up 500 more toxic waste dumps in this country so every American child will be growing up next to parks, not poison, and I think you do, too.

Most of all, your vote will decide whether we continue our struggle for world-class education for the schoolchildren who are here, whether we continue to expand Head Start, whether we continue to raise standards, whether we hook up every single classroom in the United States of America to the information superhighway—the Internet, the World Wide Web—by the year 2000, so that for the first time in history every child in America, in a private, parochial, or a public school, whether in a rich, a middle class, or a very poor district—for the first time ever we'll have every child able to hook into the same amount of learning in the same time in the same way from all over the world. It will revolutionize opportunity for every child in the United States.

And above all, your vote will decide whether we make the opportunities you enjoy here available to all Americans. In the last 4 years we've had the biggest increase in Pell grant scholarships in 20 years. We had a huge increase in work-study in just the last month approved. We created the AmeriCorps program, which has helped 69,000 young people to serve their community and work their way through college. We have created the school-to-work program for young people who don't go to 4-year colleges, and that includes the Cuyahoga Community College's Tech Prep program right here. That's the kind of thing we have tried to do.

Now, what I want to tell you is we have more to do. One of the things we did that you heard your president talk about is pass the direct loan program. It made it quicker and cheaper for young people to get college loans. Sixteen hundred schools now participate in that program, including Cuyahoga Community College and 69 others in Ohio. And what that has meant is that 10 million Americans have saved an average of $190 each on their college loan. And even more important, it means you can borrow money to go to college without worrying about how you're going to pay it back, because you cannot be required to pay more than a certain percentage of your income every year. That means every young person in this program can afford to borrow the money to go to college. But there is more to do. I propose the following three things. It's a big part of your decision on November 5th.

Number one, look around you here. I want to make 2 years of education after high school as universal in America by the year 2000 as a high school diploma is today. And there's a simple way to do it. I propose to give every family a $1,500 tax credit—that's the cost of a typical community college tuition—a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their tax bill if they're going to a community college or another 2-year institution. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

And I propose to give every family a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, undergraduate, graduate, you name it. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Finally, I propose to let families save more in IRA's and withdraw from them without any

penalty if the money is being used for a college education or for health care or to buy a first home. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Folks, even in the rain we know that the key to our future is investing in the minds of our people. This decision, more than anything else, will determine whether we together as a nation recommit ourselves to the proposition that in the 21st century if we want every American to live up to the fullest of his or her God-given ability, we must guarantee every American a world-class education, and I need your help to do that. Will you help? [*Applause*] Will you support that? [*Applause*]

The program that I have outlined altogether will make sure that the money saved by a middle class family for college need never be taxed, that we are going to invest together in a college education.

Now, as all of you know, my opponent has a different view. He opposed the creation of the Department of Education, and now he says that he and Speaker Gingrich will eliminate it. I believe they're wrong and we're right. We need a Department of Education. Just imagine what it would be like in the United States, alone of all the great nations, to start the 21st century with no one in the President's Cabinet to speak up for the education of our children. I say let's keep it, let's make it better, let's expand educational opportunity for all of our children.

Thirty-one years ago, my opponent voted against the creation of the student loan program in the first place. Three years ago, he opposed the direct lending program, which your president just praised and which you know has improved college loans right here at Cuyahoga Community College. He's tried to cut it back and cripple it ever since.

And the budget I vetoed last year would have cut Pell grant scholarships for hundreds of thousands of students for the first time ever. Instead, we fought them back and we got the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years. Will you support the direction we are taking for education for all Americans? [*Applause*]

I want you to be clear about that. Your vote is going to decide whether we continue to expand access to college and student loans or whether we eliminate the Department of Education, cut college aid, and tell our young people to fend for themselves. I don't know what all the family circumstances of all those young people in the band are over there, but I know one thing: All of us will be better off if every single one of them, without regard to their family income, can get a college education. And I want you to help me do that.

I want you to help me make sure we have an America in 4 years at the dawn of a new century where every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet, and every 18-year-old in America can go on to college. We just have 2 weeks and a day. Will you help me for 2 weeks and a day build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. on the Campus Green. In his remarks, he referred to Jerry Sue Thornton, president, Cuyahoga Community College; Mayor Gerald M. Boldt of Parma; Dennis Kucinich, candidate for Ohio's 10th Congressional District; Mayor Thomas J. Coyne, Jr., of Brookpark, OH, candidate for Ohio's 19th Congressional District; State Representative Jane L. Campbell; David Leland, chair, Ohio Democratic Party; and Mayor Jimmy Dimora of Bedford Heights, OH.

Remarks at the Ground-Breaking Ceremony for Expansion of the Detroit Metropolitan Wayne County Airport in Detroit, Michigan

October 21, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. When Al Checchi started telling that story about Herb Kelleher, who is a mutual friend of ours, meeting the head of Wild Turkey whiskey company, I couldn't tell whether he was comparing Ed McNamara to God, to whiskey, or to a wild turkey. [*Laughter*] But I have—I will pay for that at a later point. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, many people have been thanked today, but I want to say a special

word of thanks to the Members of Congress who have personally lobbied me in behalf of this project and, in particular, your friend Senator Carl Levin, Congressman John Dingell, who has a way of being insistent himself—[*laughter*]—Congressman John Conyers and Congressman David Bonior, who are here, and one who is not here, Congresswoman Lynn Rivers. I thank them very much for the work they did personally with me in Washington.

I want to thank Alfred Checchi for the brilliant job he has done in turning Northwest Airlines around, along with John Dasburg and others, and the work they did to make this possible. It's a real tribute to the ability of American enterprise to compete in the areas that will dominate the 21st century.

I want to thank Secretary Pena for the work that he has done to make sure that even in a time when we reduced the deficit in all 4 years for the first time in the 20th century, at a time when we were permitting Government spending to grow more slowly than it has in the last 12 years, we still were able to invest more in the infrastructure of America, in no small measure because of the innovation and the partnerships that Federico Pena did a lot to help to design and carry out. And since he was the mayor of Denver before he became Secretary of Transportation, we all know that he believes in building modern airports. [*Laughter*]

I'd also like to thank Mayor Archer for so many things. But the last time I checked, the unemployment rate in the city of Detroit was half what it was 4 years ago, thanks in no small measure to the work that Detroit did in securing the empowerment zone, to the $2 billion in private sector capital that were committed to it, and to the genuine spirit of partnership and cooperation which Dennis Archer has fostered. And I thank him for that.

But most important, I want to thank my friend Ed McNamara. I'll tell you a story about Ed. Not so very long ago, when the question of the last $150 million was hanging fire, he put his big old arm around me and he looked at me with those big sort of half happy, half sad eyes of his, and I thought, I'm going to get another one of this Irish bull that's coming up—[*inaudible*]. [*Laughter*] And he said, "Have I always been your friend?" [*Laughter*] I said, "Yes." He said, "Was I there before almost everyone else?" [*Laughter*] I said, "Yes." He said, "Didn't Jim Blanchard bring you to me first?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Have I ever asked you for anything, anything?" I said, "No." He said, "I want that airport—now." [*Laughter*] Governor Blanchard was nodding his head up and down; he knows that's true.

So this is a great day for Wayne County; it's a great day for the State of Michigan. The idea that we could invest here from all sources $1.6 billion to generate an annual impact of $2.7 billion says more than I ever could about the importance of creating a modern economy that will generate high-wage jobs, that is tied to the rest of America and the rest of the world.

Senator Levin said that together all of us working hard in the United States have produced 10½ million more jobs over the last 4 years. The thing that I'm proudest of is that the typical family income has gone up $1,600 after inflation in the last few years, in part because more than half of these jobs are in high-wage industries. We have to keep that trend going. For 20 years, Americans worked harder and harder and harder just to keep up, just to hold on. The average American family today is spending more hours at work and less time with their kids than they did in 1969. We have begun to turn that trend around.

So this is not only going to be exciting, it will not only change the life and the face of Wayne County and Michigan forever in creating more new jobs, it will create better jobs, and it will enable more and more people in Michigan not only to have access to that exciting world that's out there but also to build more successful family lives, to succeed at work and at home. So that this project today, yes, it will advance the pocketbooks and the incomes of the people whose jobs will come into being as a result of it, but it will also improve the quality of life for virtually every person in this entire region who is affected in any way by the way the economy is changing, so that change will be working for not only the working people but the families and the children of Michigan in the future instead of undermining those family values and what we all want. And that is, to me, perhaps the best news of this announcement today. And I thank all of you who worked on it to make it possible.

The unemployment in this State has dropped from about 7½ to about 4½ percent over the last 4 years. We now have to focus on the long term, on investing in our future and building

that bridge to the 21st century I talk so much about. Air travel is an important part of it.

One of the things Mr. Checchi did not say because he was perhaps too modest, but I want to emphasize that one of the areas that America enjoys an unquestionable global lead in, where no other nation can come close, is in the quality and competitiveness and price of air service in the United States. Whether it is commercial service or people on tourist ventures and trips or carrying cargo, there is no one in the world to compete with the competitive airlines of the United States.

People were writing our airline industry off when I became President. We had a special commission to talk about what we could do to rebuild the airlines. I believe it is accurate to say that last year and this year, every major airline company in America will turn a profit and is helping to forge the kind of partnerships we need to build that 21st century economy, where every single person will have a chance to live up to the fullest of his or her own abilities and where people really will have a chance to build successful careers and strong families in good communities. That's what turning this dirt means today. It is a very great day. And all of you should be very grateful to the leaders here who have worked so hard to make it happen.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Alfred A. Checchi, co-chairman, and John Dasburg, president and chief executive officer, Northwest Airlines; Herb Kelleher, chairman and president, Southwest Airlines; Edward H. McNamara, Wayne County executive; Mayor Dennis W. Archer of Detroit; and James J. Blanchard, former Governor of Michigan.

Remarks to the United Michigan Clergy in Detroit
October 21, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Well, the bishop has prayed over us so well, and my longtime friend Reverend Jones, who shares my roots in Arkansas, has spoken with such passion, and you've made Senator Levin more energetic than I ever heard him before. He's on fire. [*Laughter*] And Mayor Archer is on his way to becoming the world's greatest mayor. He did so well, I think I should quit while I'm ahead. He was wonderful.

I want to thank all the religious leaders behind me and all those in front of me. I thank Senator Levin for being here, along with the other Members of Congress who are here: Congressman Conyers, Congressman Dingell, Congressman Levin. I'm not sure if Congressman Bonior is here or not, but if he's not, you pretend like he's here. He's been working for you in Washington overtime. Our nominee for Congress, Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick, thank you for being here, Carolyn. Thank you, my good friend Governor Blanchard, for being here.

I want to thank the people who performed before I came out, Witness and the Craig Brothers. And I want to thank the people who did that remarkable and unique job of our national anthem, Mr. Benjamin Pruitt and Sister Nancy Bradley. Thank you. If she had gone up one more "America," I was going to volunteer to withdraw from the campaign and become her agent. [*Laughter*] It was so amazing.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have a wonderful array of people of faith here. We have Christians who are Catholic and Protestant; we have American Jews here; we have American Muslims here. And there is one person I think I know would be here if his health permitted him to be, Father William Cunningham, who does a brilliant job. You all know him. And I've been to a lot of places in my career in public service all across America where people are keeping hope alive and giving people a chance to make the most of their God-given abilities. But the work that Father Cunningham has done is truly unique. And he's had a pretty tough time lately, and he's doing a little better. But I'd like to ask if we could each in our own way just take a few seconds in a moment of silent prayer for Father William Cunningham and his health and God's will.

[*At this point, a moment of silence was observed.*]

The President. Amen.

Audience members. Amen.

The President. Let me say to all of you how glad I am to be here. I thank the mayor for mentioning the opportunity I had. I thought it was an opportunity to give the Nation's highest civilian award, the Congressional Medal of Freedom, to Rosa Parks. She symbolized the empowerment that will come to every American on election day.

And the mayor went through the issues, and I think you know what the differences are in the choices we face. So what I want to say to all of you is that we're going into a big, different, brilliant new world. I was just with the mayor and Wayne County executive Ed McNamara out at the airport. We were breaking ground on this new $1.6 billion project that will bring you 20,000 jobs and companies from all over the world coming here to the Detroit area to invest, putting people to work. And I was thinking about that on the one hand and then, on the other, what has been done here by the businesses in this area when Detroit won in a competition, fair and square, the right to become one of our first six urban empowerment zones and then put together $2 billion worth of private commitments to invest in the city and then in a matter of a couple of years cut the unemployment rate by more than 50 percent in this city—in just a matter of a couple of years.

Those are the two great things I want you to focus on. One is we're going into a big new world full of new possibilities, dominated by technology, information, and the raw speed of transfer of information, ideas, money, technology, and people around the world and across national borders. The second is that if we want to make the most of those developments, we've got to do a better job of developing ourselves from the grassroots up. That's what the Detroit empowerment zone represents, making the most of the human potential. The greatest untapped economic market for America is still the Americans that aren't working up to the fullest of their capacities, learning up to the fullest of their capacities, or living up to the fullest of their capacities. And the great choice before us is whether we believe that we have an obligation to work together to make the most of this new world and to meet the challenges that remain or whether we would be better off sort of on our own or with our own little crowd.

I do believe it takes a village to raise a child, build a city, build a State, and build a nation. And I do believe that we have to build a bridge to the future that's big and strong enough for all of us to walk across and that all of us will do better if everybody has a chance to get on that bridge and go right on across into that new century. That's what I believe.

When I became President, I told you when I came here that I would give you an administration that looked like America but that I would do my best not to give any person a job for which they were not qualified. I said I'd try to do both things. And it was amazing to me that when I got to Washington some of the people wrote about this as if this was some strange and radical idea, some crazy notion.

But all I know is, after 4 years, we've given more women and people of color a chance to serve in the Cabinet, on the Federal bench, in high positions in the White House and other places than any previous administration—[*applause*]—than any previous administration by far. And yet my nominees to the Federal court have received the highest ratings from the American Bar Association of any President since the ratings system began. You can have excellence and diversity; you can have high standards and give everybody a chance to live up to those high standards.

I said that I would try to find ways for everybody to participate in the bounty of America. That's what the empowerment zones were all about. That's why we're setting up community development banks all across the country to make loans to people who normally can't get loans. I've discovered—nearly a decade ago now—a man by the name of Mohammed Yunis who was educated in the United States and went home to Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world, who's made loans through neighborhood banks to over a million poor village women to help them start enterprises in one of the poorest countries in the world. And he's got a higher repayment rate than the commercial banks do in the country. I figured if it was good enough for Bangladesh, it ought to be good enough for Detroit and Little Rock and every other place in the country where people ought to be given a chance to work. And they're working out there. They're working to give people a chance to tap into the free enterprise system.

We just put, for the first time, $5 million of our campaign funds which we have to save and invest in minority banks, four leading minority owned banks, two African-American and two Hispanic. Nobody had ever done that before. I'll bet you—I shouldn't be gambling with people of the cloth. [*Laughter*] Let me rephrase that. [*Laughter*] If I were a betting man—[*laughter*]—I would bet that that money will be cared for just as well and will earn just as much interest for our campaign as if we put it somewhere else. Meanwhile, it can be invested in communities where people really need the money to create jobs and go to work.

So—and let me just mention one or two other things. When I was confronted with the question of what to do about affirmative action, I said it may not please some of my friends, but I don't think all those programs have worked the way they're supposed to. And we're going to have to tighten the standards on some; we even got rid of one or two. But the idea that there's no more discrimination in this country and that there's no more burden that people bear, it seems to me there's no evidence to support that. And I favor not quotas, not preferences for anybody that's unqualified, but I do favor making an extra effort to give everybody a chance to prove whether they're qualified. And that's what this is about. And I might say that there is an enormous amount of opinion of people who run big business operations, many of them in the other party, who have had the same experiences I have, who have the same position I do about this. We need to be bringing the people together, not dividing.

One of the things I—because we have people of different faiths in this room, I want to say something else that I really have cared a great deal about. One of the great honors of my Presidency that many people didn't hear about because there wasn't enough controversy associated with it—[*laughter*]—was to sign a bill called the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. And let me tell you what this bill did. This bill basically says that the Federal Government cannot interfere with, undermine, or weaken the practice of anybody's religion in the United States unless there is some overwhelming reason for it and the public interest cannot be protected in any other way whatsoever. In other words, the first amendment means what it says: We will not interfere with the practice of the freedom of religion. This has changed a lot of things in America.

For example, in a white evangelical church, a man had made his tithe payment after he'd gone bankrupt, and the Government was going to get the money back. And we said, no, no, no, we signed a law. We're not taking that money back from that church; they've got it. For example, we have respected the religious practices that are the oldest in our country, the practice of the Native Americans, our Indian people, more than ever before. We have tried to bend over backwards to respect the religious practices of Muslims wherever they live in America, even if the people involved are converts who happen to be in our penal institutions. Everywhere we have tried to work to say, the most important amendment in the Constitution is the first one: freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion.

So all these things—I think it made a difference to America. And that brings me to the point I want to make most strongly. The mayor has gone over most of our record and there's lots of other stuff that's good, but he did as good a job as I could. I'll just leave that alone. [*Laughter*]

There's a big idea here. Do you believe that we're better off if we go forward together with mutual respect for each other, with all of our diversity? Or are we better off having a fight every time we disagree with somebody over something instead of saying, "If you share the values of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to respect me even though I'm different from you, and if you're willing to show up for work tomorrow and be a law-abiding citizen, that's all I need to know about you. You're part of my America. We're going forward together into the 21st century." That's what I think our position ought to be.

Lest you get carried away here, this is not a simple thing. This seems self-evident to you. This is a big deal. Look at the world. Look at how the world is convulsed by the—how children, innocent children still being killed on the brink of the 21st century because of tribal, ethnic, racial, and religious differences around the world. Consider the Holy Land, the home of the three great religions of the world who all believe we are all created in the image of one God, our Creator, our Judge. How shall He

judge us for keeping on killing each other into the 21st century because we're different from somebody else?

Some people said they thought I had overreacted when these churches were being burned, when synagogues were being defaced with swastikas, when there was an Islamic center destroyed in South Carolina. Congressman Conyers went with me down to South Carolina to see one of these churches that had been burned and then rebuilt. And I said, no, I don't think so, not just because churches have been burned in my region in my lifetime and we did this before and it didn't work out very well, but because all over the world you see the logical conclusion of human affairs if we define ourselves primarily in terms of what we are not instead of what we are. If we start looking at other people and say, "Thank God I'm not them," then it's not very long before you say, "Well, maybe God wants me to do away with them." Is that right? [*Applause*] That's right. You think about it.

So in America we—there's a connection, a direct connection between this fundamental religious concept we're talking about here, whether we're all the creation of God and all equal in the eyes of God, and the much more secular event I just came from, dedicating that new airport. Why? Because this is the only great democracy that's got somebody from everywhere. This county has nearly got somebody from everywhere in it. When Hillary and Chelsea and I went to open the Olympics and there were people from 192 different groups there, national and ethnic groups around the country—our biggest county, Los Angeles County, has people from over 150 of those groups in one county. And I'll bet you're over 100 here in Wayne County.

So if you want to take the benefits of the modern world, you have to embrace the values in their purest form of honoring other people as equals in the eyes of God, if they behave, treat you with respect, even if they do things you think are dead wrong, if they don't break the law and they treat you with respect and they're part of our country.

This is very important. And that's why I have spent so much time on religious freedom, why I've spent so much time on this church burning, why after the Oklahoma City incident I tried—first of all, you remember, there were all these people who said, oh, this must be some terrorist attack from the Middle East. I said, don't jump on those people; there's no evidence of that yet. And it turned out to be a problem here at home.

And so I ask you all to think about that. Yes, there are these issues. Yes, I believe I'm right about family leave and our opponents are wrong—the leaders of the Congress and my opponent in the race. Yes, I think I'm right about college loans and our opponents are wrong. I believe all that. Yes, I think we were right on the empowerment zones and they were wrong to oppose us. Yes, I think we were right on trying to prove you can grow the economy and still clean up all these toxic waste sites in our cities and give our kids safety, and they were wrong to oppose it. I believe all that.

But you have to understand that underneath every one of those specific things there is this—these big ideas. Are we going to treat each other with respect and bring our country together and build one community and say, "Thank you, God, for giving the United States all this diversity on the brink of the 21st century, and if we do what is morally right with this great challenge You've given us"—it's challenging for all of us to get along. It's challenging for all of you in one family to get along, and challenging to get everybody in this church to get along. It's a challenge. So you say, "Thank you, God, for giving us this burden." If we can meet this challenge, there is no country better positioned for the 21st century than the United States, because it's going to be a global society and we've got somebody from everybody here already—from everywhere.

So I say to you, when I talk about opening the doors of college education to all or hooking up every classroom in America to the information superhighway so that children will be talking to each other in the poorest school districts and the richest and the most middle class in America—they'll be talking to kids halfway around the world in Africa and Asia and the Middle East, in Europe, by E-mail before you know it. We'll have—for the first time in American history all of our children will have access to the same information in the same time in the same way. All those things—every one of these issues you have to think about—this is a way to let people live up to the fullest of their God-given potential and to live by our values.

And we have to live by our values and treat each other with respect; otherwise, we can't take advantage of all this. The two things go together. We can't build that bridge to the future unless we're going to let everybody walk over it. It won't be strong enough.

And there's so many things where you will be called upon to meet those challenges; I just want to mention two. One is we have to do more to help families succeed at work and at home. That's what the Family and Medical Leave Act was about. All of you will know this, but let me just put it out there anyway. The average American parent is spending more time at work and less time at home today than in 1969. People are working harder. That's why I wanted the Family and Medical Leave Act. That's why I want to expand it so people can go see their children's teacher or take their kids or their own parents to the doctor without losing their jobs—just a little expansion. I want to do that.

But it's also why we passed a law to say new television sets have to have this V-chip in it so a parent can determine what the children are watching when they're too young to make their own judgment, so they shouldn't be exposed to things they shouldn't see.

And it's why we've tried to protect our children from the dangers of tobacco being advertised to them. You know, 3,000 kids a day start smoking in this country even though it's illegal, and 1,000 will die sooner because of it. And it's illegal to do. So, yes, I plead guilty; we're trying to stop those companies from advertising, marketing, and distributing tobacco in a way that inevitably goes to kids. I think that's good. We need to finish that work.

It's why we have supported the safe and drug-free schools program, so there will be somebody for our 10-year-olds in a uniform standing in front of every class in the country, and people can look up to him and say, well, if they're not getting it at home, at least they ought to get it in school, somebody telling these children these drugs are wrong, they can kill you. They're not just illegal; they're wrong and they can kill you.

And let me just say in that regard, I want to ask you for your support about a specific thing I recommended on Saturday. We have a particularly troubling time because there's still too many of our children out there raising themselves. A lot of you know that better than I do. And I am proud, as the mayor said, that we've increased child support collections by nearly 50 percent. We're going to increase it a lot more in the next 4 years. But getting the check is not the same thing as having mama and daddy at home talking about right and wrong. It's not the same thing. It's important, but it's not the same thing.

Now, consider this: The crime rate has gone down in America for 4 years in a row. The violent crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row, but the juvenile murder rate didn't start going down until last year. And the juvenile rate of violence didn't start going down until this year. Isn't that awful? Who would have ever believed that our kids under 18 could be in worse shape when it comes to violating the law than a lot of people older.

The drug rates in this country—the rates of casual drug use, marijuana use, and cocaine use have all gone down substantially in the last 4 years. But the rate of drug use in our country among juveniles has gone up substantially. I want to say—let me—let's get this clear: About 90 percent of our kids are still drug-free, and they're not experimenting, they're not doing anything wrong. But still, 10 or 11 percent of the people fooling around with drugs is terrifying. It's terrifying. And last weekend, I said one of the things I think we ought to do is to say to our young people, if you want to get a driver's license, we want you to pass a drug test. And if you don't pass it, you can't have a driver's license. I think that's important.

Now, I want to ask you—[*applause*]—I want to ask you to support that because some of our young people say, "Well, what's that old, cranky President doing that to me for? I'd never think of doing that." I want you to ask the 90 percent of our kids who hadn't done anything wrong to take this on as a personal responsibility. They are—we are inconveniencing them to help us identify those kids that are in trouble before it is too late.

And I hope you will support me from the pulpit on this because this is important. We cannot afford to have a country where all the young adults—where people normally take a lot of the risks in life—are getting smarter about drugs, and the juveniles, the kids under 18, are still getting dumber about drugs. We have to do something about it. So that's one idea we have I hope you'll support.

The other specific thing I want to ask you for is this: I am proud of the fact that because of the strength of our economy, that we all did together, and because of special work I've done with States and communities around the country, the welfare rolls have almost 2 million fewer people on them than the day I became President—people moving from welfare to work. I'm proud of that.

Now, there has been a lot of controversy about this welfare reform law I signed, but I want to just ask you to think with me for about 2 minutes about that. Let me tell you what the law says. The law says the National Government will continue to guarantee to poor families and little children medical care and food and if the parent, the mother goes to work, more child care than ever. The money that used to be in the welfare check itself, which is part Federal and part State—it used to go out every month in the check—that money will now go to the States, and the States and the communities will have 2 years to figure out how to turn the welfare check into a paycheck for able-bodied people. That is a good and honorable thing to do. But we can only do it if there is a job there to earn a paycheck from.

So to me this is not a matter of rhetoric. I want to take poverty out of politics. I want poor people to be treated like other people. And to do that, we've got to take it out of politics. And to do that, we have to develop community- and neighborhood-based programs to treat people like individuals and families like individual families with dignity.

Now, let me give you an example of what can be done. And I want every one of you to think about whether your church, your synagogue, your mosque, your Islamic center could participate in this. Under the law now, it is now legal for every State in the country to say to any employer, including a religious institution, if you will add one person to your work force and you will pay them something above the minimum wage and guarantee them a job for a while, you can have their welfare check as a wage supplement.

In addition to that, I'm going to offer to the Congress a special targeted tax cut for people to hire people off welfare. Now, consider this. A welfare check on average in most States for a family of three is worth about—I don't know—three bucks an hour. If somebody gets hired at $7.50 an hour, $8 an hour, or whatever, the employer gets the check as a subsidy to take people and train them and care about their children and end the physical isolation that happens to people who get trapped without opportunity.

But don't kid yourself; this law will be a flop if the rest of us don't do our responsibility. All the people that criticized me for signing this bill, if we do a lousy job they'll be right, because poor people will be worse off after the bill than before. The problem is before, we tried it that way and half the people were always stuck. So there was a limit to how much good we could do before, and the real value of these monthly checks is much lower than it was 20 years ago.

Now we've got a chance to take the politics out of poverty, to make it into a people problem and a challenge, and the new system will literally permit every business person in the country, every nonprofit employer in the country, every religious institution in the country to get one family and say, "You're mine." And then if the State has got any sense at all, they would do this, every State, to give the communities the power to say, here's the check. It's a supplement. We're going to pay you to prove that this person and her children can be just like everybody else in life if they get the right kind of help. And I ask you, I want you to help me do that. Will you think about helping me do that? Will you prove that we can give poor people another chance? Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

The last thing I want to say is this. If you don't show up November 5th, all this is a highly academic conversation. I have worked as hard as I could to show the American people—whenever I go to a big rally—I don't know if you've ever seen them on television—I am always introduced by a citizen who has done something related to something I'm working on in Washington, because I want people like the folks that show up with you every week to see the connection between what we do in Washington—Senator Levin and I and these Members of Congress—and what you do here. That's what I want. And I'm just saying, anything you can do to increase that voter turnout, you ought to do. We talk a lot about politicians' responsibility; voting is the citizens' responsibility. That's the price you pay for democracy.

And I will end with this story. I was in Cleveland before I came here today—a great Amer-

ican city. And I drove by a church—just by total accident, it wasn't planned—I drove by a church that 4 years ago, about this time, I was in. And the pastor, a great American pastor—a lot of you know him—his name is Otis Moss, a great American preacher. And Otis Moss was talking to the flock that night, and he said, "A lot of you don't think you ought to vote." He said, "Let me tell you a story." He said, "I grew up in the South when we weren't allowed to vote. And finally, after people going to jail, and people going to court, and Congress passing laws, my daddy got the right to vote. And he walked 10 miles to the polling place. And those people looked at him, and they'd say, 'I'm sorry, Mr. Moss, you're at the wrong polling place. You got to go someplace else.' And he said he had to walk 4 or 5 miles to the next polling place. And he said when he got there, they said, 'I'm sorry, Mr. Moss, the polls are closed.' He said he'd been waiting all his life to vote." He said, "The first time my daughter was old enough to vote, I took her to the polling place and we both got into the place at the same time and we closed the machines." And he said, "Before I could vote, I put my ear up next to my voting booth and I listened to my daughter vote, and I thought about my daddy walking all those miles all those years." He said, "Nobody in my family has ever missed a vote."

And so I ask you to think about that bright new day that's out there before us and the many, many miles people walked without the right to have a say about that new day, and do everything you can with everybody you know to make sure that on November 5th we build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:42 p.m. at the Cobo Center. In his remarks, he referred to John Sheard, jurisdictional bishop, Church of God in Christ; Rev. Odell Jones, pastor, Pleasant Grove Baptist Church; Father William Cunningham, director, Project Hope; and civil rights activist Rosa Parks.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Narcotics Traffickers Centered in Colombia

October 21, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since my report of April 23, 1996, concerning the national emergency with respect to significant narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia that was declared in Executive Order 12978 of October 21, 1995. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

1. On October 21, 1995, I signed Executive Order 12978, "Blocking Assets and Prohibiting Transactions with Significant Narcotics Traffickers" (the "Order") (60 *Fed. Reg.* 54579, October 24, 1995). The Order blocks all property subject to U.S. jurisdiction in which there is any interest of four significant foreign narcotics traffickers who are principals in the so-called Cali drug cartel centered in Colombia. They are listed in the Annex to the Order. The Order also blocks the property and interests in property of foreign persons determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, (a) to play a significant role in international narcotics trafficking centered in Colombia or (b) to materially assist in or provide financial or technological support for, or goods or services in support of, the narcotics trafficking activities of persons designated in or pursuant to the Order. In addition the Order blocks all property and interests in property subject to U.S. jurisdiction of persons determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, to be owned or controlled by, or to act for or on behalf of, persons designated in or pursuant to the Order (collectively "Specially Designated Narcotics Traffickers" or (SDNTs)).

The Order further prohibits any transaction or dealing by a United States person or within the United States in property or interests in property of SDNTs, and any transaction that evades or avoids, has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, the prohibitions contained in the Order.

Designations of foreign persons blocked pursuant to the Order are effective upon the date of determination by the Director of the Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) acting under authority delegated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Public notice of blocking is effective upon the date of filing with the *Federal Register*, or upon prior actual notice.

2. On October 24, 1995, the Department of the Treasury issued a notice containing 76 additional names of persons determined to meet the criteria set forth in Executive Order 12978 (60 *Fed. Reg.* 54582–84, October 24, 1995).

The Department of the Treasury issued another notice adding the names of one additional entity and three additional individuals, as well as expanded information regarding addresses and pseudonyms, to the List of SDNTs on November 29, 1995 (60 *Fed. Reg.* 61288–89).

3. On March 8, 1996, OFAC published a notice in the *Federal Register* adding the names of 138 additional individuals and 60 entities designated pursuant to the Order, and revising information for 8 individuals on the list of blocked persons contained in the notices published on November 29, 1995, and October 24, 1995 (61 *Fed. Reg.* 9523–28). The OFAC, in coordination with the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, is continuing to expand the list of Specially Designated Narcotics Traffickers, including both organizations and individuals, as additional information is developed.

4. Since my last report, OFAC has issued 498 alert letters to businesses in Colombia that are known to have had some form of pre-sanctions business or financial relationships with entities identified as SDNTs of the Cali drug cartel. These letters urge the Colombian companies to sever any business or financial relationships they have with the SDNTs.

5. A task force operating under OFAC's direction and staffed with personnel detailed from the Department of Justice and other Federal agencies has been established in the U.S. Embassy in Bogota to enhance OFAC's enforcement capabilities under the SDNT program. The task force, which also has other personnel assigned to OFAC in Washington, is working on an expedited basis to escalate the attack on the drug cartels in Colombia as envisioned by Executive Order 12978.

The task force mission is to identify, develop, and exploit all forms of information resources in Colombia in order to further expose and incapacitate the businesses and operatives of the Cali drug cartel and other significant narcotics traffickers in Colombia. By increasing the number of SDNT designations, U.S. sanctions will impact an ever-larger number of individuals and entities that are owned or controlled by, or act for or on behalf of the cartels, or which provide material or financial support to the activities of Significant Narcotics Traffickers. Personnel and related costs are being born by the parent agencies of the persons detailed to the narcotics sanctions project in Bogota and Washington.

6. As of August 31, 1996, OFAC had issued five specific licenses pursuant to Executive Order 12978. These licenses were issued in accordance with established Treasury policy authorizing the completion of pre-sanctions transactions and the provision of legal services to and payment of fees for representation of SDNTs in proceedings within the United States arising from the imposition of sanctions.

7. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from April 21 through October 20, 1996, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the national emergency with respect to Significant Narcotics Traffickers are estimated at approximately $1 million. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Office of the General Counsel, and the U.S. Customs Service), the Department of Justice, and the Department of State.

8. Executive Order 12978 provides this Administration with a new tool for combatting the actions of significant foreign narcotics traffickers centered in Colombia, and the unparalleled violence, corruption, and harm that they cause in the United States and abroad. The Order is designed to deny these traffickers the benefit of any assets subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and to prevent United States persons from engaging in any commercial dealings with them, their front companies, and their agents. Executive Order 12978 demonstrates the

U.S. commitment to end the scourge that such traffickers have wrought upon society in the United States and abroad.

The magnitude and the dimension of the problem in Colombia—perhaps the most pivotal country of all in terms of the world's cocaine trade—is extremely grave. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against significant foreign narcotics traffickers and their violent and corrupting activities as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 22.

Remarks to the Community in Detroit
October 22, 1996

Thank you very, very much. Thank you so much. Mayor and Mrs. Archer, Congressman Dingell, Congressman Bonior, Congressman Levin, Governor and Mrs. Blanchard, Mayor Stanley—[*applause*]—you can clap for anyone you like, it's an informal day—Mayor Stanley, Bishop, Mayor Bob Kozaren of Hamtramck, welcome. [*Applause*] Thank you.

I'd like to welcome the fourth-grade students from the Hiller Elementary School from Lapeer, Michigan. They're here somewhere. Where are they? Welcome. We're glad you're here. And students from the Academy of Military Science in Detroit are here somewhere, I think. Where are you, back there in the back? Welcome.

I want to thank Senator Carl Levin for his extraordinary work. As you know—I'm sure everyone in Michigan knows that in January Senator Levin will become at least the ranking Democratic member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and perhaps the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. We wish him well. In addition to his vigorous representation of the people of Michigan on all kinds of domestic issues, he has been a great leader for keeping our Nation strong and secure in this time of remarkable change. And the State, the Nation, and the President are in your debt, Senator. Thank you very much.

I am delighted to be here in Detroit to discuss the challenges we face as we enter the 21st century, to make sure that we remain the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, for security and prosperity. Detroit is a city meeting the challenges of the future and is the perfect place for me to have this opportunity to visit with you. Yesterday I couldn't help thinking that in the empowerment zone that the mayor and others have worked to make so much of, which has generated $2 billion in private capital to develop the resources of the people of Detroit here, and in the ground we broke yesterday for a $1.6 billion new airport to give you the capacity to reach out to the rest of the world, Detroit is doing what all of America must do. We must develop ourselves and reach out to the rest of the world. Congratulations, Mayor, and to all the other local officials here. We're delighted to be here.

From its very founding, our Nation has stood for the idea that people have the right to control their own lives, to pursue their own dreams. In this century we have done far more than just stand for these principles; Americans have acted upon them and sacrificed for them, fought two World Wars so that freedom could triumph over tyranny, then made commitments that kept the peace, that helped to spread democracy, that brought great prosperity to ourselves and helped to win the cold war.

Now the ideas we struggle for, democracy and freedom—freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, open markets, respect for diversity—these ideas are more and more the ideals of humanity. When we adopted democracy as our form of government in 1776, and then when we ratified our Constitution a few years later, it was an unusual choice that we made. Democracy had largely vanished from

the Earth for nearly 2,000 years, since ancient Greece.

In this century, amid all the wars and bloodshed, we have struggled to advance the cause of democracy and to support those who are seeking it. And now, for the first time in history, 61 percent of the world's nations, and for the very first time in the last couple of years, over half of the people on the face of the globe live under democratically elected leaders in free countries. That's a remarkable thing. This never happened before.

Four years ago when I sought the Presidency I said that to build a strong community based on opportunity and responsibility here at home, to be both prosperous and secure, we would have to continue to lead abroad in this new era. The burden of American leadership and the importance of it, indeed, the essential character of American leadership is one of the great lessons of the 20th century. It will be an even more powerful reality in the 21st century, a century in which the blocs and barriers that defined the world for previous generations will continue to give way to greater freedom, faster change, greater communications and commerce across national borders, and more profound innovation than ever before, a century in which more people than ever will have the chance to share in humanity's genius for progress.

As walls come down around the world, so must the walls in our minds between our domestic policy and our foreign policy. Think about it. Our prosperity as individuals, communities, and a nation depends upon our economic policies at home and abroad, on Detroit's empowerment zone and your commitment to an airport facility that will connect you better to the rest of the world. Our well-being as individuals, communities, and a nation depends upon our environmental policies at home and abroad. Our security as individuals, communities, and a nation depends upon our policies to fight terrorism, crime, and drugs at home and abroad. We reduce the threats to people here in America by reducing the threats beyond our borders. We advance our interests at home by advancing the common good around the world.

Let me just give you one example that I'll return to in a moment. In the last 4 years the American people, working together, have created 10½ million new jobs. Now, that is good news. But perhaps even more important, more than half of those jobs are in high-wage categories. That is one reason that real wages for the typical working family have started to rise again for the first time in a decade.

Now, that has to be seen in terms of what is happening to the American economy becoming connected to the rest of the world. We've had an all-time high in exports, an increase in exports of about 35 percent, and we know that export-related jobs, on average, pay considerably higher than jobs which are totally confined in their economic impact to the domestic community.

The 200-plus agreements we've made in trade, including over 20 with Japan, we've seen an increase of 85 percent in the export of American products to Japan. I visited, as many of you know, an American auto dealership in Tokyo. And just yesterday we learned that our exports of American cars to Japan increased 40 percent in just one year last year. I say that simply to make the point that our economic policies at home and abroad affect the well-being of America's families.

And in a world that is increasingly interconnected, we have to just sort of take down that artificial wall in our mind that this is completely a foreign policy issue and this is completely a domestic issue, because increasingly they impact one on the other. That is why I think, among other things, we have to resist those who believe that now that the cold war is over the United States can completely return to focusing on problems within our borders and basically ignore those beyond our borders.

That escapism is not available to us because at the end of the cold war, America truly is the world's indispensable nation. There are times when only America can make the difference between war and peace, between freedom and repression, between hope and fear. We cannot and should not try to be the world's policeman. But where our interests and values are clearly at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must act and lead.

We must lead in two ways: first, by meeting the immediate challenges to our interests from rogue regimes, from sudden explosions of ethnic, racial, and religious and tribal hatreds, from short-term crises; and second, by making long-term investments in security, prosperity, peace, and freedom that can prevent these problems from arising in the first place and that will help

all of us to fully seize the opportunities of the 21st century.

We have approached the immediate challenges with strength and flexibility, working with others when we can, alone when we must, using diplomacy where possible and force where necessary.

When I took office, the bloodiest war in Europe since World War II was raging in Bosnia. Thanks to U.S.-led NATO air strikes, American diplomacy, and IFOR's peacekeeping efforts, the war is over. Elections have been held. The Bosnian people are now getting on with the very hard work of rebuilding their lives, their land, their economy, and their capacity to deal with each other in an atmosphere of respect. None of it will be easier, but America acted, our partners and allies acted. And think of what would have happened if we had walked away.

When I took office, dictators terrorized Haiti. They forced tens of thousands of refugees to flee. Because we backed American diplomacy with military force and the power of an international coalition, the dictators are gone; Haiti's democracy is back; the flight from fear has ended. Difficulties remain, but think what it would be like if America had not acted.

As Senator Levin said, when I took office North Korea was moving forward with a dangerous nuclear program it had been working on for more than a decade. Thanks to our diplomacy, and with the help of Japan, South Korea, and China, North Korea has frozen that program under international monitoring. I wish that more progress were being made in North Korea toward openness, but think how much worse it would be if we had not acted.

Two years ago the collapse of the Mexican peso jeopardized our own economy and the sanctity of our borders. Because we stepped in immediately and rallied others to join us, Mexico has rebounded. Three-quarters of our loans have been repaid ahead of schedule. We are earning interest on the deal. I believe we have made about a half a billion dollars so far. I know that was one of the more unpopular decisions of my Presidency, but think what would have happened if we had allowed our neighbor to the south to collapse economically without a supporting hand from the United States for their efforts to reform their political and economic systems and, therefore, to be able to work with us in a supportive way.

In each of these cases we were able to succeed because, first, we accepted the responsibility to lead. But it isn't enough just to handle these immediate crises. We also must set our sights on a more distant horizon. Through our size, our strength, our relative wealth, and also through the power of our example, America has a unique ability to shape a world of greater security and prosperity, peace, and freedom. These are long-term efforts and often they take place behind the headlines. But only by pursuing them can we give our children the best possible opportunity to realize their own God-given potential.

That's why we have worked patiently and pragmatically to reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction, to take on the challenge of terrorism, to build an open trading system for the 21st century, to help secure the gains that peace and freedom are making around the world. We are making the future more secure by lifting the danger of weapons of mass destruction.

It has taken hard negotiations and persistent diplomacy. But consider the results. Today, not a single Russian missile targets America. We are cutting our nuclear arsenals by two-thirds. We are working to keep the remaining weapons safe and secure. We helped to convince Ukraine, Kazakstan, and Belarus to give up the warheads left on their lands after the Soviet Union dissolved. We won the indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, our most powerful tool in keeping nuclear weapons from spreading. And just a few weeks ago, after literally decades of discussion that began under Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, I was proud to be the first head of state to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Once enforced, it will end nuclear testing for all times.

There is, to be sure, more hard work ahead of us. We must secure the ratification in the United States Senate of the Chemical Weapons Convention, to make it more difficult for rogue states and terrorists to acquire poison gas. We must strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention to help prevent the use of disease as a weapon of war. And we must succeed in negotiating a worldwide ban on antipersonnel landmines, which murder and maim more than 25,000 people a year.

As we keep our focus on these goals, we must also keep the heat on terrorists who would darken the dawn of the new century. Piece by

piece, we have put in place a strategy to fight terrorism on three fronts: toughening our laws at home, tightening security in our airports and airplanes, and pressing our allies to adopt with us a strict policy of zero—zero—tolerance for terrorism.

In the congressional session just concluded, two important pieces of legislation were passed to help give us the tools to fight terrorists at home. And almost all the Vice President's recommendations for increased security at our airports and on our airplanes were adopted in a billion-dollar bill designed to help us move immediately and aggressively to improve airport and airline security. I am encouraged by that.

When I met last summer with the leaders of the G–7 nations in France, they agreed to work with us to try to get a zero tolerance for terrorism policy around the world. While we can defeat terrorists—and we have been successful in thwarting attempted terrorist attacks in the United States, attempted attacks on our planes flying out of the West Coast; recently there was a conviction in a United States court of a person we extradited back to the United States who was charged and then convicted of conspiring to blow up a number of airplanes flying out of our West Coast over the Pacific—it will be a long time before we defeat terrorism. But we have to remain determined and strong. If we do, we know we can prevail.

It took a while for the cold war to be resolved in a way that was favorable to humanity and freedom, but we stayed the course, and we must stay the course against this. And our allies must help us. We simply cannot be doing business by day with people who are supporting terrorists who will kill us by night. That is wrong, and we must work to develop a common policy on that.

We are building prosperity at home by opening markets abroad, as I said earlier. I believe that decades from now people will look back on this period and see the most far-reaching changes in the world trading system in generations. More than 200 trade agreements we have negotiated have led to more than a million new jobs. They've helped to make America the number one exporter again. You know that here in Detroit. You led the Nation here with the fastest recent growth in export trade. And today, for the first time since the 1970's, the United States is again the number one producer of automobiles in the world.

It is not easy to both expand trade and keep the rules fair. It has to be done issue by issue, agreement by agreement. It is hard work, day-in and day-out, month-in and month-out, year-in and year-out. But we must continue to do it. Next month I will travel again to Asia, to the Philippines, for the fourth annual summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, because a lot of America's future is tied to Asia's future. As a Pacific power, we have a responsibility to work for stability and security in Asia, and an opportunity to benefit from that region's extraordinary economic growth.

We are also working to advance the cause of peace and freedom around the world. This also is a mission rooted in both our ideals and our interests. After all, when people live free and they're at peace, they're much less likely to make war or abuse the rights of their own citizens, much more likely to be good trading partners and partners in the struggle against terrorism, international crime, and drug trafficking, working with us to prevent global environmental decay. From the Middle East to Northern Ireland, from Cuba to Burma, from Burundi to South Africa, those taking risks for peace and freedom know that the United States will stand at their side.

Nowhere are our interests more engaged than in Europe. When Europe is at peace, our security is strengthened. When Europe prospers, so does America. We have a special bond because our Nation was formed from the hopes and dreams of those who came to our shores from across the Atlantic seeking religious freedom, fleeing persecution, looking for a better life. From the Pilgrims of 1620 to the Hungarian freedom fighters of 1956, whose struggle we commemorate tomorrow, they gave America the strength of diversity and the passion for freedom.

Remarkable generations of Americans invested in Europe's peace and freedom with their own sacrifice. They fought two World Wars. They had the vision to create NATO and the Marshall plan. The vigor of those institutions, the force of democracy, the determination of people to be free, all these helped to produce victory in the cold war. But now that that freedom has been won, it is this generation's responsibility to ensure that it will not be lost again, not ever.

President Reagan gave strength to those working to bring down the Iron Curtain. President

Bush helped to reunify Germany. And now, for the very first time since nation-states first appeared in Europe, we have an opportunity to build a peaceful, undivided, and democratic continent. It has never happened before; it can be done now, a continent where democracy and free markets know no boundaries, but where nations can be assured that their borders will always be secure and their sovereignty and independence will always be respected.

In January 1994, during my first trip to Europe as President, I laid out a strategy for European integration: political integration around democracies, economic integration around free markets, security integration around military cooperation. I urged our enduring allies and new friends to build the bonds among our nations that are necessary for this time, through the European Union, through NATO, through the other institutions of a new Europe. I challenged all our people to summon the will and the resources to make this vision real.

The United States and Europe are answering that challenge. With our help, the forces of reform in Europe's newly free nations have laid the foundations of democracy. They have political parties and free elections, an independent media, civilian control of the military. We've helped them to develop successful market economies and now are moving from aid to trade and investment.

Look at what has been achieved by our common efforts. In the 7 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, two-thirds of Russia's economy has moved from the heavy grip of the state into private hands. Poland has now one of the West's highest rates of growth. You're as likely to read about Poland on the business page as the front page today. The private sector produces half the national income of an independent Ukraine. From the Czech Republic to Hungary to Estonia, the same forces of freedom and free markets are creating bustling prosperity and hope for the future.

The bedrock of our common security remains NATO. When President Truman signed the North Atlantic Treaty 47 years ago, he expressed the goal of its founders plainly but powerfully: to preserve their present peaceful situation and to protect it in the future. All of us here today, every single one of us, are the beneficiaries of NATO's extraordinary success in doing just that.

NATO defended the West by deterring aggression. Even more, through NATO, Western Europe became a source of stability instead of hostility. France and Germany moved from conflict to cooperation. Democracy took permanent root in countries where fascism once ruled.

I came to office convinced that NATO can do for Europe's East what it did for Europe's West: prevent a return to local rivalries, strengthen democracy against future threats, and create the conditions for prosperity to flourish. That's why the United States has taken the lead in a three-part effort to build a new NATO for a new era: first, by adapting NATO with new capabilities for new missions; second, by opening its doors to Europe's emerging democracies; third, by building a strong and cooperative relationship between NATO and Russia.

To adapt NATO, we have taken on missions beyond the territory of its members for the first time and done so in cooperation with nonmember states, shifting our emphasis to smaller and more flexible forces prepared to provide for our defense but also trained and equipped for peacekeeping. We're setting up mobile headquarters to run these new missions more effectively and efficiently. We're giving our European allies a larger role within the alliance, while preserving NATO's vital core, which is an integrated command military structure.

The United States will continue to take the lead in NATO, especially in the southern region where the most immediate threats to peace exist. But we welcome our allies' willingness to shoulder a greater share of the burden and to assume greater leadership.

Bosnia has been the first major test of the new NATO. At first, NATO could act jointly only with the United Nations. But once NATO took charge, once its lead, its air power, together with its diplomatic leadership, was available fully, it pushed the Bosnian Serbs from the battlefield to the bargaining table. The NATO-led Implementation Force has restored security to Bosnia. It has given the Bosnian people a chance—not a guarantee but a chance—to build a lasting peace.

But for NATO to fulfill its real promise of peace and democracy in Europe, it will not be enough simply to take on new missions as the need arises. NATO must also take in new members, including those from among its former adversaries. It must reach out to all the new democracies in Central Europe, the Baltics, and the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

At the first NATO summit I attended in January of 1994, I proposed that NATO should enlarge steadily, deliberately, openly. And our allies agreed. First, together, we created the Partnership For Peace as a path to full NATO membership for some and a strong and lasting link to the alliance for all. I think it would be fair to say that the Partnership For Peace has exceeded what even its most optimistic supporters predicted for it in the beginning. There are more than two dozen members now.

The more than two dozen members and the astonishing amount of cooperation and joint training and partnership that has developed as a result of this Partnership For Peace has made it something of significance—I believe enduring significance—beyond what we ever imagined when we started it. And the strategy is paying off. The prospect of membership in or partnership with NATO has given Europe's new democracies a strong incentive to continue to reform and to improve relations with their neighbors.

Through the Partnership For Peace, prospective new members are actually gaining the practical experience they need to join NATO. Thirteen partner nations are serving alongside NATO troops and helping to secure the peace in Bosnia. There are Polish and Czech combat battalions, Hungarian and Romanian engineering troops, soldiers from Ukraine and the Baltic States, forces from Sweden and Finland, and a full Russian brigade. Just 7 years ago, these soldiers served on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain. Today, their teamwork with our troops and other European NATO allies is erasing the lines that once divided Europe while bringing an end to the bloodiest conflict in Europe since World War II.

We have kept NATO enlargement on track. Now it is time to take the next historic step forward. Last month, I called for a summit in the spring or early summer of next year to name the first group of future NATO members and to invite them to begin accession talks. Today I want to state America's goal. By 1999, NATO's 50th anniversary and 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the first group of countries we invite to join should be full-fledged members of NATO.

I also pledged for my part, and I believe for NATO's part as well, that NATO's doors will not close behind its first new members. NATO should remain open to all of Europe's emerging democracies who are ready to shoulder the responsibilities of membership. No nation will be automatically excluded. No country outside NATO will have a veto. We will work to deepen our cooperation, meanwhile, with all the nations in the Partnership For Peace. A gray zone of insecurity must not reemerge in Europe.

Now, I want to say that as we go forward the American people should be aware that this plan is not free of costs. Peace and security are not available on the cheap. Enlargement will mean extending the most solemn security guarantee to our new allies. To be a NATO member means that all the other members make a commitment to treat an attack on one as an attack on all. But mark my words, if we fail to seize this historic opportunity to build a new NATO in a new Europe, if we allow the Iron Curtain to be replaced by a veil of indifference, we will pay a much higher price later on down the road. America will be stronger and safer if the democratic family continues to grow, if we bring to our ranks partners willing to share the risks and responsibilities of freedom.

By overwhelming majorities this summer, both Houses of Congress passed a NATO enlargement facilitation act. I greatly appreciate this bipartisan support for our efforts to forge a broader alliance of prosperity, of security and, as the First Lady said in Prague on the last 4th of July, an alliance of values with Europe. I look forward to working with Congress to ratify the accession of new members, to provide the resources we need to meet this commitment, to secure the support of the American people. NATO enlargement is not directed against anyone. It will advance the security of everyone: NATO's old members, new members, and nonmembers alike.

I know that some in Russia still look at NATO through a cold-war prism and, therefore, look at our proposals to expand it in a negative light. But I ask them to look again. We are building a new NATO, just as we support the Russian people in building a new Russia. By reducing rivalry and fear, by strengthening peace and cooperation, NATO will promote greater stability in Europe and Russia will be among the beneficiaries. Indeed, Russia has the best chance in history to help to build that peaceful and undivided Europe and to be an equal and respected and successful partner in that sort of future.

The great opportunity the Russian people have is to define themselves in terms of the future, not the past, to forge a new relationship with NATO as enlargement moves forward. The United States has suggested that Russia and NATO work out a formal agreement on cooperation. We should set up a regular mechanism for NATO-Russia meetings at all levels. We should consult on European security issues so that whenever possible NATO and Russia can act jointly to meet the challenges of the new era, just as we have acted jointly in Bosnia.

Just think about it. In Bosnia, Russia and NATO are already partners for peace. We should set our sights on becoming full partners and bringing all of Europe together. Together we can help to turn the main battleground for the bloodiest century in history into a continent whose people remain secure and prosperous, free and at peace.

These past 4 years it's been one of the greatest privileges of my life to represent America around the world, from the halls of Kremlin to the hillsides of Port-au-Prince, from the deserts of Jordan to the Tokyo Harbor, from the Charles Bridge in Prague and Riga's Freedom Square to the DMZ in Korea. I have heard the voices and shaken the hands of presidents and prime ministers and, just as important, citizens on the streets of distant lands. Wherever I go, whomever I talk with, the message to me is the same: We believe in America. We trust America. We want America to lead. And America must lead.

I wish every American could see our country as much of the world sees us. Our friends rely upon our engagement. Our adversaries respect our strength. When our family went to open the Olympics in Atlanta, I was so moved by the statements of young people from around the world about the efforts the United States had made to foster peace in Bosnia, peace in Northern Ireland, peace in the Middle East, things these young athletes felt personally because it was their lives, their future, and the children they still hope to have on the line.

As we enter the 21st century, we must make a commitment to remain true to the legacy of America's leadership, to make sure America remains the indispensable nation, not only for ourselves but for what we believe in and for all the people of the world. That is our burden. That is our opportunity. And it must be our future.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:52 a.m. at Fisher Theater. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Dennis W. Archer of Detroit and his wife, Trudy; James J. Blanchard, former Governor of Michigan, and his wife, Janet; Mayor Woodrow Stanley of Flint, MI; Bishop P.A. Brooks, Church of God in Christ, Detroit; and Mayor Robert Kozaren of Hamtramck, MI.

Remarks at Miami-Dade Community College in Miami, Florida

October 22, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. Let me, first of all, say I have had a lot of introductions in my life—[*laughter*]—I have had a lot of real good introductions in my life, but I have never been introduced better than Jerry Sawyer did it just then. And he was up here, you know, talking, and he got a real head of steam up, and he started talking about how the other side said my economic program would fail and they all voted against it and they said the sky would fall, and then all the good things that happened. I thought to myself when he was up here really wound up, I thought, now, where were you when I was preparing for that debate last week? I could have used you, Jerry Sawyer.

President Eduardo Padron, thank you for having us here at this wonderful place. Governor Chiles, thank you for your leadership for Florida and your friendship and advice to me. And the same for you, Lieutenant Governor MacKay. Congresswoman Carrie Meek was up here. She told me that she started out here at Miami-Dade Community College. And I could tell that you are still her people, and she is still yours, and you should be very proud of her—very proud of her.

I'd also like to thank some other folks who are up here with us today: Attorney General Bob Butterworth; our insurance commissioner, Bill Nelson; Congressman Peter Deutsch; and of course, the chairman of your board of trustees, Martin Fine. Thank you all for being here. Thank you, gentlemen, for coming. Thank you.

I have wanted to come here for a long time to the largest community college in the entire United States of America. I am grateful to you for many things. But some of you may not know it—I actually have a member of my Cabinet who went to school here, whose parents taught here, and whose mother, I believe, is still in the audience. Carol Browner went here and then on to the University of Florida and wound up being head of the Environmental Protection Agency, where she is helping us to save the Florida Everglades. Thank you, Miami-Dade. And I'd like to thank her mother if she's here in the audience.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is college day for us. The First Lady is at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. The Vice President is at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology. I got to come here to America's largest community college because I believe that community colleges work the way America has to work in the 21st century. If you just think about it, this is not a bureaucratic organization; it's a flexible, creative organization. You change from year to year the programs you offer. And you have to meet a high standard of excellence; otherwise you'll be punished for what you don't know in the marketplace. It is a purely democratic organization—that's small "d" democratic—in the sense that it's open to all. Nobody asks you what your race, your religion, your ethnic background is. All you've got to do is be willing to work hard, learn what you're supposed to learn, take the exams, make the most of your own lives. If you show up, you're a part of the community college, and you ought to be a part of the American community as well. This is the way America ought to work, the way these community colleges work.

Today I came here to talk about expanding opportunity to colleges. But I want to say something about what Jerry mentioned. Today we got some more evidence that America's economy is on the right track with low unemployment, low inflation, and low mortgage rates. We now have 4½ million new homeowners in the last 4 years, and lower interest rates have helped 10 million more Americans to refinance their old mortgages at lower rates, saving huge amounts of money for those families. Homeownership is an idea that ought to be available to every working American. We now have the highest rate in 15 years. And by the 21st century, if you'll give us 4 more, Secretary Cisneros and the rest of us who are working on this will have an all-time high of homeownership. By the year 2000, more than two-thirds of the American people will be living in their own homes if you will work with us and help us to build that bridge to the future.

My fellow Americans, you've got a big decision to make on November 5th. Are we going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Are we going to build a bridge wide enough and strong enough for everybody to walk across together, or will we say, "There's the future out there. I hope you can make it"?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Are we going to tell the American people, "You're on your own," or are we going to say that, yes, it does take a village to raise and educate our children and build our country and go forward together? [*Applause*]

You heard Jerry say it, and you know we're in better shape than we were 4 years ago: 10½ million more jobs, the deficit cut by 60 percent, nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare, the lowest violent crime rate in 10 years. We are moving in the right direction. But your vote will decide what bridge we take to the future and whether we build one wide enough for everyone to walk across.

I want to ask every one of you who's here tonight—this afternoon, this beautiful Florida afternoon, to do something tonight when you go home. I want you to do this, not for me but for you. Just take a few minutes and see if you can say to yourself the answer to this question: What do I want my country to be like when we start that new century? What do I want my country to be like when my children are my age, when my grandchildren are my age? What is my dream for America?

For 4 years I've been working on that dream for America, mine. It's simple and straightforward. I want the American dream alive and well for every single person who is responsible enough to work for it. I think everybody should have the chance to live out their dreams and to live up to their God-given capacities. I want this country to be the world's strongest force

for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want us to go forward together, where families can succeed at home and at work, where we're living in harmony with our environment, and most important, where we're living in harmony with each other. That is my vision.

And so I have worked to create more opportunity for all, to reinforce the principles of responsibility from all, and to create an American community where every person, without regard to race, color, creed, gender, you name it, believe they have a place at the American table and in the American future. That is what I have worked for.

But now you will decide. You will decide by how you vote. You will decide by whether you vote. You have to decide. You will decide whether we balance the budget and protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, and research; whether we have targeted tax cuts to help people educate their children and themselves, raise their kids, buy a home, deal with medical costs; or whether we adopt that big, risky tax scheme that would blow a big hole in the deficit, weaken our economy, and force even bigger cuts in education, in the environment, in Medicare and Medicaid than those I vetoed a year ago. You will decide.

You will decide by how you vote. You will decide by whether you vote. You will decide whether we can help more people to succeed at home and at work. Twelve million families have taken a little time off from work without being fired when a baby was born or a parent was sick. It's helped the American economy, and I want to keep it and do more. I want to say that parents ought to get a little time off to go to those regular conferences with their children's teachers or to take a family member to the doctor, to a regular appointment. You will decide whether we do it and whether we build that bridge.

We have started to protect our children from the dangers of guns and gangs and drugs and tobacco. Over the intense partisan opposition, we passed the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. We extended the Brady bill to say if you beat up your spouse or your child you should not be able to buy a handgun; you're a danger to society. We said to the tobacco companies, "You may sell your products to adults, but it's illegal for children to smoke, so stop marketing, advertising, and delivering cigarettes to our children."

We passed tough new laws against drug dealers, including the death penalty for drug kingpins. We dramatically increased funds to help our schools keep our kids out of trouble in the first place with safe and drug-free schools programs. We said to the States, "We want you to start drug testing parolees." If people want to be out on the streets, they ought to stay off of drugs. If they're going to get back in trouble, they ought to lose their rights to walk the streets. Don't get any more kids in trouble. Your vote will decide whether we finish this work with tobacco and drugs and guns and gangs or whether we walk back on it.

We passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, which says to 25 million Americans we can't take your health insurance away from you anymore just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family's been sick. We stopped—we passed a law that said insurance companies cannot force hospitals to kick new mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after one day anymore. But your vote will decide whether we keep on doing that, whether we provide health insurance to another million children, whether we help families who lose their jobs keep their health insurance when they're between jobs, whether we continue to work with States like Florida to help offer affordable health insurance to working people with limited incomes. Your vote will decide, and whether you vote will decide.

We passed a historic welfare reform bill. And I want to applaud Governor Chiles on being one of the first three States in the country to submit a plan to actually move people from welfare to work, not to abandon poor families and poor children. Thank you, Governor.

Now, we moved 2 million people from welfare to work. The new law says every State and every community has 2 years for every able-bodied family to turn that welfare check into a paycheck. Meanwhile, we'll guarantee health care; we'll guarantee food on the table; we'll spend more for child care if you go to work. But if you can work, within 2 years, you've got to turn the paycheck—the welfare check into a paycheck. That sounds good. But to do it, there has to be a paycheck. I've got a plan to create a million more jobs for people on welfare in partnership with the private sector. Your vote will decide whether we walk away from those people or create those jobs so they, too, can be part of the American dream.

We have made our streets safer with 100,000 more police on the books but not all on the streets. We've only funded about half of them. And our friends on the other side—just as Jerry said with the budget—they fought us every step of the way with the crime bill. But we have saved that, and that's why the crime rate's gone down for 4 years in a row.

But it's still not safe enough on Florida's streets. And we don't want to just catch criminals, we also want to prevent crime in the first place. That means you need people out there working with the kids, being strong role models, and preventing things from happening in the neighborhoods and on the streets. You need to help us finish the job of putting the rest of those police officers on the street. And your vote will decide whether we do that or go back. It is up to you. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

We have taken more chemical pollutants out of the air. We have made our drinking water safer. We have raised the standards for food. We have done more to protect national parks and to expand national parks. We have begun the work, but not finished the work, of protecting the Everglades. You will decide. You will decide whether we will keep up this work and finish the job on the Everglades. You will decide whether we will clean up 500 more toxic waste dumps because there are still 10 million American children growing up within 4 miles of a toxic waste site. That is wrong. I want them growing up next to parks, not poison. You will decide. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

But most important of all, you will decide whether we build an America in which we have a world-class education system open to all Americans. I have worked hard, from expanding opportunities for Head Start, to giving our schools more tools for the kids to meet higher standards, to creating the national service program, AmeriCorps—some of the people are here—that have allowed people to work in their communities and earn their way to college, to the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years, to the direct student loan program.

And thank you, President Padron and others, for supporting that. We are saving the average college student on the direct loan program about $200 a year. But more important, we're saying to every student who borrows money in that way, you don't have to worry about your college loans anymore because you can pay it back as a percentage of your income. No one can ever make you go bankrupt because you borrowed the money to go to college. That is a good thing.

Every step along the way, we had to fight our opponents on the other side. They tried to kill the student loan program improvements. They tried to cut back on Head Start. They tried to kill the national service program. Now they even have promised to eliminate the Department of Education.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Your vote will decide, and whether you vote will decide. That's their program: go into the 21st century with not a single soul in the President's Cabinet speaking for the education of our children. Is that the future you want?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Well, you have another alternative. Jerry talked about it, but I want to say again, I want to emphasize four things to you that I want to do in education, all important to Florida.

Number one, 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in America cannot read a book on their own today. Part of that is because we're a nation of immigrants, we have a lot of young kids whose first language is not English. But everyone needs to be able to read in order to keep learning. I want to mobilize 30,000 people, the AmeriCorps volunteers, trained reading tutors, and others, to get a million volunteers across America to go into the schools, to work with the parents so that in 4 years we can say every 8-year-old in America can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

I was in Tampa the other day at a school which was so crowded they had folks meeting in trailers next to the school, a beautiful old school. We have the largest number of schoolchildren in America today ever in history, almost 52 million. The United States Government has never helped schools with their building problems. But children cannot learn if they're in impossible, rundown, beat-up, substandard conditions without adequate equipment. So I have a program to lower the interest rates and therefore cut the costs to the taxpayers in the school districts of building those facilities or repairing them. If local people are willing to make an extra effort to help their schools, the Federal Government should be a partner and lower the

cost of doing it. And I want you to help me do that.

The third thing I want to do—now, when Jerry said this, all the young people clapped, and I couldn't tell whether those of us who are older were or not. Let me tell you what it means to hook up every classroom and every library to the information superhighway by the year 2000. It means for the first time in the history of America, children in the poorest school districts, children in the richest school districts, and children in all the school districts in between for the very first time will all have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Folks, this is a big deal. We can't turn our backs on learning. Learning is generating more jobs for us. More than half of these new jobs are high-wage jobs. That's the good news. The challenging news is if you want them, you have to know something and you have to be able to keep learning.

Just in the last 4 years, learning has done the following things: We have more than doubled the life expectancy for people with HIV. We have discovered two genes that cause breast cancer, giving us hope that we can not only cure it earlier but actually someday prevent it. In the last 4 years, we have developed the first real treatment for people who have strokes—never any real medical treatment before. These are things that are happening.

A lot of you heard Christopher Reeve talk at the Democratic Convention, and he talked about medical research, sitting there so bravely in his wheelchair. About the time he spoke, for the first time ever, a laboratory animal with its spine completely severed had movement in its lower limbs because of a nerve transfer to the spine from another part of the body. Learning is the answer to so many of our problems and the key to our future and to our prosperity and to our quality of life.

We are working to build a supercomputer with IBM that will do more calculations in one second than you can do on your own calculator in 30,000 years. That's how much learning is going forward.

So I say to you, the last thing we have to do is open the doors of college education to every American of every age at any time who needs to go. And I want you to help me do it. I want you to be able to save in an IRA and withdraw from that IRA without any tax penalty at all if you use the money on a college education. I want you to be able to do just what Jerry says: I want every community college student in America to know that we have to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal by the year 2000 as a high school education is today, and we're going to do it by letting you just take off your tax bill dollar for dollar the cost of a tuition at any community college in the country. That's what I want you to do. And I want you to help us do it. And finally, for people that go on to college, I think you ought to be able to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, anywhere, at any level. And I want you to help me do that.

Now, I say again, your vote will decide, and whether you vote will decide. This is not a small election. The world is changing too much. The best days of this country are ahead. You will have more opportunity than any generation of Americans before if you make the right decision. But you have to decide.

And the last thing I leave you with is this: We will never be what we ought to be unless we prove that our diversity is a great asset, not a liability, unless we reject the religious, the racial, the tribal, the ethnic hatreds that are consuming people all around the world. Pick up the newspaper any day and you can see it. In America, that is not for us. We stand for freedom. We stand for equal opportunity. We stand for the responsibility of every citizen and the right of every citizen to be treated equally under the law. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Will you be there on November 5th? [*Applause*] I need you.

Thank you. God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. at the North Campus. In his remarks, he referred to Jerry Sawyer, student body president, and Eduardo Padron, president, Miami-Dade Community College; and Gov. Lawton Chiles and Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida.

Statement on Signing War Crimes Document Disclosure Legislation
October 22, 1996

I have signed into law H.R. 1281, the "War Crimes Disclosure Act." This Act, sponsored by Representative Maloney of New York, urges United States Government agencies to make public any records concerning individuals alleged to have committed Nazi war crimes.

My Administration is committed to ensuring the widest possible disclosure of government documents. On April 17, 1995, I signed Executive Order 12958, which will make available certain previously classified national security documents while safeguarding information critical to our Nation's security. Additionally, my Administration worked closely with the Congress on the recent passage of the Electronic Freedom of Information Act. I believe that our democratic principles require that the American people be informed of the activities of their government.

Over half a century has passed since the conclusion of World War II and the end of the Holocaust, one of the most horrifying periods of genocide in world history. I strongly believe in the central finding of this Act, that it is important to learn all we can about this terrible era so that we can prevent such a catastrophe from ever happening again. To that end, the Act calls for more comprehensive disclosure of documents specific to Nazi war crimes. It is clearly in our public interest to learn any remaining secrets about the Holocaust.

I'm pleased that the Act recognizes the need not to disclose material that is still important to U.S. national security and law enforcement interests. I am hopeful that the Congress and the executive branch will continue to work together to balance the public interests of disclosing government records with the national interests of keeping certain documents protected.

Ensuring a full accounting of United States records on Nazi war criminals is an important step in preserving the memory of those who died and honoring the sacrifices of those who survived. I was pleased to sign this bill into law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 22, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 1281, approved October 19, was assigned Public Law No. 104–309.

Statement on Expansion of Homeownership
October 22, 1996

Owning a home is central to the American dream. So it is good news for all our families that today's report shows that homeownership rates are at a 15-year high.

Strong job growth, low interest rates, and rising incomes have made this expansion in homeownership possible. With the lowest combined unemployment, inflation, and mortgage rates in 28 years, 4.5 million more American families over the past 4 years have been able to realize their dreams and buy a home. In fact, this has been the longest, steadiest expansion of homeownership in three decades.

My administration has worked hard to help more Americans own their own home. By cutting the deficit 60 percent, we helped drive interest rates down. We have cut FHA closing costs for first-time homebuyers and cut the time for an FHA loan approval from 2 months to 2 days. And Secretary Cisneros' "National Partners in Homeownership" initiative has helped broaden and deepen the ranks of homeownership.

Now we must do more to help hardworking American families to buy their own home. My balanced budget plan would keep interest rates from rising. It would allow families to save tax-free in an IRA for the purchase of a first home, and enable all Americans to sell their homes without paying any capital gains taxes.

I am determined to press forward with our economic strategy, so that our economy keeps

growing and millions more families can join the ranks of homeowners. If we continue to offer opportunity for all who will work for it, we will build a strong American community for the 21st century.

Remarks at a Democratic National Committee Dinner in Miami
October 22, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. Well, this crowd's a little rowdy tonight. But it's only 2 weeks until voting time; it's about time to get a little rowdy. So I'm glad to see you.

Let me ask all of you to join me in once again expressing our appreciation to the wonderful, wonderful entertainment we had tonight. [*Applause*] Thank you, Peabo Bryson. You were fabulous. Thank both of you so much. Thank you.

I am so glad to see you here. I'm glad to be up here with Buddy MacKay and Lawton Chiles and Bob Graham. We've all been friends a long time. We've worked together on so many things for so long, we read each other's mind. I think we can say each other's speeches. [*Laughter*] Tonight I was kind of tired. I thought, maybe I could be Lawton; he won't talk very long. [*Laughter*] Then maybe I can be me and not talk very long—who knows. [*Laughter*]

Let me say to all of you, I expect to be back in Florida before this election is over, but—and I have worked hard for this State for 4 years and with your leaders for 4 years in trying to help you overcome the impacts of the hurricane, in trying to help deal with the challenges of education and health care, in trying to help you grow your economy, in trying to help you save your environment, in trying to help you save and enhance the State's program.

This is my last election, unless I run for the school board someday. [*Laughter*] For me, as Lawton Chiles said, it all started in Florida in December of 1991. You gave me the first step up on the road to the White House, and I will never forget that. I will always love you for it and always be grateful. And I'd sure like to go out with a victory in Florida.

We have worked together to try to seize the future not only on the things I mentioned but the Summit of the Americas, which Senator Graham spoke about; the extra efforts we have made over the last 4 years to try to bring freedom to Cuba; the work that we must do—the work that we have done and must continue to do to shore up democracy in the rest of our hemisphere and our neighborhood.

But tonight I just want to ask you very briefly—this will be brief—to take some time when you go home tonight—I hope you will pat yourself on the back for the contributions you have made and the efforts you have made, and then I hope you will redouble your efforts in the next 2 weeks. And I think you can do it if you go home tonight and go through an exercise that I frequently go through myself, if you ask yourselves before you go to bed, "What do I want my country to look like when we start the 21st century just 4 years away? And what do I want my country to be like when my children are my age? What do I want it to be like when my grandchildren are my age?"

We are going through one of those periods of profound change in how we work and live, how we relate to each other, how we relate to the rest of the world. You know it here in Florida and particularly here because you're on the cutting edge of so many of those changes. It is not as if we have an option to repeal those changes. That's nothing I can take credit for. These changes are big, deep, historical currents. The issue is, how will we respond to these challenges? How will we make these changes our friend? How will we be able to meet the challenges and preserve our values?

For me, the answer has always been very simple. It's the thing that got me into the Presidential race in 1991. It has driven our administration every day for the last 4 years. It is, what can we do to make sure that when we start that new century in a new millennium, oppor-

tunity is still alive for every single person in this country who's willing to be responsible and work for it? What can we do to make sure that the United States continues to lead the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity? And what can we do to make sure America incorporates all these vast changes in a way that strengthens our American community, that brings us together instead of driving us apart? How can we learn to help people succeed more at home as parents and in the workplace? How can we live in greater harmony with our natural environment? And how can we live in greater harmony with each other, in spite of all of our differences?

And I have worked very hard, and I'm proud to be able to say that compared to 4 years ago, in virtually every category of measurement, by those standards, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. We are on the right track to the 21st century.

You know, in nearly every election and in too many over the last 10 years or so, as you get along toward the end of the election, things tend to get sometimes harsh and personal. And many of you said to me tonight—I appreciate it—that you liked the way I avoided that in the second debate. I thank you for your comments about that. But let me say that to me it is not necessary to do that, and in fact, doing that undermines what I think we ought to be doing, which is to look at the fact that we have two candidates and two philosophies here that are very different about how to reach the 21st century. And they are so different and clear a vote should be easy to cast, and no one should be willing to stay home, because the consequences are so significant for how we'll have to live.

I believe that the human dimension is very important. And you know, as I've said repeatedly, I had a good personal relationship with Senator Dole when he was the Senate majority leader. I had a good personal relationship with him when I vetoed the budget he passed. It wasn't personal. I realized that he thought it was a good thing to cut education by $30 billion and get rid of the national service program and undermine our environmental protection programs. He thought it was good because he thinks the Government is a disembodied, bad force in our lives. And I honestly disagreed.

He wants to say that we're the party of Government, but you know, our Democratic administration reduced the number of people working for the Government, the number of regulations on the books, and eliminated more programs than they did in 12 years when they had the White House. This has nothing to do—[*applause*].

The central question here is, do you believe there are some things that we must do as partners together because we can't do them on our own? I went out to the largest community college in America today—the president of that college, a Cuban-American who came here 33 years ago to start his life, now heading the largest institution of its kind in our entire country—and I looked out at that college and I said, "You know, this is the way America ought to work. This is a flexible, nonbureaucratic, high-performance organization committed to the realization of everyone's potential. But they give you no guarantees. You have to work. All you get is a chance. But on the other hand, everybody gets a chance. Nobody gets filtered out because they're in some special category. All you have to do is to show up and be willing to work." And that's the way America ought to work. And that's what I believe we should be working for.

So that's the big issue. Should we build a bridge to the 21st century wide enough and strong enough for everybody to walk across, or should we say that, "In order to do that, I'll have to undermine your freedom. So there's the 21st century and there's a big deep valley and there's a big high mountain. I hope you get across, good luck." Should we say to people, "You're better off on your own," or should we say Hillary was right, it takes a village to raise a child and build a country?

I don't feel that it is necessary to believe that people who disagree with me on this are bad people. I do believe the consequences would be bad. I think we were right, for example, to take more chemicals out of the air and raise the standards of our food and strengthen environmental enforcement in a way that grew the economy—didn't undermine the economy. We've had more new businesses start in environmental technology, hiring more people, by far than anyone can reasonably claim jobs have been lost because we fought for clean air, clean water, and the preservation of our natural resources. I believe we were right. But you have to decide.

You know, most of us will do fine no matter what happens in terms of educating our children. But I believe we're going to do better if we pass our program to open the doors of college education to all Americans and let everybody have access to at least 2 years of education after high school and give everybody some sort of tax deduction for the cost of college tuition up to $10,000 a year. I think we'll all be stronger if everybody gets a good education. That's what I believe.

So you have to decide that. But I believe we must remain an aggressive, forward-looking, reformist country committed to meeting these challenges and meeting these changes. And I know we can do it. I think you know we can do it.

That's the last thing I want to say. This election is not over. It has not even occurred yet, except among those of you who have voted absentee or if you live in one of those States where they let you vote for 3 weeks. Otherwise all these polls are pictures of horseraces that aren't over. Now, I know there are no gamblers in this audience. [*Laughter*] But if there were people who had ever been to horseraces in this audience, chances are that several of them held winning tickets on horses that were ahead at the three-quarter turn. Some of them held tickets on horses that were ahead in the stretch. But the only tickets they collected on were the horses that were ahead at the finish line. The finish line is November 5th. And I want you to be there. I want you to bring people there. And I want you to help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:03 p.m. in the courtyard at the Biltmore Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to singer Peabo Bryson.

Remarks in Daytona Beach, Florida
October 23, 1996

The President. Good morning, Daytona Beach, good morning! It is great to be here. Thank you very much for turning out in such large numbers, for your enthusiasm. We've got the Seminoles and the Gators together on something; that's great. Thank you. Congratulations on your great seasons.

Mayor Asher, I am delighted to be back in Daytona Beach, and I must say I thought it was beautiful when I was here 4 years ago. We spent the night, and we started out one of our bus trips here. But this beautiful downtown area is even more beautiful this year. Congratulations. I'm glad to be here.

I want to thank the people who appeared on the pre-program before we came: our congressional candidate, George Stuart; Ted Doran, Janet Bokum, Susanne Kosmas—Janet Bollum, let me say it right—and Susanne Kosmas, who are running for the legislature. I want to thank those who came with me here: Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson and Attorney General Bob Butterworth. I want to thank your wonderful Congresswoman, Corrine Brown, one of the most energetic people that I have ever worked with; your great Senator, Bob Graham, who served with me as Governor and is one of the most intelligent and gifted and far-sighted public servants I have ever worked with. Thank you, Bob Graham, for being here with me. And thank you, Governor Lawton Chiles, for so many things, but for proving that we can work together to make Florida and America a better place in so many ways. Thank you, sir, for your leadership.

I want to say more about the other two folks that are up here with me in a moment, but let me just say to Brian DeMarco, thank you, sir, for taking the time out of a different and busy career as a football player to stand up for the responsibility that all fathers have to pay child support for their children if they're not supporting them directly. You could be doing a lot of other things with your time, and you've set a great role model, a great example for America. And I thank you and the other athletes that are doing that.

And thank you, Ana Armstrong. Before I came out here I met with Ana and three other young women who are working and educating

themselves off of welfare so that they could succeed as parents and in the work force—Lizette Riveria, Karen Watson, and Joyce Meinert—along with Marcia Bush and Gerald Frisby, who work with them. And I want to talk more about them in a moment, but I just wanted to thank them for the work they have done.

I'd also like to thank the people who provided our music today: Time, the Mark Hobson Band, and the Bethune-Cookman College Gospel Choir and Concert Chorale; thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I came here to Florida less than 2 weeks from the election which will elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. It is your choice. You have to decide whether we're going to build a bridge to the future or try to build a bridge to the past. You have to decide whether to tell the American people they have to get into that future on their own, or whether that bridge is going to be big enough and wide enough for all of us to walk across together. You have to decide whether we're going to say to folks, "You're on your own," or whether we're going to say, "Yes, it does take a village to raise our children and build our future."

Four years ago I came to Daytona Beach amid a time of high unemployment, rising frustration, and increasing division. Compared to 4 years ago we are better off, and we are on the right track to that 21st century. The unemployment rate in Florida has dropped to an 8-year low. We have 10½ million new jobs, a 15-year high in homeownership. We have declining crime rates for 4 years in a row and almost 2 million people fewer on welfare than there were when I took the oath of office. We are moving in the right direction.

Now it is for you to decide what path we will take to the 21st century. I want to ask all of you—there are a lot of young people in this audience today, and I thank you for coming. There are a lot of parents who brought their children here today and their grandchildren; I thank you for doing that. And I ask all of you when you go home tonight to take a little time in a quiet moment before you go to bed and see if you can answer this question: What do you want your country to look like when we start the 21st century, and what do you want your country to be like when your children are your age?

For me, it is a simple but profound issue, and it's a question as your President I deal with every day. I know what I want for America. I want us to start that new century with the American dream alive and well for every person responsible enough to work for it. I want us to keep leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want us, amidst all our diversity, to be coming together, not to be torn apart. I want us to have families where people can succeed in raising their children and at work. I want us to live in harmony with our natural environment. And I want us to live in harmony with each other. I do not want America to be torn apart by the racial, the religious, the ethnic, the tribal hatreds that are consuming so much of the rest of the world. That is what I want for America.

Now, you'll have to decide what path you want to take. Your vote will decide whether we balance the budget while we protect our obligations to the future through education and the environment and protect our obligations to each other through Medicare and Medicaid, or whether we adopt a dangerous scheme that would increase the deficit, weaken the economy, and undermine the very values we seek to advance. Your vote will decide whether we build on the family and medical leave law and our efforts to protect our children from drugs and guns and gangs and tobacco, or turn back to a course that has failed in the past.

Your vote will decide whether we build on our efforts, so far successful, to tell people, "No more can you lose your health insurance because somebody in your family has been sick or because you've changed jobs. No more can a new mother and a newborn be kicked out of a hospital after 24 hours by an insurance company's office." Your vote will decide whether we continue to add people to the ranks of health insured, whether we continue to help people, as I propose, by helping people when they are unemployed to keep their health insurance for several months more, or whether we stop that.

Your vote will decide whether we continue to put 100,000 police on the street, continue to follow those strategies which have brought the crime rate down for 4 years in a row until we bring it down 4 more years and everybody feels safe on our streets, in our schools, in our neighborhoods again. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide whether we keep on cleaning up the environment. We have made

the air purer, our drinking water and food safer. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps than any administration before. We have moved to save the Florida Everglades and other national precious possessions. Your vote will decide whether we can continue to do that, or whether we will weaken our commitment to our common environment and our children's future.

Your vote will decide whether we can continue to advance the cause of education. Yesterday I was in south Florida at the Miami-Dade Community College, where I pointed out that we have just increased Pell grants by the largest amount in 20 years. We made 10 million American students eligible for lower cost college loans with better repayment terms so you can't go broke repaying your loans.

And your vote will decide which of two competing visions of education we adopt. My vision is an America in which every 8-year-old can read. We're going to mobilize a million volunteers to help people teach their children and to help teachers teach children to read so that every 8-year-old in America in the year 2000 can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

Your vote will decide whether the United States, for the first time in history, helps desperately overcrowded schools in substandard conditions to build new facilities adequate to the 21st century. The United States has never helped school districts and States do this. My plan will lower the interest rates to save money for taxpayers if you make the efforts to meet the needs of your children. Your vote will decide whether we do that.

Your vote will decide whether we connect every classroom and every library and every school in America to that information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web—to give all of our children access to it. And to those of you who, like me, didn't grow up in the computer age and may not understand what that means, let me tell you in plain language. If we can hook up every classroom with good computers, good educational materials, trained teachers, and access to the Internet, it means for the first time in the entire history of the United States, for the first time, every child in every school, public or private, rich, middle class, or poor, in every school, will for the first time have access to the same world of information in the same time at the same level of quality. It will revolutionize opportunity in America. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide whether finally we take a step we should have taken long ago and open the doors of college education to every single American who is willing to work and go. Under my plan, Americans will be able to deduct from their tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of college tuition for the first 2 years of community college after high school. I want to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today.

[*At this point, an audience member required medical assistance.*]

The President. We need my medical team over here. Hold up your hand, folks. I bring a doctor with me wherever I go. The medical team over here, right here in front. And one more in the back.

And let me just say this: I want to give a $10,000 tax deduction per year for the cost of any kind of college tuition at any level, undergraduate or graduate. Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide.

Now, let me say your vote will also decide where we go on welfare reform. Weren't you proud of Ana Armstrong when she stood up here and talked about her future and what she's going to do? [*Applause*] Folks, most people I've met on welfare over the last 20 years—and I've met a lot of them—are like Ana Armstrong. They don't want to be on welfare, they want to work. And they want their children to be able to look up to them and say what they do for living. They want to have a good future. But we have been saddled for too long by a system that promotes dependence and undermines people's ability to live up to their dreams, instead of one that promotes independence.

I ran for office in 1992, and I told you here in Daytona that I would work to end welfare as we know it and to convert it to a system that promotes independence, good parenting, and successful work. And that's exactly what we're doing. We've moved almost 2 million people from welfare to work. In Florida alone the welfare rolls have dropped 25 percent in the last 4 years, thanks to the leadership of Governor Chiles and people like those with whom I met today.

Brian DeMarco wants people to pay their child support. We launched an unprecedented crackdown on child support. We have used

every resource available to the Federal Government. And today the National Government is releasing its statistics. Compared to 4 years ago, child support collections are 50 percent higher, almost 4 billion more dollars for the children of America—from their parents, not from the taxpayers.

And again, Florida has done even better. Child support collections in Florida are up over 60 percent over 4 years ago. Last month, Governor Chiles announced a program with the Miami Dolphins, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, and the Jacksonville Jaguars called Don't Drop the Ball. Brian DeMarco is saying simply to the fathers of this country, "If you don't live with your children, you still ought to help support them. Don't drop the ball." We're going to keep going until we raise child support more and more and more. We will move hundreds of thousands of people off welfare by making sure that the parents do what they ought to do, take responsibility for their children and their future. Thank you, Brian DeMarco. Thank you, Governor Chiles. Thank you, Florida.

Now, I signed a new welfare reform bill, and here is what it says. It says the National Government will continue to guarantee to poor families health care and food for the children and, if they go to work, more for child care than ever. But within 2 years people must move to turn that welfare check into a paycheck. Florida was one of the first three States—one of the first three—to be approved by the National Government to go forward with welfare reform.

Now, you have to decide, what are we going to do? It's fine to tell people they have to go to work, but there has to be work there for them and education and training. The jobs have got to be there. If you want more stories like Ana Armstrong, we have a plan, not rhetoric but a plan, to work with the private sector, to work with States, to work with communities like Daytona Beach, all over America, to move at least one million more people from welfare to work in the next 4 years. Will you help us build that bridge to the future? [*Applause*]

So there it is. It's your choice. It's your decision. Your vote will decide, and whether you vote will decide. Don't let anybody in this community, don't let anyone you know anywhere in America believe that their vote doesn't make a difference. This is a different country than it was 4 years ago. Our country is stronger than it was 4 years ago. And 4 years from now, on the bills that we're—on that bridge we're all going to build together, we will go roaring into the 21st century with our best days ahead. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:40 p.m. at Beach and Magnolia Streets. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Baron H. Asher of Daytona Beach; George Stuart, candidate for Florida's Seventh Congressional District; Ted Doran, Janet Bollum, and Susanne Kosmas, candidates for the Florida House of Representatives; Brian DeMarco, offensive guard, NFL Jacksonville Jaguars; Ana Armstrong, Lizette Riveria, Karen Watson, and Joyce Meinert, students, and Gerald Frisby, dean of adult education and training, Daytona Beach Community College; and Marcia Bush, program administrator, Florida Department of Children and Families.

Remarks at a Presidential Unity Fund Reception

October 23, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you for being here, and thank you for your enthusiasm. I was tired when I walked in, but I'm not tired anymore. [*Laughter*] You've given me a lot of energy. I see that—do you see that young man there patting on his father's head? That young girl? [*Laughter*] Dad, someday you may wish people couldn't tell the difference. [*Laughter*] That is the postcard for what this election is all about, right there. That's the picture. That is the picture.

I want to—if I might, I'd like to join Senator Daschle in thanking my friend and our friend and America's friend Wynton Marsalis for his brilliant play here tonight and for—[*inaudible*]—thank you.

I thank Senator Chris Dodd, who gives a better stump speech than anyone, for declining to

speak tonight because he said you will like it if the program's shorter—[*laughter*]—but you have no idea. Remember that Chris Dodd agreed to be the chairman of the Democratic Committee when no one thought we would be here 2 years ago, and he has gone all across this country spreading our message and sticking up for us, and I'm grateful to him.

Let me also tell you that I agree that Tom Daschle will be a great majority leader, that Dick Gephardt will be a great Speaker, and what I want you to know—[*applause*]—clap for them, that's good. Clap for them. [*Applause*] But what I want you to know is that I've had the opportunity to work with them together now for a couple of years, in the beginning under very, very difficult circumstances, and see this whole thing turn full circle as they stood by me when I vetoed the Republican budget and they shut the Government down and I said, "Can we hold our ranks together, no matter how much they shut it down?" When the other side said to me, "Well, you guys care too much about Government. You will wilt when we shut the Government down," Tom Daschle and Dick Gephardt did not wilt. And that spoke volumes to the country about where we stood and what we were fighting for and what we wanted to do.

They also worked hard to put together constructive proposals for our own balanced budget that we could all agree with and work for, and to continue to press our agenda until, in the end, we were even able to pass a significant percentage of it in the closing weeks of this Congress, when the majority had to go home and face the voters, too. And so I want you to know that I have enormous confidence in their ability to participate in leading our country into the 21st century, and the American people will be very proud of the work that they do together and that we do together. And I thank them from the bottom of my heart for what they have done and what they will do and what they represent for the future of our country. You should be proud of them.

You know, we're getting very close to the end of this election now, and I only want to make a couple of points to you. The first is, I just came back from a fascinating trip, and today I was in Florida, and yesterday evening. In Miami I talked to the newly elected mayor of Dade County—they adopted a new form of government—Alex Penelas, who is a 34-year-old, young, progressive leader. And the first thing he said to me was, "Henry Cisneros has been a brilliant Secretary of HUD, and because of his support we were able to take hundreds and hundreds of people off the streets and out of the ranks of homelessness in Miami. No one else has been able to do that."

Then Governor Chiles and Senator Graham and I went with Congresswoman Corrine Brown up to Daytona Beach, and I met with four women today who were part of the Florida welfare reform project that we had worked with them to help put together, four women who'd had immense challenges and difficulties in their lives, women who desperately wanted to be working and to be productive members of society and wanted their children to be able to look up to them, to be able to see them go to work every day. And they were involved in the program, and each of them was about to come out and to go to work. One of those young women introduced me today when I spoke to a big crowd in Daytona Beach.

And I couldn't help thinking, as I was on my way back up here to see you, that sometimes in Washington it's easy to forget and in America, out there in the country, it's awfully easy to forget the incredible impact that what we do here can have on people's lives out in the country.

So I would say to you, in the closing days of this election, anything you can do to remind people that every single person, especially younger voters who often don't vote in the same percentages as older voters do, that there is a huge practical impact on their lives that will be substantially different, depending on the choices they make in this election, is something you ought to do. It will affect millions of people in terms of their access to education, in terms of the quality of the education they get. It will affect all of us in terms of our commitment to protect our environment as we grow our economy. It will have a profound impact on how we deal with the challenges of the coming retirement of the baby boomers. It will have a terrific impact on whether we continue to reach out to the rest of the world. Perhaps most profoundly, it will have an amazing impact on whether we decide to grow together or continue to practice the politics of division, which may help politicians get elected at election time but don't create jobs, don't care for children, and don't solve the problems of the country. So I

would ask you, every one of you who can be here tonight, you know people all across this country. And take a little time in the next 13 days to talk about that.

I was in Michigan before I went to Florida, and we broke ground on a new airport there so that Michigan will spend $1,600,000,000, partly Federal money, doing something that we did together. That's Government; it's not bad. It's something that we had to do together because no one could do it alone; very few people can write a check for that kind of money. And it will enable them to reach out to the rest of the world.

But this is the interesting thing. When I thought of Michigan as a child and even when I ran for President in 1992, I thought of it as the auto capital of the world. It's also a place where countless numbers of people from my home State poured out of Arkansas and places like it in the forties and fifties going to Michigan because they could get a good job in the factory and they could actually support their families and have a decent house and send their kids to college. Michigan has increased its exports more than any other State since I've been President. And now in Wayne County, where Detroit is, there are people from 140 different racial and ethnic groups—Wayne County, Michigan—one county in America. When you go anyplace in America now, you can't help but be struck by the fact that this vibrant democracy of ours still is a magnet for people from all over the world, in all different kinds of places, and especially to those of you who are younger.

You think about what I have to spend my time on as your President in terms of foreign affairs, the Middle East, Bosnia, Northern Ireland, trying to stop terrorism, trying to stop the development of dangerous weapons programs, chemical and biological weapons. How much of that is rooted in racial, ethnic, religious, tribal hatred? How much of that is rooted in the fact that all over the world, people who are otherwise cultivated, intelligent, caring people—people that you would be honored to be with in some sort of personal circumstance because you think they're doing a good job raising their children and they seem to be nice people—still persist in defining themselves not in terms of what they are and who they are but in terms of who they are not, who believe that they cannot think highly of themselves unless there is some group of people that they can look down on. And if you tell the truth, there's not a person in this room, me included, that at some point in your life hasn't fallen into that trap, "Well, at least I'm not them."

The great genius of America is that for all of the problems that we still have—when the church burnings arise, or when the terrible tragedy of Oklahoma City occurred, born of an irrational hatred of our Government—we basically are beating that historical trend. We are trying to create a world in the 21st century in which all of you can raise your children with genuine respect for people who are different from you because you share the values of the Constitution and because you want to be responsible, productive citizens.

This is a matter of enormous moment. The future that the young people in this audience have is breathtaking. A lot of you in a few years will be doing jobs that haven't been invented yet; some of you will be doing jobs that haven't been imagined yet. You'll have more opportunities to live out your dreams, to imagine things and then make them happen in your lives, than any generation of people in all of human history. But it will only happen if you can preserve some of the old-fashioned virtues that have gotten us here after 220 years.

And so I say to you, that's another big thing. And that's why I've tried so hard in this election to keep talking about the issues and to keep trying to bring people together and keep telling Americans, look, this is a godsend, this gift we have been given of all of this rich diversity, this fabric of America. Nobody is as well-positioned as the United States to move into that new millennium that starts just 4 years from now. That's another thing you need to think about saying.

I've taken to asking everybody in my audiences now in the closing days of this campaign to take some time before they go to bed at night and just see if they could write down in a few words what they want our country to be like when we start the new century, what they want our country to be like when their children are their age or their grandchildren are their age. That's really what this is all about.

And it happens to be because of the ideas and the philosophies that we have advanced that it is our party and this administration and what we're trying to do that has been given both the opportunity and the responsibility to carry

this message. It didn't have to be that way, but that's the way it's worked out.

And so you know what all of the issues are, but you need to understand that underneath those issues, this idea of building a bridge to the 21st century that's wide enough and big enough for us all to walk across is a fundamental idea about the decision we're going to make about how we're going to live together and what kind of world your children will have to live in.

And I want you to be enthusiastic and happy and have a good time tonight, but I want you to be in a position to really celebrate on November 5th. That's the night that matters. And so I say to you, there are—if you think hard enough about it, every single one of you can think of somebody you know that hasn't made up their mind yet for whom they'll vote or whether to vote. And one of the big questions in these elections—you know when you see all of these endless polls published every day, and there seems to be 10 or 15 points difference between them and you think, gosh, all those people are smart, and aren't there established methodologies and all that—you know what one of the biggest differences is in them? How skeptical the pollster is about whether the younger generation will vote, how skeptical the pollster is about whether young women, working for meager wages, struggling to make ends meet, often supporting their own children, sometimes without the child support they're entitled to, will be too exhausted, too frustrated, or too skeptical to show up and vote on November 5th.

So I say, we've worked very hard to register people; we're working very hard to get our message out. You have been incredibly generous to us, far more than we could have possible expected; we're being outspent still heavily by the other side in most of these races. But we're still getting our message out there; we're still fighting the fight; we're still moving forward.

So ask yourself, "What do I want my country to be like in the 21st century?" And then, "What can I do in the next 13 days to make sure that happens?" And then we'll have a big celebration on election night. Between now and then, just know I am grateful to you and know—never, never, never doubt there is an enormous connection between the decision you and your fellow Americans make and what kind of bridge we build to that bright new tomorrow.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:43 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to musician Wynton Marsalis.

Remarks on the Anniversary of the Assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel

October 24, 1996

Today the Yartziet candle, symbol of the anniversary of a death, burns for my friend Yitzhak Rabin. So often, we recognize the true measure of a person only in retrospect, when someone is gone, and his or her legacy becomes clear. But once in a long while, a figure of greatness stands before our eyes, and we recognize it in an instant. Yitzhak Rabin was such a figure of greatness. And virtually all of us who knew him during his life saw that immediately.

He lived the history of his nation, from the heroic struggles of Israel's birth to the repeated defense of its existence, to the quest for peace and acceptance after decades of conflict and bloodshed. He had an indomitable will which he dedicated without hesitation to the lifelong service of Israel's security.

For a people who in 2,000 years of exile were too often powerless in the face of oppression, Yitzhak Rabin embodied the independence and self-sufficiency of modern Israel. And he possessed something else: the genius to see after a lifetime of war that the greatest safety for Israel's people can be attained when peace and security are one. Through deeds as well as words, he helped bring an entire region to the threshold of a new and better day. Yitzhak Rabin was truly a light unto the nations.

It was one of the great privileges of my life to know Prime Minister Rabin and to have

worked with him for the benefit of the people of Israel and all the Middle East. I'll always remember the first time we met at the White House. He told me that he had a mandate from the people of Israel to take calculated risks for peace. And I told him that I would be his partner in advancing peace and in minimizing those risks. That was my pledge to him, and that remains my commitment to the people of Israel. I will do all I can to preserve Yitzhak Rabin's legacy by helping Israel to make a secure peace with its neighbors.

A year has passed. The wounds of loss have not yet healed. But the memory of Prime Minister Rabin remains a powerful inspiration to me and to people the world over. In March I visited Har Herzl. In keeping with the Jewish tradition of only adding to the memory of those who have died and never detracting from it, I put a small stone from the South Lawn of the White House on his grave. That stone symbolizes the depth of my feeling for my friend Yitzhak Rabin and the unshakable bond between our two nations, which he did so much to strengthen.

Today, on the anniversary of his death, I ask all men and women of good will to join me in adding to the memory of this remarkable man by carrying on the struggle for security and peace for Israel and reconciliation for the peoples of the Middle East. Yitzhak Rabin made that struggle his last work. Now it is our responsibility to make good on his legacy.

NOTE: The President's remarks were videotaped at 5 p.m. on October 17 at the Sheraton Universal in Los Angeles, CA, for broadcast on October 24.

Remarks in Birmingham, Alabama
October 24, 1996

Thank you very, very much. Thank you. Hello, Alabama! Can you hear us all the way back down there to the road? Thank you for coming.

Ladies and gentlemen, I promised Howell Heflin I would come to Alabama and ask the people of Alabama to support our efforts to build a bridge to the 21st century. It is such a beautiful day, and the crowd is so large, maybe Alabama is going to come along with me on that bridge to the 21st century.

Let me say first of all to Dr. Berte and all the people who are here from this wonderful, wonderful school, I thank you for hosting us. I've looked forward to coming here for a long, long time. I have two great friends who teach here at Birmingham Southern, Mark Lester and Jeanne Jackson; I thank them. And I have heard about what a great place this is. Senator Heflin told me he had lifetime tenure on the board here, and he was going to continue to serve, even after he left the Senate. He didn't ask me for permission to leave the Senate, or I wouldn't have let him do that. [*Laughter*]

I want to tell you how honored I am to be here with all the people on this program today: the candidates for Congress; the officials of our Democratic Party; the distinguished mayor of Birmingham, my longtime friend Richard Arrington; Chief Johnson; the leaders of the Alabama Teachers Association, the Alabama Federation of Teachers, the Education Association; the Birmingham Southern College Young Democrats; all the others that are here.

I want to thank Congressman Earl Hilliard for being here with us and for his service. I want to thank another distinguished Alabamian who is retiring, Congressman Tom Bevill. I'd like to ask him to stand up, Tom. He's back there with his partner, Bob Wilson, who's trying to succeed him. I thank him and Mary Lynn Bates and Bob Gaines and Judge Ingram. Thank you all for being here with us today.

I'd like to say a special word of thanks to Lieutenant Governor Don Siegelman, who's been our friend a long time. And I'd like to say too that I'm very, very glad to be here with another distinguished Alabamian, the President's Special Assistant for Public Liaison and the highest ranking African-American ever to serve in the White House, Alexis Herman, from Mobile, Alabama, who's here with me today. Thank you, Alexis.

The last thing I want to say is that—by way of introduction—is that I met Howell Heflin

21 years ago, when he was the chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court and I was a former candidate for Congress and a loser, I might add. He came in the law school at the university, and I thought that he was the darnedest fellow I ever met in my life. He had a wonderful sense of humor, a great sense of compassion, a fine mind, and a lot of country commonsense wisdom. And as he leaves the United States Senate, I can tell you that Hillary and I have come to know and love both Mrs. Heflin and Senator Heflin. We will miss them. They have been a treasure for Alabama and a treasure for America, and I want you to bring them home and lift them up and make their days happy and warm and good.

Folks, we are on the verge of a new century. All of you students here in this crowd—and I thank all of the young people for coming today—you are moving into a time with more opportunities for people to live out their dreams than any period in human history. You are moving into a time where things will change more rapidly in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. And you have to decide how we're going to walk into that 21st century.

This is the last election for President of the 20th century and the first election for President of the 21st century. And you have to decide. Many of you young people in this audience, in a few years you will be doing jobs that haven't been invented yet. Some of you will be doing work that has not even been imagined yet. And you have to decide, what kind of America do you want? From all the way over here to way back yonder down the street, I want to ask you to do something when you go home tonight. Before you go to bed, just take a few minutes with a piece of paper and a pencil and see if you can write down the answer to this question: What do I want my country to look like when we cross that bridge into the 21st century? What do I want my country to be like when my children are my age?

You know, if you ask the right question, America nearly always gives the right answer. We only get in trouble when we let ourselves get confused and start asking the wrong question. That's the right question. And when you ask that question—I tell you, I've been asking myself that question since before I made the decision to run for President in 1991. And for me the answer is simple but profound. I dream of an America in the 21st century where every person, without regard to race or region or income or religion or gender or background, who is responsible enough to work for it, can have a shot at the American dream.

I want an America that is still leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want an America which is coming together, not being driven apart by our differences. And that is important. How long did we live in the shadow of our differences in the South? How much do we see around the world today, from Bosnia to the Middle East to Northern Ireland to Africa and Rwanda and Burundi, everywhere around the world, to the problems of terrorism and people sending each other dangerous weapons. What is driving it all? Racial, ethnic, religious, and tribal hatred. That's why I said the church burnings were wrong. That's why I said we couldn't go back down that road again. When we respect each other and work together there is no stopping America. There is no stopping America.

Now, that's my vision. You ask yourself tonight what your vision is. If you ask the right question, you'll get the right answer. What I have tried to do is to expand opportunity, increase responsibility from all citizens, and bring us together in an American community. And even though our friends on the other side don't like to admit it, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. And we are moving in the right direction.

The unemployment in Alabama has dropped from 7½ to 4½ percent. We have 10½ million more jobs. The other side said they were fiscal conservatives, but our administration, with the help of Howell Heflin, reduced the deficit in all 4 years. That's the first time a President's done it in every year of his administration in the 20th century. We're moving in the right direction.

Incomes are on the rise again. The typical family income is up $1,600 in the last 2 years. And we're growing together again. The inequality of incomes among working people, which had become so deep in the last 20 years, had the biggest drop in 27 years last year; the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years; the lowest rate of poverty among senior citizens ever reported since we've been keeping statistics. We are moving in the right direction to that 21st century.

You heard the police chief and the mayor talk about it, but we've had 4 years of declining crime rates. We've also had 4 years of declining welfare rolls. We have almost 2 million people fewer on welfare and more at work than we did 4 years ago. And child support collections have been increased by 50 percent in 4 years. People are paying for their kids more.

Just in the last few weeks, we raised the minimum wage for 10 million working Americans because they couldn't live on $4.25 an hour. We made 25 million working Americans eligible to keep their health insurance by saying that you can't lose your insurance anymore just because you change jobs or someone in your family has been sick. If somebody like Roger Bedford gets sick and has a spouse working, they ought not to have their insurance taken away from them; that's what health insurance is for, and that's what we have done. We also said that insurance companies can't make hospitals kick new mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after 24 hours anymore.

So we're moving in the right direction. And you have to decide whether you like this direction, whether you want to build a bridge to the future wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across, or whether you want to say, "There's the future. You're on your own. I hope you make it; good luck." You've got to decide whether we're all in this together or we're just a swarm of isolated individuals. You've got to decide, in short, whether you think it takes a village to raise a child and build a community and build a future.

You know, there is a lot of talk here about these labels. You know, our adversaries love labels. I'll bet you there are good professors here at Birmingham Southern who would tell you that you start throwing labels at people and calling them names when you don't have anything to argue about any more and you can't win. When the evidence is not on your side, when all else fails, call somebody a name. Maybe it'll work. That's what Senator Bedford's up against.

I am proud to be running on the same ticket with a person like Roger Bedford who supported our efforts to lower crime and improve education and who would represent good, old-fashioned mainstream Alabama values and modern Alabama economic, educational, and environmental interests in the United States Senate.

But you have to decide. When they call names, you've got to look at the facts. I want to balance the budget. I want to finish the job. We have cut that deficit 60 percent in 4 years. I want to finish the job. But we can do it while protecting Medicare and Medicaid and investing in education and investing in environmental protection. They want to pass this big, risky tax scheme that will increase the deficit, require bigger cuts than I vetoed when they shut the Government down, raise taxes on 9 million hard-working people, and allow companies to raid their workers' pension funds.

You have to decide. I don't think you need a label on that. You don't need to call anybody any names, just say, "I'm for the right kind of balanced budget, and I'm for targeted tax cuts." We can afford tax cuts, but they need to be targeted to help you pay for education, childrearing, buying a first home, paying for health insurance. We can afford that, and we can pay for it in our balanced budget plan. But you have to decide. Will you help us build that bridge? You have to decide.

Everybody is for family values, but do we value families? You heard Roger Bedford talk about the Family and Medical Leave Act. Twelve million families have benefited from that, taken a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick.

The other day I was down in Longview, Texas—no hotbed of liberalism—[*laughter*]—and I'm shaking hands in the crowd and this woman's there with tears in her eyes, saying, "Mr. President, my husband had cancer, and I was the only one in our family working. And he was desperately ill. Because of the family and medical leave law I did not lose my job, our family was not ruined, and we were able to keep going." That was a good thing for America. That's not against American values; that's for American values.

The other side led the fight against it. My opponent still says it was wrong. I say it ought to be expanded to let parents go see their children's teachers once a semester and take their kids to the doctor. You have to decide.

You have to decide what we're going to do in health insurance. We worked hard for the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill to expand that health coverage. Now we want to say in our balanced budget plan, paid for, if you lose your job, you're between jobs, we're going to help you keep your family's health insurance for 6 months. We're going to add another million kids in low-income working families to the ranks of

those who have health insurance. We're going to help families who are taking care of their parents with Alzheimer's get a little respite care so they can care for their families and still survive and keep their sanity and keep going. We're going to help women on Medicare get regular mammograms. And we're not going to turn away from medical research.

We're going to put a billion dollars more in medical research. Why? In the last 4 years we've doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV. We've uncovered two genes that cause breast cancer, two genes that will enable us to detect it earlier and maybe to prevent it. We have used technology that we use in space and intelligence for imaging that will help us to detect all kinds of cancers early. We have detected unbelievable things about strokes; for the first time we've got some treatment for strokes, all from medical research. We now have for the first time in history seen movement in the lower leg of laboratory animals whose spines were completely severed, because nerves were transferred from the rest of the body to the spines. We must continue to pass legislation that pushes the frontiers of knowledge and have medical research. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Will you help us, way back there, build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Most important of all are two things to me. One is education. We are living in a world—let me just give you one example, one tiny example of how fast knowledge is exploding. We've just signed a contract, the United States did, to do a research venture with IBM to build in the next couple of years a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Now, I would say in a world where knowledge is increasing like that, education is pretty important. I just want to talk about three things today.

Number one, kids can't learn if they can't read. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in America today cannot read a book on their own. I have a proposal to mobilize 30,000 people—reading tutors, AmeriCorps volunteers—to get a million volunteers to go in and help parents and teachers teach our young children to read so that by the year 2000, every 8-year-old in American can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself."

Secondly, I want to hook up every classroom and every library in every school in the United States to the information superhighway by the year 2000, with computers, with educational materials, with trained teachers, on the Internet, on the World Wide Web. Now, for all of you older folks like me who are not great computer geniuses, let me tell you what that means in practical terms. It means that for the very first time in history—and this is important to us in the South—for the first time in history, the children in the poorest inner-city schools, the most remote rural schools will have access in the same way at the same time at the same level of quality to the same learning that the children in the wealthiest school districts in the United States have. It has never happened before. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, as Senator Bedford said, we are going to make college education available to every single American of any age who needs it. I want to be able to say in the year 2000 that we've made 2 years of education after high school just as universal as a high school diploma is today. And I propose to do it not by a big, bureaucratic program but simply by saying to every American, if you want to go to a community college for 2 years, you can deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition. It will revolutionize opportunity.

I want to say to people, you can save in an IRA, and more families can save in an IRA, but they can take the money out without any tax penalty if they use that money to educate their children or themselves, to buy a house, or take care of medical care. And yes, I'll say it again: I want to make for every form of college tuition a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year from now on. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, will you help me build an environment of security and good values for our children? We have to make our children safe from gangs and guns and violence and drugs. And for our children, it is illegal for them to be exposed to tobacco as well, and I'm proud that our administration has tried to stop that.

We are putting 100,000 police on the street. We supported the safe and drug-free schools program so that our children could hear early that drugs are wrong, drugs are illegal, drugs can kill you. We have done what we could to

strengthen our control of our borders more than any administration ever has. We have also supported, as the mayor said, local initiatives like school uniforms for younger children, truancy law enforcement, curfews at night.

You know why? Because the crime rate was going down all 4 years I was President, but the crime rate among juveniles, people under 18, only started going down last year; because the violence rate has been going down all 4 years, but the rate of violent crime among juveniles only started going down last year; because drug use in America has dropped dramatically in the last 4 years, cocaine use down 30 percent, but drug use among children under 18 is still going up.

There are too many of our children out there raising themselves on the street. We need to take them back into our bosoms, into our homes, into our hearts, and give them a chance to live good, positive lives. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

I said the other day, and I expected to get a lot of grief from it from a lot of young people in America, that even though 90 percent of our children were clearly drug-free and had never experimented with drugs, I wanted to ask them to do something really responsible to help us find the other 10 percent before it's too late and they're too much trouble. I think we ought to have a drug test as part of the driver's license process in America to find those kids and help them before they're in trouble and before it's too late. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Now, folks, my opponent has a different vision, and I don't want to get into what they said. You don't have to believe anything bad about him to disagree. I was raised to respect people. I told somebody the other day—they started doing all this, "He's a better person"—I said, "I don't know, but where I was raised, my mama would have whipped me if I ever said I was better than anybody else." We were taught never to look down on anybody but to look up to everybody and try to lift everybody up. We were taught it in church and at home. This has nothing to do with who's a good or a bad person.

I've been in this business for some time now, although I've only lived in Washington 4 years. Let me tell you something, folks, nearly everybody I've met in public life works harder than average and tries to make a difference. This is not a question of who's good and bad, it's a question of what's right and wrong for our future. I was for the 100,000 police, and he was opposed to it. I was for the Family and Medical Leave Act, and he led the fight against it. I'm for making college education tax deductible, and he wants to eliminate the Department of Education, so that there will be nobody to speak for education in the President's Cabinet as we stand on the brink of the 21st century.

Our economic policies are working. Our crime policies are working. And our partnership with America for opportunity and responsibility is working. So I want to say to you, Alabama has to decide. Go home tonight, ask yourself, "What do I want my country to look like when we cross that bridge to the 21st century?" I know what the answer will be. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*] Will you help us build it wide enough and strong enough for everybody to walk across? [*Applause*] Are you proud to be an American on the brink of America's greatest days? Do you believe we can make America even greater? Then you be there on November 5th, and we'll do it.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:18 a.m. in the Academic Quadrangle at Birmingham Southern College. In his remarks, he referred to Neal Berte, president, Birmingham Southern College; Johnnie Johnson, Birmingham police chief; Mary Lynn Bates and Bob Gaines, candidates for Alabama's Sixth and Second Congressional Districts, respectively; Kenneth F. Ingram, candidate for reelection to the Alabama Supreme Court; Elizabeth Ann "Mike" Heflin, wife of Senator Howell Heflin; and State senator Roger Bedford, Alabama senatorial candidate. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Lake Charles, Louisiana
October 24, 1996

The President. Hello. Hello, Louisiana! Hello, Lake Charles! Thank you. Let's give a hand to the bands over here. [*Applause*] Thank you for the music. Thank you. Can you hear me way in the back, back there?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Thank you. Can you hear me over by the school buses? Somebody up here can hear real well. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be back in Lake Charles. I did not know until I came up on this platform that I'm the first sitting President in history to visit your community. All I can say is, if the others had seen what I see here today, they would have been here a long time ago. Thank you very much. Thank you.

I want to thank Senator Bennett Johnston for his career, for his service to Louisiana and to the country. I will miss him very much. But you know, he was having a good time up here. I think he's enjoying this retirement. Thank you, John Breaux, for being my friend and supporter and for a great leader for Louisiana. Thank you, Congressman Cleo Fields and Congressman Bill Jefferson, for being here. Thank you, Lieutenant Governor Kathleen Blanco, Treasurer Ken Duncan, Insurance Commissioner Jim Brown, Agriculture Commissioner Bob Odom. Thank you all. Thank you, Police Jury President Allen August.

I know that there was speaking here earlier for the congressional candidates, Hunter Lundy and Chris John. As a Democrat, I like this Louisiana system, finally, because we have two people in our party running for the congressional seat here. Congratulations to the voters here in this parish.

I want to say a special word of thanks to Mayor Willie Mount for her leadership of this community and for what she said about Lake Charles and your motto, "Moving forward together." I want to say a little more about that in a minute. But you made us feel very welcome here today, Mayor, and we thank you.

I want to thank my good friend Mary Landrieu for running for the Senate and thank her for embracing and sharing the ideals that we're trying to create for America in the 21st century. And I hope every one of you will help her to help you in the United States Senate in January.

Let me thank Kent Kresea, the CEO of Northrup Grumman, and Jami Lowe. And also I'd like to thank Stanley Leger, the director of the SOWELA Tech College, for giving Jami the education, the opportunity and so many others the opportunity to learn the skills they need to get good jobs for the 21st century. Let's thank all three of them. [*Applause*]

Let me say—I want to ask you to do one other thing. I asked Jami Lowe—every place I go I ask a citizen to introduce me. And the reason we do that is because I want the American people, the young people here in this audience, those of you who are registered voters, to understand every day that there is a connection between what we do a long way away in Washington and how you live in Lake Charles, and the decisions we make together shape the future we have together. But that's the first speech Jami Lowe ever made, and she had to make it to over 20,000 people to introduce the President. Let's give her another hand. I think she did a remarkable job. [*Applause*]

I want to thank all of you here at Northrup Grumman who work on the J–STARS program. I did see it in action in Bosnia. Last month, our Department of Defense decided to acquire 19 more J–STARS for the United States Air Force, and we are trying to persuade our NATO allies to buy them for NATO. This morning the NATO Military Committee agreed that we needed an air surveillance system; now it's my job to tell them what air surveillance system we need, the J–STARS, and I'll do my best.

In 1992 I came here to Lake Charles and had a town meeting, and I told you if you would give me a chance to create more opportunity, create more responsibility among the American people, and bring us together more, we would be better off in 4 years. There were 100 people working at Northrup Grumman in 1992; there are 1,400 people working here today. And that story is repeated all across America as 10½ million more Americans are at work, more than half of them in higher wage jobs. America's on the right track to the 21st century. We've got

a 15-year high in homeownership, a 20-year low in child poverty. We've got drops in the crime rate and 2 million fewer people on welfare. This country is moving in the right direction.

I want to talk to you a little bit today about some of the things we need to do. And let's start with Jami Lowe. Most of the people in America who get on welfare do not want to stay on it forever. They want to get off and go to work. They want to succeed at home and at work, the same thing most families want in America. We have worked hard with States to reduce the welfare rolls. And I signed a new welfare reform bill which requires every State and every community to turn the welfare check of every able-bodied person in America into a paycheck within 2 years. That's exactly what we're going to do with more people like Jami Lowe.

One thing we've done is to make more absent parents pay their child support. We've increased by 50 percent the child support collections in only 4 years. Think of it; we've gone from 8 to $12 billion a year in just 4 years, and we're going to do better in the next 4. We can move 800,000 people off welfare tomorrow if people would just pay the child support they owe and they're legally bound to pay, and we intend to see that it is done.

But we also know that we have to create jobs if we want people to take them. That means where there are jobs available, like those here at Northrop Grumman for people like Jami, there must be education and training. That's why the tech college here deserves a lot of support. We intend to continue to support people with more investments in the education of the American work force. I want to make it easier for people to go back to work and get the education and training they need. I have asked Congress to pass a new "GI bill" for America's workers, to create a skills grant worth over $2,000 a year to every unemployed and grossly underemployed person in the country so everybody can go back and get the kind of training that Jami had. And I hope you will support me in that as we try to build our bridge to the 21st century. I have offered the American people a specific plan to move another million folks from welfare to work by giving special tax credits, bonuses to businesses to place people in work, by allowing local communities to actually give the welfare check to employers for a while as a job supplement to train people on the job.

Folks, we do not have to have a welfare system where half the people are trapped in dependency forever. We can move all the people who are able-bodied from welfare to work and make them a part of America's mainstream society if we're committed to doing it together. We're going to make people go to work; we've got to create those jobs out there for people to have. I hope you'll help me to create those jobs and change welfare forever.

I'd like to say a special word of thanks here in Louisiana to the Goodwill Job Connection. They have worked very hard here and in Florida to move 1,500 people from welfare to work. In Louisiana, 80 percent of them are still off welfare after 2 years. I'm telling you, folks, don't believe we can't change the welfare system. We can change it forever and for good, and we'll have every American in the mainstream, working, raising their children, being part of one society, not having some isolated forever and trapped in poverty, if you will help us and we decide to do it together in every community of America. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, this is an important election, and you have to decide. The people you vote for and the decision you make whether to vote will determine what kind of future the children in this audience have. The kids here today, before you know it, they'll be doing jobs that haven't been invented yet. A lot of these young kids will be doing jobs that have not even been imagined yet. The world is changing rapidly.

You will decide whether we balance our budget and keep our economy going, whether we do it without gutting our commitment to the future through education and environmental protection, whether we do it without undermining the commitments of Medicare and Medicaid. You will decide whether we have targeted tax cuts to help families educate their children and raise them and buy a first home and deal with medical emergencies. You will decide. That's a big part of building a bridge to the 21st century. And I hope you will decide, yes, that's the way we have to build that bridge. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

You will decide whether we continue to support policies that help our families succeed at home and at work. Twelve million people have taken a little time off from work when a baby

was born or a family member was sick. And we still have record numbers of new businesses, record job growth. The family and medical leave law has made us a stronger, better country. I want to see it narrowly expanded so people can go to parent-teacher conferences with their kids and take their family members to doctor's appointments. That will make America a stronger country. You will decide. I hope you will decide to do it .

You will decide whether we continue to move forward on health care reform. Just before I left, Congress—we passed a law which I've been working for hard, which says now to people, you cannot be taken—your health insurance can't be taken away anymore just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family gets sick. That could protect 25 million Americans in their health insurance. And we also passed a law that says insurance companies can't force new mothers and newborn babies out of the hospital in 24 hours anymore. We're going to protect that.

Now, you will decide whether we adopt my balanced budget plan, which helps families that lose their jobs or between jobs keep health insurance for their children for 6 more months. That is your decision, and I hope you will decide to help us build that bridge to the 21st century. You will decide whether we keep putting 100,000 police on our streets. It's led to 4 years of decline in our crime rate. You will decide whether we continue to help keep our kids away from drugs and gangs and guns and violence. You will decide whether we continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program as we have or cut back on it as our opponents have proposed.

Most important of all for these young people here, you will decide whether we make a major new commitment to guarantee every child in America a world-class education. I want you to help me do three things.

Number one, 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country can still not read well enough on their own, and we know if our children can't read, they can't keep learning. I propose to take 30,000 AmeriCorps volunteers and reading specialists to go across this country and mobilize a million volunteers to go and help the parents and the schools of this country, so that by the time we start that new century, every single 8-year-old in America can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." And I want you to help me do it.

The second thing I want you to help me do is to make sure that we hook up every single classroom and library in the United States to the information superhighway by the year 2000. Now, if you're older like me and you don't understand all that computer stuff, let me tell you in plain language what that means. If we make sure all of our classrooms have computers, educational materials, trained teachers, and they're hooked up to the Internet and the World Wide Web and all these other networks, here's what that means. It means for the first time in history, in the poorest school districts in Louisiana and Arkansas, in the most remote rural districts in the high plains of the United States, in the toughest inner-city school districts—for the first time ever in those school districts—in the middle class districts, in the rich districts, in the schools, public and private, for the first time ever, every child will have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize education in America, and I want you to help me do it for our children and our future.

And the last thing I ask you to do is to help me open the doors of college education for all. I want to make sure every person in this country, of any age, who wants to go back to school can do it. I propose to give families in this country a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their taxes for the costs of the typical tuition at a community college or a technical school, for 2 years of education after high school. I want to let families save in an IRA for years but then be able to withdraw from it without any tax penalty if they use the money for education or buying a home or health care. And I want to give the families of Louisiana and America a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition. It should not be taxed, the education of our children and of their parents, as we move into the information age. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*]

Folks, when the mayor opened the program, she said that Lake Charles' motto was "moving forward together." And then I saw this editorial in the morning newspaper that says, "Mr. President, this area is a success." And the editorial said, "Oh, yes, we've had some help from the Federal Government, but most of it we did ourselves with citizen spirit." Well, I agree with that. I agree with that.

But you have to decide whether we're going to move forward together and whether the President, the Congress, and the National Government are going to be your partner to help people have the tools to make the most of their own lives, to build strong careers, strong families, and strong communities. I've tried to be that kind of partner. I'm proud that this country is better off than it was 4 years ago. I'm glad we're on the right track to the 21st century. And I have run a campaign of ideas, not insults, to give you the ideas of what I will do in the next 4 years, if my contract is renewed in less than 2 weeks from today. But you have to decide. You have to decide.

If you want Lake Charles to move forward together; if you believe that in order to have a successful work environment, you have to move forward together; if when you go to church on Sunday, you like to be sitting there with people who are committed to moving forward and learning together; if you believe your family has to work by people working together, shouldn't your country work that way too? Shouldn't your country work that way too? [*Applause*]

You know, there's been a lot of debate about it in this country. But I believe the First Lady was right; I think it does take a village to raise a child, to build a community, to build a country, to build a future. And I want you to help us build that village.

I have said all across America, I am trying to build a bridge to the 21st century that is wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across. Louisiana needs that bridge. My native State to the north needs that bridge. America needs that bridge. We dare not walk away from the elderly, from the frail, from those who need our help. We dare not walk away from our children and their future. We do not need to sacrifice our environment to grow our economy.

All we need to do is to make a commitment to build that bridge and to move forward together. You've got the right slogan, Lake Charles. Let's live by it. Let's know that our responsibility begins by showing up on Tuesday, November 5th, to vote for it. And let's build that bridge together to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:08 p.m. at Northrup Grumman Corp. In his remarks, he referred to Northrup Grumman Corp. employee Jami Lowe.

Remarks in Marrero, Louisiana
October 24, 1996

Thank you. Thanks. Thank you very much. I was listening to Yvonne McPherson talk, wondering if she was Reverend McPherson. [*Laughter*] And when she really got stirred up I thought, if this lady passes the plate we're all going to leave here broke. [*Laughter*] Thank you. Thank you for your wonderful, wonderful words and your wonderful example.

Thank you, Lieutenant Renee Washington, for your 18 years and for the work you're doing to make our children safer and for your great remarks. I want to thank all of you for making all of us who don't live here feel so welcome tonight. I understand the West Jefferson High School Band played. I thank them for that.

I want to thank Congressman Cleo Fields for coming with me tonight and for all the work he's doing on our behalf. Thank you. My good friend Congressman Bill Jefferson, who plays both sides of the river here, and that's good politics. Sometimes it's not good in public life to straddle the fence, but I picked up pretty quick it's a good thing to straddle this river. [*Laughter*] If his in-laws hadn't been from here, I think he would have moved them over here just to make sure he was covered.

Thank you, my good friend Senator John Breaux, for all you do for Louisiana and all you've done for me. Thank you, and God bless you, sir. Thank you, Mary Landrieu, for running for the Senate and for standing up for what is right and supporting our crime programs. Thank you.

And Sheriff, thank you. I want to thank everybody in the sheriff's department who's worked on this program. I understand that Deputy

Chief Gus Clavery has done a lot of work on it and others have. But this STAR program is an example of an issue that I think is very important.

When I ran for President, I found people all over America frustrated and angry by the crime problem but nearly resigned to it. There were no new ideas in many places, so people said, "Just throw the book at them and leave me alone, and I'll duck and dodge the bullets"—everywhere. But there were, thank goodness, a number of local leaders in law enforcement like Harry Lee—there isn't really nobody like Harry Lee, but you know what I mean. [*Laughter*]

People that—I wasn't going to say this, but I'm going to say this. As you know, it's fairly well known throughout the country that I enjoy a meal now and then. [*Laughter*] And last time I came to New Orleans—I always love to come here, and I'm always angry if they make me leave without eating when I'm in here. So Harry took John Breaux and me to lunch, and I was finally with somebody I didn't have to be a bit embarrassed by enjoying my lunch with. I loved it. I loved it. And we had a good one, didn't we, Sheriff? [*Laughter*]

But the important thing—let me get back to this. Law enforcement leaders like Harry Lee who understood—and I found them all around America—that it wasn't only important to do things right, it was important to do the right things, which is very different. It was one thing for a person with a badge and a uniform on to look tough, be strong, and not do anything wrong, and quite another thing for a person to always be searching out new ideas, ways to involve people in not only solving crime but preventing crimes in the first place.

You heard him say up here when he talked—he just picked up on something I mentioned at lunch about the way New York City had dramatically lowered the crime rate by radically increasing its ability to move law enforcement officers around every day among neighborhoods based on where the crime was moving. So I come—the next time I come to Louisiana, he tells me he's instituted the same thing. That's what we need, local leadership, citizens like Yvonne McPherson, dedicated officers like Renee Washington, and law enforcement leaders like Harry Lee who want to do the right things as well as do things right.

And I was astonished when I ran for President the extent to which people on the one hand were screaming for something to be done about crime and on the other hand, absolutely believed nothing could be done about it. Deep down inside they had sort of given up, but they wanted us to make the right moves and make some right noises but they didn't really believe we could take our streets, our schools, our neighborhoods, and ultimately, our children back.

And I began to see things that changed my mind. I've told this story a lot of times, but I made a good friend one night early in 1992 when I was dropping in the polls in New Hampshire and people were writing my obituary. I went to New York City to a fundraiser, and frankly, I was a pretty sad case. I was feeling sorry for myself. And I was walking through the kitchen to get around like we sometimes do, to get around to where I was going to give the speech.

And a Greek immigrant with a waiter's uniform stopped me. And he said, "Now, Mr. President, my son is 10. He's in the fifth grade; he studies this election. He says I should vote for you, so I think I will vote for you, if you will do one thing for me." I said, "What do you want?" He said, "I want to make my boy free." And I said, "Well, sir," I said, "Mr. Theofanis, this is a democracy." He said, "Yes it is, but my boy is not free." He said, "Where I lived before, I was poor, much poorer than I am here in New York. But at least we were free. Here, across the street from our apartment in New York, there is this beautiful park. I can't let my child go to the park unless I go with him. I'm lucky I live only 2 blocks from the school and it's actually quite a good school, but my boy can't walk down the street to the school unless I go with him. So I'll vote for you, but you have to make my boy free."

And I heard stories like this all over America. But I also saw neighborhoods in Los Angeles where the police had cut the response time down to 2 minutes. I saw streets in Philadelphia that had been infested by gangs and drugs, where neighborhood groups had worked with the police to take their streets back. And just a little bit, here and there I would see these glimmers of hope, and I promised myself that if I got elected President, I was going to take the politics out of crime and try to put the police and the people back into the business of lowering the crime rate and bringing safety

back to America and restoring fundamental freedom.

Now, the crime bill that you've heard everybody brag on—I appreciate that, all the credit they're trying to give me. All I did was take the politics out of crime. All we did was to let law enforcement people and community activists, like the folks that have spoken tonight, tell us what the Federal Government ought to do to be a good partner to help communities take their streets back and give their kids a future back. That is all we did.

But as it turned out, that was quite a lot, because for 6 years, the debate in Washington had been a bunch of rhetoric and who could talk the toughest and who could do the least because we didn't want anything to make any of the organized groups mad. And the problem was, nothing ever got done. So all we did was to let law enforcement officials, in effect, tell us what ought to be done, let community activists tell us what ought to be done; that's what the '94 crime bill was about.

It's been a remarkable 4 years in the area of fighting crime. In this crime bill, we agreed that over a 5-year period, we'd fund 100,000 police. After only 2 years, we've funded almost half of them, so we're ahead of schedule and under budget. As the sheriff said, there were no strings in this bill except one. There was just one string; the money had to be spent to hire law enforcement officers who would go on the street, not behind a desk. That was the only string. We said, "You figure out who to hire; you figure out how to train them; you decide how to deploy them; you decide how you're going to relate to the community. It's all your decision. We don't know in Washington how to do that."

But we do know that in 30 years the violent crime rate has tripled and the police forces have only gone up by 10 percent in this country. There's no way you could do it. We had place after place after place that were more violent without any more police officers and they were covering less because they had to go around two at a time and then they had to get in the car, so nobody was on the street. And we were losing the battle because we weren't doing the right things. So that's all we tried to do.

We also passed the "three strikes and you're out" law for people who are prosecuted in Federal court for serious crimes. They do it a third time, they're not eligible for parole, not ever—and life in prison. We passed the capital punishment for drug kingpins and people who kill our law enforcement officers in the line of duty. We passed a strong safe and drug-free schools program to give our little children something to say yes to, to put more of those D.A.R.E. officers and other people out there in the classrooms when the kids were in grade school, saying drugs are wrong, drugs are illegal, drugs can kill you.

We're giving schools more funds to stay open later. I've fought to maintain the summer jobs program. I've fought to try to give our young people something to say yes to. I'm now trying to make sure we open the doors of college education to everybody, so no young person has to worry about whether they'll be able to afford to go to college if they stay in school and stay off drugs and stay out of trouble and make their grades. I think that's important. That's important.

We've also tried to support more people like Yvonne in citizens groups. Over the next 4 years, we're going to try to mobilize another million volunteers to work with the police to get the crime rate down. San Diego, California, has the lowest crime rate of any of the 10 big cities in America, even though it's right on the border where we're constantly fighting illegal immigration and people trying to bring drugs across the border. In any of the 10 biggest cities, they've got the lowest crime rate. Why? One reason is, they have hundreds and hundreds of retired people who work in these citizens groups with the police not only to catch criminals but to keep crime from happening in the first place, watching out for the little kids on the street, watching out for their neighbors. They know whenever somebody's gone on vacation, they watch their home, they work together. So this is something we've got to do together.

There's more to be done. We have to continue to support these police officers. You know, Harry Lee and I were laughing—I once had a lifetime membership in the NRA; I think it's been revoked now because I stood up for the Brady bill. But we didn't take any guns away from hunters or sportsmen, not a single one. We haven't done that. But at least 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get guns. Now if you beat up your wife or your kids, you can't get a handgun under the new law. It's a good thing. It's a good thing. I would oppose any effort to undermine my ability to duck hunt—

[*laughter*]—or anybody's ability to be a championship skeet shooter or to do anything else that's appropriate and legal. But I still think we ought to ban those bullets that are built only for one purpose, to pierce the bulletproof vests that our police officers wear. I don't see why we need those things out there.

Let me tell you, we just started this program 2 years ago, as I said, when I signed the crime bill in 1994. Today I met with the first—the family of the first one of the police officers hired under our crime bill killed in the line of duty. I met here in Louisiana, in Lake Charles—I met with that officer's widow and two beautiful, beautiful young sons. And I thought to myself, you know, if people like these folks here are going to put their lives on the line for us, the least we can do is tell them if they put on a bulletproof vest, it will protect them from being killed. That's the least we can do for them.

What I want you to believe is, number one, this is not an accident, what Harry Lee said about reducing the violent crime rate and the crime rate by 85 percent. That is not an accident. That happened because people did the right things. The second thing I want you to believe is the Federal Government—your President and the Congress—we can make a difference, and we are. But we're not doing it because of our political connections or philosophy. We're doing it because we took the politics out of crime. The third thing I want you to know is this could all be reversed. In the budget I vetoed last year, that the majority in Congress passed, they eliminated the 100,000 police program. Again, I had to stop them from trying to cut back on it. For reasons I do not understand, they do not believe in it. They tried to cut the safe and drug-free schools program in half. Drug use is going down in America, folks, big time. But drug use among children under 18 is still going up. The last thing we need to do is to cut back on safe and drug-free schools effort. We need more adults in those schools talking to those kids.

And my newest proposal, which is probably going to get me in trouble with some of the young people in America, but I want to say, look, 90 percent of our kids are drug-free and we need to support them and we need to lift up the good kids and we need to give them something to say yes to. I want to say that again. We need to say it. But I'm going to ask those 90 percent to do something that may be unpopular with them. I'm going to ask them to go along with my proposal to get every State in the country to make a drug test part of getting a driver's license so we can find the other 10 percent and save their lives and help them and give them a chance for the future.

I say again, you deserve most of the credit here, the sheriff, Lieutenant Washington, Yvonne McPherson, all of you that work in this, these police officers. You deserve the credit. But we have to do our part. And we have tried to do our part. And I want you to sustain this effort by what you say on November 5th.

And I know what Mary Landrieu will say; she'll stay with us. She'll support us. And that's important. So I want you to help by sending people to Washington who will continue to take crime fighting out of politics and give it back to the people of every neighborhood in America. That's important, and Mary will do that. That's important.

And I want you to continue to support these efforts here. But just remember this—if you don't remember anything else, remember this: This is an example of what we can do when we stop talking and start acting and when we reach across the lines that divide us and join hands and agree on things that we all agree on. We do not have to put up with unacceptable rates of crime and violence. We do not have to put up with what I have seen in America.

We're almost to Halloween now. Just a couple of years ago in Baltimore—where the mayor has labored mightily on this—there was this wonderful young man, 17 years old, his whole life before him, took two little kids out trick-or-treating so they would be safe. And somebody shot him from across the street and ended his life just for kicks. Last year in Washington, in a suburb, a 13-year-old honor student standing innocently at a school bus stop—a city bus stop, shot down just because he happened to be standing in the wrong place in a drive-by shooting. You don't have to put up with that. You don't have to give up your children to that. You don't have to do that. We can make a difference.

We are making a difference, and you're making a difference here. And I will do my best for 4 more years to make sure we have 4 more years of declining crime here in Jefferson Parish.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:33 p.m. at the Marrero Action Playground. In his remarks, he referred to community activist Yvonne McPherson, who introduced the President; and Lt. Renee Washington, director, Project STAR, and Harry Lee, sheriff, Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office.

Remarks to the Community in Atlanta, Georgia
October 25, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you very much. Hello, Atlanta! Are you feeling good? You made the Sun come out.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be in Atlanta and in Georgia. I thank all of you for being here, but I want to say a special word of thanks to those who have helped this be a great youth day for our campaign all across America. We're talking to young Americans about their future.

So let's give this great band Cracker another hand. Didn't they do a good job? [*Applause*] And I thank my longtime supporter Michael Stipe from R.E.M. for coming here. Thank you, Michael. Thank you, Kathleen Bertrand, for singing the national anthem so beautifully. And thank you, Becky Ahmann, for giving us an example of the future we are trying to build in your own life. She gave a good speech, didn't she? She ought to do this for a living.

I thank all the distinguished Georgians who are here, but one especially. Thank you, Coretta Scott King, for coming today to be with us. Thank you. Mayor Campbell, thank you for your indefatigable enthusiasm and for your positive leadership of this great city. Billy Payne, thank you for your support and for making the Atlanta games the greatest games in the history of the Olympics. You did a brilliant job.

To all the political leaders who are here, the State elected officials, Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney and the others who are here—she's still fighting, and she's going to be rewarded on election day—I thank you all.

Georgia has given many great leaders to America: Martin Luther King; President Jimmy Carter; my great friend of many years John Lewis, who talked about building his own bridges today; Zell Miller, who has given the Nation an idea with the HOPE scholarships in Georgia. But when the history of this era is written, there will be few people who have made the contribution to our security and our future that Senator Sam Nunn has, and we are all in his debt. Sam Nunn was one of the first people who convinced me that we ought to have a national service program to give young people a chance to serve in their communities and earn their way through college, and 60,000 young Americans have been part of AmeriCorps. Thank you, Sam Nunn, for that. Sam Nunn led the fight to get Congress to appropriate funds to help the Russians pay to tear up their nuclear missiles and their nuclear missile sites. And he's one of the big reasons that there are no Russian missiles targeted at the young people of the United States of America today. Thank you, Senator Sam Nunn.

And Georgia is about to be given a chance to add another person to the list of distinguished nationally significant servants of the people of this great State and our country. And I hope you will send Max Cleland to the United States Senate. You know, every time we have an election, someone stands up and starts talking about sacrifice and serving your country. I think we all know that Max Cleland knows something about sacrifice and serving our country. And yet, he just kept on giving. He never quit giving to America. And——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. You all relax. When people don't have a side of their own to make, they try to shout their opponents down. Just relax. Just relax.

Let me tell you, Max Cleland has kept on giving for a lifetime, with a smile on his face and a song in his heart, always reaching out his hand to other people. Now, the other side, their idea of sacrifice is to take Head Start away from 5-year-olds, college loans away from students, to take the environment away from all of our people, and to weaken our future economy for short-term promises. I think Max Cleland's idea of service to America is the right

one, and I believe Georgians will agree. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Now, you know, I want to talk most, if anything, to the young people today. This is your election, and we need you. You have most of your tomorrows in front of you, you have your future out there ahead of you, and you have to decide about that. I appreciate what Senator Nunn said about the last 4 years. It is true that we're better off than we were. It is true that we have more jobs, that the other side talked about being conservative but our administration is the first one to take the deficit down in each of our 4 years in the 20th century. It is true that the other guys talked about how bad the big old Federal Government was, but it's our administration working with our allies in Congress who has cut the size of the Federal Government, the number of regulations, the number of Government programs, and we have privatized more Government operations than the last two Republican administrations did in 12 years combined. That's the truth.

But there is a difference. We still believe that we have responsibilities to move forward together. And that's what you have to decide, all you young people, whether you want a future in which you're told, "You're on your own, and we hope you have a nice life," or whether you believe it does take a village to raise a child, protect the environment, and build a future. You have to decide. You have to decide.

What is this future of yours going to be like? Well, we know it will be dominated by information and technology. We know that ideas and information and money and technology will move around the world in a split second. We know that the borders that divide us will increasingly come down and we'll be drawn closer together with people all around the world. We know there will be new security threats even as the cold war fades away: terrorism, the proliferation of chemical and biological and other sophisticated weapons. We know that ethnic and racial and religious hatreds can cross national borders. We know all that.

And we know that there will be new challenges to the way we work and live and relate to each other. We know today, already, that most parents, even parents with very comfortable incomes, face repeated challenges in fulfilling their obligations to their children as parents and succeeding in the workplace. We know there will be a lot of changes.

When Becky Ahmann was up here talking, she told you how she was able to leave her business in New York, move to Georgia, and keep working for her business in New York by working at home. When I became President, there were 3 million Americans doing that; today there are over 12 million Americans like Becky Ahmann. When we start that new century just 4 years from now, there will be 30 million Americans like her. That's how fast we're changing.

We know we're pushing back the frontiers of knowledge. We have funded a project with IBM to develop a supercomputer in the next couple of years that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

We have seen for the first time in history laboratory animals with their spines completely severed having movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants from other parts of their body to their spines. It's just a matter of time until we can do that for Americans and for people all over the world. We have uncovered, in the last 4 years, two of the genes which cause breast cancer. It's just a matter of time until we have the earliest possible detection and eventually prevention. Because of the space program, we have developed sophisticated imaging technology that soon we can put across human bodies and find cancers in their very incipiency so that we'll be able to save more lives than ever before. We have more than doubled the life expectancy for people who have HIV and AIDS in the last 4 years; it's on the verge of becoming a chronic illness.

These things have happened. That is the world we have to prepare for. And that is the world you must decide about. And so I say to you: If you want to have a future and a world like that, like I do, where everybody has a chance to live up to their God-given capacity, where everyone who is responsible should have a chance to live out their dreams, where everybody respects everyone else's right to work and live and we come together in a community, we're not divided, race against race, man against woman, among each other, if that is the America you want, then you have some responsibilities, too.

You must decide whether you want to balance the budget to keep our economy growing while we protect our investments in education, the environment, Medicare, Medicaid, and research

or whether you want to adopt a risky scheme that will blow a hole in the deficit, require bigger cuts in those things, and take us backward. That is your decision. The young people of America must decide that.

You must decide whether you believe we can improve the environment and grow the economy. I know we can. Today, the air is cleaner, your drinking water is safer, your food is safer. We have set aside more lands for national parks. We are saving the Florida Everglades. We protected Yellowstone Park from a gold mine. But we are also making America economically healthier. And if you will help me, I'll do something I know is close to John Lewis' heart. In the next 4 years we're going to clean up 500 more toxic waste sites so our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison.

This is an important election for young people. You will have to decide whether we are going to reform a welfare system in a way that gives poor people a real chance. It's one thing to say to people, you must go to work if you're able-bodied. It's quite another thing to go to work. There has to be a job at the end of that requirement. And I'm committed to doing that. You will have to decide.

More than anything else, you will have to decide if you really believe now that we've gotten the crime down to a 10-year low—the crime rate has gone down 4 years in a row in America. We can actually make our streets safe again if we do more to prevent our kids from getting in trouble in the first place, to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street, to keep the safe and drug-free schools program alive in our schools. The other side wants to cut back on all that. It is your decision. I think you want safe streets, a drug-free youth, and a safe school program. You will have to decide.

More than anything else, your decision about what kind of educational opportunities we offer to the American people will shape the future. I want an America in which we have a country where every classroom and every library and every school is hooked up to the information superhighway. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

I want an America where, for the first time in history, children in the poorest and smallest rural school districts in Georgia and Arkansas have access at the same time in the same way at the same level of quality to the same information children in the wealthiest, best funded school districts in America have. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And we can build an America in which for the first time every single person who is willing to work for it can go on to college. Under our plan, we propose to give people a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their taxes to give up to 2 years of college and make it as universal as high school is today, an American version of Georgia's HOPE scholarship. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*] We propose in our balanced budget plan to give people a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for any kind of college tuition. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

But we also need your help to do some things. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in America today, 40 percent of them can still not read a book on their own. All these children I want to go to college, all these children we want to fool with the computers, if they can't read, they can't succeed. I have proposed to put together one million volunteers so that we can help the parents and the schools of this country, so that in 4 years every 8-year-old in the United States can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself, all by myself." And I challenge all of you——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. ——all of you young people to help us do that. I challenge you to volunteer in this community, in communities all across Georgia to help us do that. We have 60,000 now, people serving in AmeriCorps. More of them will do it. Last month, just before the Congress adjourned, they approved my request for a huge increase in the number of students who can be in work-study programs while working their way through college. Today I propose that 100,000 of those work-study students join the America Reads initiative and make up 10 percent of those million volunteers we need. I want you to support that. I want you to tell me that you will help to teach a child to read, to help people in this community who need it, to make this community one.

You know, one of the most impressive things I know about Senator Nunn is that his daughter was one of the founders of Hands On Atlanta. And a lot of you have probably been part of that, but that's the last point I want to make to you today.

Senator Nunn brushed over it, but you think about how much time as your President I spend dealing with people around the world who are killing each other and killing each other's children because they refuse to get along, because they think they have to hate each other, because they have religious or ethnic or racial or tribal differences, people in Rwanda, in Burundi, people in Bosnia, people in Northern Ireland, people in the Middle East, people in Haiti. Why can't people get along? Why do they have to look down on each other? Why do they have to think they're good because someone else is bad?

The part of America that will carry us into the 21st century, more than scientific discovery, more than computers, more than anything else is—look around this crowd. We've got people here from everywhere. And we learned an important lesson in the civil rights struggle that we can now take into a much more diverse country than we were in the fifties and sixties.

When I was with Billy Payne and Governor Miller and Mayor Campbell and we opened the Olympics and Hillary and Chelsea came with me, there were people from 192 different racial, national, and ethnic groups here for the Olympics. Our biggest county, Los Angeles County, has people from over 150 of those places in one American county—one.

So I say to you, the most important thing is that we have to prove we're not going to be like all those other countries. That's why I stood up against those church burnings. That's why, after the terrible tragedy of Oklahoma City, I asked the American people to stop hating public servants who happen to work for their Federal Government because we have to say in America, "Hey, we're all in this together. If you believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, if you're willing to show up tomorrow and do your job, you're a part of our America. We don't need to know anything else about you. We don't need to know anything else about you."

I want all of us to be able to say, "We don't need to look down on anybody else to feel good about ourselves and our families and our future." And I want all of us to say, "We believe that we have an obligation to serve as citizens to help our children to read, to deal with the other problems in our community, to save the generation of our young people who are in trouble still today because they're more vulnerable to gangs and guns and drugs and other problems that threaten their future. We're going to help them, and we're going to do it together."

That's the big question in this election. Do you believe we ought to build a bridge to the future we can all walk across? [*Applause*] Do you want that to be the future for you and your children in the 21st century? [*Applause*] Are you prepared to do what it takes to help us build that bridge? [*Applause*] You be there on November 5th, and we'll build it together.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in Woodruff Park. In his remarks, he referred to musician Michael Stipe; Becky Ahmann, who spoke prior to the President; civil rights activist Coretta Scott King; Mayor Bill Campbell of Atlanta; William P. Payne, president and chief executive officer, Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games; Representative John Lewis; and Gov. Zell Miller of Georgia.

Teleconference Remarks to Religious and Community Leaders in Atlanta
October 25, 1996

Thank you very much, my good and longtime friend Andrew Young. And I want to thank all of those who are gathered here at Paschal's in Atlanta. We have a good crowd of folks here. I know we've got about 300 ministers and 600 elected officials from across the country. We've got people in homes and churches and church conferences.

I'm glad to be joined here by two of my good friends and associates, Alexis Herman, who is the Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison at the White House, and Carol Willis, who is with the Democratic National Committee, who helped to put this phone call together.

I know that Mayor Cleaver is on the phone; Congressman Donald Payne, the chairman of

the Congressional Black Caucus; Congressman and Reverend Floyd Flake, my longtime friend and one of my earliest supporters; our campaign cochairs, Alma Brown and Congressman John Lewis, who was just with me at this rally in Atlanta. And I understand that Reverend Henry Lyons, the president of the National Baptist Convention, is on the phone, and I want to thank you, Reverend Lyons, for your efforts to restore calm in the aftermath of last night's unfortunate events in St. Petersburg. We all have a responsibility to foster a climate of reconciliation and peace and to address the underlying causes of this outbreak of violence as well, and I thank you for what you're doing there in St. Petersburg; it's important to all of us in America.

And I want to say a word of recognition to Bishop Chandler Owens of the Church of God in Christ and to others in that congregation. Let me say one of the oldest and most distinguished pastors of the Church of God in Christ, from my home State of Arkansas, passed away the day before yesterday, Elder Famous Smith, and I want to extend my sympathies to all of you who knew him.

We just have a few days to go in this election. We just had a great rally in Atlanta. We had several thousand people there, and we focused on young people and their future. I talked about my plans to open the doors of college education to all Americans. I also challenged these young people to take some time to serve in their communities, especially to teach young children to read.

And I guess that I'd like to begin by saying I ran for President not only to enact certain policies that I think are important for the 21st century—to give us a strong economy, a clean environment, the world's best educational system, a way of dealing with the problems abroad to make America safer and more secure, and a way of driving down the crime rate and the violence rate here at home—I had certain policies I wanted to implement, but I also wanted to change the way our country was working.

Politics for so long in America has been about dividing people, and at the national level especially, the whole rhetoric, the language that you use, the labels that are put on people, always about dividing us one from another, whereas that's not the way we run anything else. Those of you that are listening to me, you couldn't run a church that way. Atlanta couldn't have put on the Olympics that way. We're having a brilliant Major League World Series; if all of a sudden one of the teams starts calling their own team members names in public, they're not going to win. I tell you, whichever team does that, the other team is going to win. And so our national politics had gotten to the point where we were running it the way we wouldn't run our families, our businesses, our churches, our common community endeavors.

Yesterday I was in the town of Lake Charles, Louisiana—has a very dynamic young woman mayor named Willie Mount. And she got the community, which is a very biracial and increasingly multiethnic community, to adopt the slogan of "moving forward together." Atlanta now, I think, is one of the, literally, the urban centers of the world because 40 years ago it became the city too busy to hate. And yet, national politics was dominated essentially by negative political ads and name-calling. And we changed all that.

I wanted to have an administration that looked like America and an administration that worked more like the other things that work in America. And one of the reasons I spend so much time on community colleges and one reason I try to open the doors of college to every American, to make sure every person would be guaranteed at least 2 years of education after high school is that I think our country ought to work more the way these community colleges do. If you go to one, they're not bureaucratic; they're flexible; they're changing all the time. They have to meet high standards of performance or they go broke. Everybody that graduates from them gets hired. And they're open to everybody, and everybody is treated the same. That's what I'm trying to do for America.

So I'm proud of the results we've achieved. It's not only true that the overall economy is better, but we have, according to the Government statistics from the Census Bureau just last month, the biggest decline in inequality among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, the biggest drop in poverty among female head of households in 30 years, and the lowest overall poverty rate among African-Americans and American senior citizens ever recorded.

Now, African-Americans have had a higher increase in their average earnings in the last 2 years, even in the overall economy. And things

like homeownership, which is at a 15-year high overall, are much up among African-Americans. The Small Business Administration has doubled its loans overall and tripled its loans to women and minorities. And we haven't been making loans that violate our standards of quality. We're just outreaching, working hard, trying to move this country together and move this country forward.

I'm sure most of you on this phone call know we have appointed more African-Americans to important positions in the Cabinet and the White House, in the administration, on the Federal bench than any other administration in history by a good long ways. And yet, I'm proud of the fact that my Federal judges, even though there have been more women and minority appointments by far than any previous administration, the American Bar Association has given higher ratings to my Federal judges than any other President since the rating system began, which proves we can have excellence and diversity, which proves you can have affirmative action and equal opportunity and high standards.

When we were fighting for the battle over affirmative action, the battle which still rages in our country, and it became all the rage to just say, "Let's get rid of it," I said, "No, we ought to mend it, not end it." And I believe my view is beginning to prevail in the world and in the United States.

I was in Houston the other day, which is hardly a bastion of strength for the Democratic Party. And the mayor there, who is a very talented mayor, explicitly, forthrightly, and aggressively defended the city's affirmative action policy and still won support for reelection from over 80 percent of the people in his city. And so I think our "mend it, not end it" policy in the end will prevail.

I believe that the economic efforts we have made are important. You know, our campaign became the first campaign ever to invest some of the money that we have to save—that we get from the taxpayers and we have to save to pay bills and make up for any mistakes that have been made and make sure all the accounting is right—Peter Knight, our campaign chairman, announced that we were going to deposit millions of dollars in four leading minority banks in America. No campaign had ever done this—two African-American banks, including the Citizens Trust here in Atlanta, and two Hispanic banks—and I'm proud of that.

The empowerment zones that we created and the enterprise communities we created, and the community development banks that we created, including one worth almost $500 million in Los Angeles, these are beginning to loan money to people and to create jobs. In Detroit, under the leadership of Mayor Archer—when I took office, the Detroit unemployment rate was nearly 9 percent. Today, the unemployment rate in Detroit is 4½ percent. The empowerment zone has generated $2 billion in private sector capital.

So we can turn our cities around. In virtually every city in the country there has been a big drop in the violent crime rate as we put more police officers on the street and adopt strategies to prevent crime from happening in the first place.

So I believe we're moving in the right direction there. We still have a lot of challenges in the future, and I'd just like to mention two or three, if I might, that you can play a particular role in.

Our young people are still faced with a lot of challenges. And you know that as well as I do. If anyone had told me 4 years ago we could bring the violent crime rate in America down 4 years in a row to a 10-year low, but we just barely make a dent in crime among young people, people under 18, I would have had a hard time believing that. If anyone had told me 4 years ago our efforts would stem a lot of the flow of drugs into America, we'd have a 30 percent decline in cocaine use and a 13 percent decline in overall casual drug use among adults, especially young adults, but drug use would go up among children under 18, I would have had a hard time believing that. So we've got some challenges to meet there, and let me just make some suggestions.

First of all, we should do no harm; we should keep doing what we've been doing, getting that message out in our churches and in our schools that drugs are illegal and wrong and can kill you. We definitely should not do what the other side wants to do, which is to cut the safe and drug-free schools program. We need more things for our children to say yes to. We shouldn't cut our school programs that—we're giving funds now to schools to stay open after school so kids will have something else to do. We're trying to help our cities start things like sports leagues to give kids positive things to be involved in, to increase recreational opportunities.

And so the fight I had with folks in the other party when they wanted to cut out the summer job program or cut back on the safe and drug-free schools program and undermine that is that I just don't think you can punish these children into obedience. I think we have to lead them into a good, harmonious, positive life. If somebody does something terrible and they need to be punished and put in jail, fine, let's do that. But first we have to try to give them a chance to have a better life.

And let me just say one other thing. Last week, I asked our young people to make a little sacrifice to serve our country, and I hope you will help me sell it, because I know a lot of them won't like it. But it's important to point out that 90 percent of our children are still drug-free. Ninety percent of these kids are out there doing the right thing, trying to be good citizens. But still, to have 10 percent, or nearly 11 now, having experimented with drugs is too many, when we had it down to about 5½ or 6 percent just a few years ago.

And so I think that we ought to make a drug test a part, a regular part, of getting a driver's license. Now, we know that for 90 percent of the kids, they don't need it, but if they'll do that and be responsible and help us, how many of these other children are we going to be able to find and save before they get in serious trouble and before it's too late? I think this is very important.

And the last point I'd like to make is this: We have to keep growing the economy, and we have to keep moving people into work, and we have to do it in the right way. In the last 4 years, I'm very proud of the fact that we've moved about 2 million people from welfare to work and we've increased child support collections by almost 50 percent, right at $4 billion a year.

The welfare reform bill poses a special challenge to all of us, but it also give us a terrific opportunity. Because what it says is, we'll keep paying for the health care and the food for poor families as a national guarantee for all poor families. If someone moves from welfare to work we will spend more on child care than ever before. But that portion of the Federal Government's money that used to go to the welfare check will now go to States and by extension, the local communities. And everybody will have 2 years to figure out how to turn that welfare check into a paycheck.

Now, this is a terrific opportunity for us. And let me give you an example—Mayor Cleaver is on the phone here—in Kansas City 2 years ago we gave them the chance to do something I've been begging every State in America to do. We gave them all the welfare funds, and we said that you could have permission to give employers a welfare check as a wage supplement for up to 4 years if they will hire people off welfare in creating new jobs, not replacing people. And we'll guarantee that they'll be able to keep their Medicaid for several years if they go to work in a business that doesn't give health insurance.

Almost immediately hundreds of people got jobs. And businesses that never thought they would even consider hiring anybody off welfare before did it and could afford to help train the people because they were getting the welfare check as a wage supplement.

Now, I want to challenge all the pastors here—you can think about that, if that option were given to you, you might be able to do such a thing as that. You might be able to add to the church staff if the local folks would give you the welfare check and say, "Here is the welfare check; this is the premium we're paying you to train folks, to see after their kids, and make sure they're all right and they're going into the future."

We can do this. This is the right way to do it. We're going to give special targeted tax credits to private sector businesses to do the same thing. This is the right way to do it. We don't have the ability to have a big Government public works job, and we want all these families to be brought into the mainstream. They need homes and neighborhoods and support systems. And we can do this.

Now, all of this depends upon this election. And that's the last thing I want to say. Your vote will decide this election. But whether you vote will also decide this election. And I can do a pretty good job of saying no if I have to. I've shown that I know how to sign that veto pen pretty good.

But we also want to say yes to America—to a new direction, to keep this economy growing, to keep preserving the environment, to clean up these toxic waste sites in our cities so our children will be growing up next to parks, not poison, to continue to expand health care coverage to people when they're unemployed for 6 months, to expand coverage to a million

more children—all this is in my balanced budget plan—to provide mammograms to women who are on Medicare, to help families care for a member who has Alzheimer's, to give them a little time off. All this is in our balanced budget plan—to open the doors of college education to all. All these things require affirmative steps to move America forward.

And you can look at these races all across America, and you can look—a lot of States in the Presidential race are very close, and the outcome will be determined by the turnout.

Don't be fooled by the polls. In the first place, the polls don't count much in Presidential elections; it's who wins the largest number of States. You know, I could win one State by two to one and Senator Dole could win two States by one vote, and I'd have lots more votes, and he'd have more electoral votes.

And let me tell you, that's not an accident. We've had two times in American history where the person with the most votes lost the White House. This turnout question is not an academic question. Twice already in American history, the President—the person that ran for President, got the most votes, actually lost the White House. The choice of the people didn't serve. The choice of the States served. We still have the system we started with.

We won Georgia in 1992 by eight-tenths of one percent. The last poll had us 6 percent ahead on Saturday night before the election. And you may remember, I came here, and Senator Nunn and Governor Miller and Hank Aaron and I did a rally in a stadium outside Atlanta. We had over 25,000 people there. But on election day—and the 6-point poll was right, but on election day they showed up in higher numbers than we did. That's what happened. We won New Jersey by one percentage point. We won Ohio by 2 percentage points. And I could go on and on and on and on.

So in the President's race, in the Senate races, in the House races, in the governorships, it's not—the choice people make for their future is not just for whom they vote, but it's whether they vote.

Now, you know what to do. You know how to do it. I think every one of you listening to me today understands the profound historic significance of this vote.

But I just sit here—I'm in Georgia today, we just left this rally, so I'm thinking especially about Max Cleland. It's hard to imagine an American serving in public life today who sacrificed more for his country than Max Cleland, a man who nearly gave his life, gave up three of his limbs to serve America in the war in Vietnam. But he's still out there with a smile on his face, a song in his heart, trying to serve the public—being attacked as being too liberal? Is he? I don't think so.

It's just that his idea of sacrifice is not taking Head Start away from children or telling people they can't have a college loan or telling young people who live in poor inner-city neighborhoods they have to go on living by their toxic waste dumps because we're going to cut environmental enforcement and environmental protection. His idea of service is helping other people to make the most of their own lives so that the sacrifice he made so many years ago is for the America of his dreams. And that's why I so—I want Max Cleland to win. He is a remarkable man. I've known him many, many years. He's a wonderful man.

It all depends on the turnout. So I ask you all to think about that. Do what you can. You know what to do. You know how to do it. And if we all show up, we'll have a real celebration on November 5th.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. from Paschal's Restaurant. In his remarks, he referred to former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young; Carol Willis, senior adviser to the chair, Democratic National Committee; Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II of Kansas City, MO; Alma Brown, national cochair, and Peter Knight, campaign manager, Clinton/Gore '96; Bishop Chandler Owens, presiding bishop, Church of God in Christ; Mayor Bob Lanier of Houston, TX; Mayor Dennis W. Archer of Detroit, MI; Gov. Zell Miller of Georgia; former Major League baseball player Hank Aaron; and Max Cleland, Georgia senatorial candidate.

Remarks in Macon, Georgia
October 25, 1996

The President. Thank you. Hello, Macon!

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you. Mr. Mayor, thank you for a beautiful day in a beautiful city. I'm delighted to be here. Thank you for the Macon Whoopee hockey jersey. [*Laughter*] You know, tomorrow is Hillary's birthday; maybe I ought to give that to her. [*Laughter*] If that gets on the news before I get home tonight, I'm in deep trouble. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank all of our musicians here, the Central High School Marching Charger Band, the Northeast High School Raider Band. I thank the Community Church of God choir, the New Fellowship Missionary Baptist Church choir, the Swift Creek Church choir. Thank you all.

I thank the mayor again for welcoming me here. I thank Mayor Floyd Adams, who has come all the way from Savannah to be with us, one of the most beautiful cities in America. Thank you. I thank the legislators and the others who are here. I thank Rosemary Kaszans, who's running for Congress in Georgia, and wish her well.

I want to say a special word of thanks to the person who seeks to be your Congressman here, Jim Wiggins. Jim Wiggins is really what a Member of Congress from this district ought to be, a distinguished American veteran, a distinguished prosecuting attorney who did an excellent job as the United States Attorney here. I frankly hated to lose him in that position. But I was proud of him for coming back home and wanting to run for Congress to try to give this district to the people of Georgia and to its future. Thank you, Jim Wiggins, for your—[*inaudible*].

Thank you, Richard Gallo and the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, for your support. One of the most moving things to me in this election has been to have every major law enforcement organization in the country endorse 4 more years for Bill Clinton and Al Gore. We're making the streets of this country safer. If you give us 4 more years, we'll do a better job and people will feel safe in their streets, in their neighborhoods, and in their schools.

I want to say a special word of thanks, too, to Congressman Sanford Bishop. What a fine, fine Member of Congress he has been. He will be an even greater Member of Congress when you give a young man like him some more terms, some more experience, and greater capacity to help this State, his district, and the people. So if any of you here live in his new district, give him a boost, he's earned it. You need to help him. Thank you, Sanford Bishop.

There are some people here, too—I know that Hershel Gober, the Deputy Director of the department of veterans administration, and Mary Lou Kenner are up here on the stage—there are veterans for Clinton/Gore taking caravans all through Georgia. Thank you very much. There they are over there. Thank you; I treasure your support.

I want to say now a special word about my friend Governor Zell Miller. Zell Miller spoke at the '92 convention about growing up in a house his mother built herself with her own hands. It was about the most moving talk I ever heard at one of those political conventions, maybe because it was so personal, so human, and because the political positions that Zell Miller holds flow out of the experience of his life. He's been a teacher, a United States marine, and a brilliant, brilliant Governor of Georgia. He wrote the new platform that the Democrats are running on.

And I got so tickled when our friends met in San Diego and their nominee, my opponent, said—they said, "Well, what about this platform. Do you agree with the things in this platform?" And he said, "Oh, I haven't read it." They were running from their platform, just like they're running from what they did in 1995 and early '96. Well, I want to tell you something, folks. I'm not running from the platform Zell Miller wrote. I'm running on it, and I'm proud of the new Democratic Party that he's helped to chart.

I was honored to take Zell Miller to Princeton University with me when I proposed an American version of Georgia's HOPE scholarships to make 2 years of college as universal in America

as a high school diploma is today, and I thank you, Zell Miller, for that as well.

And I want to thank Senator Sam Nunn for his early support, for the ideas he has contributed to our administration, for the work that he's done to make sure our military remains the strongest in the world, and the many, many contributions he has made to making Georgia and America a better place. There are some AmeriCorps folks out here; Sam Nunn was out there supporting national service before I became President. And when I got in office I was able to take the advocacy that Sam Nunn had had for so long, and now we've given 60,000 Americans a chance to serve in their local community, to solve problems at the grassroots level, and pay their way through college. Thank you, Sam Nunn.

Senator Nunn told you that very moving story about seeing the Russian nuclear sub destroyed. But he was characteristically too modest. I wrote him a letter the other day and I said, "Senator, when the history of this era is written and people talk about how the cold war came to an end and how we moved into a bright new day of security, the name of Sam Nunn will loom large." Because it was Sam Nunn's leadership, along with Senator Dick Lugar, that got the funds through Congress that helped us to contribute to the effort to make sure that the nuclear missiles were removed from the non-Russian Republics of the former Soviet Union and helped us to reduce nuclear arsenals by two-thirds and helped make sure that today, as we stand here in Macon, Georgia, there are no Russian missiles targeted at the United States of America. Thank you, Sam Nunn.

I want to thank those of you who have anything to do with Robins Air Force Base. It did win the President's award as the finest Air Force base in the world last year. It will be the home of the 19 new J–STARS, which I saw yesterday, the place where they're made in Louisiana. It will get 1,500 new high-skill, high-wage jobs as a result of the base realignment. Those of you who are making the C–17 need to know that I flew into Bosnia on one. It is unquestionably the finest transport plane in the entire world. You should be proud of your contributions here to the Nation's defense and the future security and peace of the world. Thank you very much.

My fellow Americans, it's only 11 days till we vote on the last President of the 20th century, and more importantly, the first President of the 21st century. We are on the right track. I said in 1992 when I came here, if you'd give me a chance to serve we would change politics as usual in Washington. We would get out of all this name calling. We would stop pointing our fingers and saying who's to blame, and we would start saying, what are we going to do to make America a better place together? And that's what we've done.

If we could build a new majority in America on three principles, opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community where if you show up for work tomorrow and you believe in our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our Declaration of Independence, we don't need to know anything else about you. You are a part of our American community, and we're going forward together.

You heard Senator Nunn say it; we are on the right track. Compared to 4 years ago we are better off. And our opponents would be saying it is morning in America if they had this record. We do have 10½ million more jobs. We have the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years. We have incomes going up for the first time in 20 years for middle income working people. We have the lowest rate of poverty ever recorded for American seniors and for African-Americans. We've got the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years. We're moving in the right direction. There are nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I became President of the United States, and I'm proud of that. And one of the reasons is that we've increased collection of child support that absent parents owe their children by 50 percent. And I'm proud of that.

We've cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3½ years than the people before us did in 12. And they talk about being conservative; listen to this, folks: We reduced the deficit in each year of this administration, all 4 years; that's the first time that's happened in the 20th century.

They talk about being against big Government. Our administration has reduced the size of the Government, the number of Government programs, the number of Government regulations and we have privatized more Government operations in 3½ years than the previous two Republican administrations did in 12. We're moving in the right direction to the 21st century.

But there is a difference. What I'm trying to do is to give you a smaller and less bureau-

cratic Government in Washington but one that is strong enough to help give you the tools to make the most of your own lives, care for each other and your families and communities, deal with emergencies as they arise, and protect America in the new environment of the 21st century. The best days of this country are still ahead. Don't let anybody kid you; our best days are still ahead.

The young people in this audience—and I'm glad to see so many young people here—this election is about you. The children in this audience will be doing—many of the children in this audience today will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of the children in this audience will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet.

We were just in Atlanta, we had a great rally there, and one of our speakers was an attractive young mother from Georgia. She and her husband lived in New York, and he got an opportunity to come back to Georgia. She wanted to go home in the worst way. And because of computer technology she didn't have to leave her job. She just left her place of work. She still works for the same company in New York she worked for when she lived in New York; now she can live in Atlanta. She thinks it's a good deal. She thinks it's a good deal.

There were 3 million people doing that when I became President. Today, there are over 12 million. By the 21st century, when we start that new century, there will be over 30 million people working at home, because of computers and technology, where they can take care of their kids and succeed at their work. This world is changing, folks. This old world is changing.

And you know, I appreciate what Senator Nunn said about our record, but the real issue is what kind of future are we going to build. I never will forget once in 1984 I was running for reelection as Governor. And I was going on and on about my record. And I was out in a little country crossroads giving a talk, and the fellow that sort of represented me was in his overalls leaning up against a tree in the shade.

And I was giving a speech—frankly, I thought it was one of the best talks I ever gave. I thought I was terrific, frankly. And after it was over I shook hands, and I ambled over to my friend, and I said, "Well, how did I do?" He said, "Well, that was a pretty good speech. You told us all about what you did." But he said, "Now, Bill, tell the truth." He said, "That's what we hired you to do, a good job. You drew a paycheck every 2 weeks, didn't you?" He said, "You can't expect us to reelect you because you did what you were supposed to do. What are you going to do next time? That's what really matters."

You can hardly have a clearer choice. You can read the platform Zell Miller wrote if you want to know what we're going to do next time. I wish I could have printed up enough copies to give it to every American citizen. It's not very long, it's a good read, and it says what we stand for and what we're going to do. And you have this huge choice: Do you believe that we're better off being told we're on our own, there is no "We the people," or do you believe it does take a village to raise our children and build a future for America? Do you believe that we can really reach back and build a bridge to the past, or shouldn't we build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across together?

Do you want to balance the budget in a way that protects our obligations to the elderly, to families with members with disabilities, to our poorest children, to protect the environment, to invest in education, to grow the economy and keep interest rates down? Or do you want some risky tax scheme that sounds great at election time but it will blow a hole in the deficit, require bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment that I vetoed last year—and their plan, to boot, actually raises taxes on 9 million hard-working Americans. I think I know the answer to that. We want to build a bridge to the 21st century. Let's balance the budget, grow the economy, and invest in our future.

I think one of the most important things that we can do to fulfill our values of work and faith and family is to help folks who are working and who have children to succeed as parents and as workers. All over America, I can go to any crowd, virtually any income group, and people tell me over and over again their stories of times when they've been worried about how they could fill their obligations to their children or their parents and do what they're supposed to do at work. The family and medical leave law, which our opponents oppose, has given 12 million Americans a chance to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a parent was sick or a spouse was sick without losing their jobs. We're a stronger country because of

it. And I want—I want to expand that law in a modest way to say that folks ought to be able to take a little time off to take their kids to regular doctor's appointments or go to the school twice a year and see the teacher and see how their kids are doing. I think it will make us a stronger country.

But you have to decide. You will decide what we're going to do about health care. We worked hard, hard, hard to try to protect the American people's ability to buy and keep health care. In the last few weeks of this Congress finally we passed two bills that I've been working hard for. One says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you change jobs or somebody in your family gets sick. The other bill says an insurance company can no longer force a hospital to kick a new mother and a newborn baby out of the hospital after only one day.

Another part of what we did, at long last, says to Vietnam veterans who served their country in Vietnam and were exposed to Agent Orange, whose children were born with a terrible disease, spina bifida, "Finally, after 20 years, we're going to give you the medical support and the disability payments you deserve to help you with your families." Our veterans should not be punished through not being able to take care of their kids who were injured through their own service.

So we're moving in the right direction. But my balanced budget plan will help families when they're between jobs keep their health insurance for another 6 months. We'll add another million children to the ranks of people who have health insurance. We'll provide for mammograms for women on Medicare to help save their lives. And for families that are taking care of family members with Alzheimer's, over a million and a half of them in America today, we'll give them a little respite care so they can keep their parents at home and still keep their families together and their sanity. It's a good program. We need to keep on going.

But you have to decide. You will decide whether we keep our work up to clean up the environment, or whether we buy a theory that says you can't grow the economy and preserve the environment. Let me tell you, folks, we can't grow the economy unless we preserve the environment. It is the key to our future. All over the world today American companies are creating jobs for Americans here at home helping other countries to avoid their environmental problems with new technologies. If you will give us 4 more years, we're going to clean up 500 more toxic waste dumps so our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. We need your help to build that bridge to the 21st century.

The most important thing we can do is to give you a safe, strong learning environment. I have worked hard to make our streets safer. But we're only halfway home. That 100,000 police program, it's a 5-year program. We've funded about half the police, and the departments are training them and putting them on the streets. The question is, should we finish? You heard Senator Nunn say we've got the lowest crime rate in 10 years. The crime rate in America has gone down for 4 years in a row. That's the good news. But there are problems out there. Juvenile gangs are growing at a rapid rate, terrifying our children, committing random acts of violence, often selling drugs.

So you have this situation in America that I never thought I'd see. The crime rate goes down for 4 years in a row in America, but the crime rate among juveniles went up for 3 of those 4 years and only started going down last year. The drug use rate goes down dramatically in America—30 percent drop in cocaine use, 13 percent drop in overall use—but drug use among people under 18 going up, and these gangs taking over neighborhoods and neighborhoods and neighborhoods.

I say, yes, we've made progress with the "three strikes and you're out," with the 100,000 police, with the Brady bill, which left every hunter in Georgia and Arkansas with his weapon but kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns. It's the right thing to do. We're making progress. But we've got more to do.

And let's just talk about that. We've got to first finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street. Our opponents led the fight against it; then they tried twice to kill it. I say we ought to finish it. It's your decision. You want some help in Macon to deal with your gang problem? You've got to vote for our administration because we've got a plan to give it to you.

The other thing we ought to do is use the full power of the Federal prosecutors to go after these violent gangs with the same laws that we used to break the mob, the Mafia, years ago.

They should not take our children's future away from us, and we can't let them do it.

The third thing we ought to do is to remember that the best thing we can do is to save our kids in the first place and keep them out of trouble. I've worked hard to promote the safe and drug-free schools program, so that there would be a D.A.R.E. officer or somebody else that young kids can look up to in every grade school in America, telling these kids drugs are wrong, drugs are dangerous, drugs can kill you. Our opponents, they tried to cut it in half and take those services away from millions of kids. You have to decide. I think you want more people telling your kids to stay off drugs and keeping them out of trouble, not fewer. It's your decision. I think I know what you want.

This won't all be easy, folks. I asked this last week—I might get booed a little by the young people here, but I'm going to say this again: Even though youth drug use has gone up dramatically in the last 4 years, 90 percent of our kids are still drug-free. They're good children. They're not doing the wrong thing. They deserve to be protected.

But I'm going to ask those young people to make a sacrifice for their country and the kids who aren't drug-free. I'm going to ask every State in this country to make a drug test a part of driver's licensing so that we can identify the kids that are in trouble and save them before it's too late, get them out of trouble and save them. And I think the young people will accept the challenge to help their fellow boys and girls to have a better life.

But you have to decide. This is your decision. And we are going to build the best education system in the world for everybody. Today in Atlanta, I said something I want to say again. Forty percent—we all know education is the key to the future, but 40 percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read a book on their own. If you can't read, what good is it to have a computer? How can you learn anything?

I have a proposal to take AmeriCorps volunteers and other trained reading tutors—30,000 of them—to go across this country and mobilize a million volunteers. The Congress finally appropriated our recommendation on work-study funds. We're going to have a couple of hundred thousand more college students drawing work-study. And I'm going to try to dedicate 100,000 of those college students to teaching young children to read.

I want to be able to say—think about it—by the year 2000, we want every 8-year-old in America—every single 8-year-old—to be able to hold up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

The second thing we want to do is to hook up every classroom and every library and every school in every community in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000—computers, educational software, trained teachers hooked up to the Internet and the World Wide Web.

Now, for all of you who are older like me and you're not just computer geniuses, let me tell you what that means in practical terms for your kids. It means that, for the first time in the history of this country ever, that children in the poorest inner-city and rural school districts, that children in the middle class school districts, that children in the wealthiest districts—public or private—for the first time ever will have immediate access to the same learning at the same level of quality in the same way as every other child in America. It has never happened before. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And lastly, we're going to follow Georgia's lead and Governor Miller's lead and open the doors of college to every American who needs to go—every American. We propose to give every student who will work hard and maintain decent grades access to 2 years of education after high school by simply letting you deduct, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition from your tax bill. That's our HOPE scholarship. Do right and you can have 2 years of college.

We propose to let every family save in an IRA and save and save and save, but to withdraw from that without any tax penalty if you're using that money to pay for college education or for medical costs or to buy a first-time home. And we propose to give families in this country a $10,000 tax deduction for the tuition in any kind of education after high school, anytime in America—for graduate school or undergraduate, of whatever age.

Now, that's what's at stake. That's what we're going to do for the next 4 years. And it's your decision. So I ask you to go out 11 days from now and vote your convictions about your future. And I ask you to talk to those who are not here and tell them that, if you stay home, you're voting too. You're making a decision. The

idea that you don't make a decision as a citizen if you don't vote is not true; you do.

So just think about this beautiful day and look around this crowd. And let me leave you with this last thought. How long have we seen America divided by politicians at election time for their own benefit? How long have we seen people pitted against one another?

I will say again, the most important thing we have to remember is that we are all better off when we all have a chance—not a guarantee but a chance—to make the most of our God-given abilities. We are all better off. We are all better off when we help each other have the tools to build strong families and strong futures and strong communities.

So I say to you, I want you in 11 days—for Bill Clinton and Al Gore, for Max Cleland, for Jim Wiggins, for Sanford Bishop, for the people that are interested in building a bridge to the 21st century wide enough and strong enough to make sure our best days are still ahead—to go out there and help us build that bridge.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:55 p.m. at First and Cherry Streets. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Jim Marshall of Macon; Mayor Floyd Adams, Jr., of Savannah, GA; Rosemary Kaszans and Jim Wiggins, candidates for Georgia's First and Eighth Congressional Districts, respectively; Richard Gallo, national vice president, International Brotherhood of Police Officers; and Mary Lou Kenner, HOPE scholarship recipient. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

The President's Radio Address
October 26, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk about what we must do to stand up for the rights and interests of crime victims as we work to combat crime. I'm announcing a major new effort to help the victims of crime, especially those who are the victims of gang violence.

We put in place an anticrime strategy that is both tough and smart: putting 100,000 police on our streets; toughened penalties; banning 19 deadly assault weapons; passed the Brady bill that's kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting guns. Congress just answered my call to tell parolees, if you go back on drugs, you'll go back to jail.

We've greatly expanded the safe and drug-free schools program, so that in every classroom we can have good role models telling our young people constantly, drugs are dangerous, illegal, and wrong.

All across America this community-based strategy is working. Crime is coming down in every region, in every category. The FBI reports that crime in America has dropped 4 years in a row now. Last year there were one million fewer crime victims. Crime is at a 10-year low in our country, but it's still intolerably high. We can take some comfort in knowing we're moving in the right direction. And we have to keep going and finish the job.

But as we prevent crime and punish criminals, we must also always remember the victims of crime themselves. When you're a victim, especially a victim of violent crime, the losses you face go far beyond the money stolen or the property destroyed. We must do everything we can to help the victims of crime to make sure their voices are heard in the corridors of justice.

For nearly 20 years now, I've been involved in the fight for victims' rights. As attorney general of my State, I proposed legislation that compensates the victims of crime. As Governor, I signed legislation guaranteeing the right of victims to be present in the courtroom. As President, I've fought to protect victims. The Violence Against Women Act helps thousands of women who are victims of domestic abuse and sexual assault. We've helped open hundreds of new shelters for those fleeing domestic violence. And our toll-free hotline, 1–800–799–SAFE, has received nearly 60,000 calls.

I support a constitutional amendment to guarantee crime victims the right to attend and speak at court proceedings, sentencing, and parole hearings; the right to be told when a convict

is released or escapes; and the right to restitution from the criminal.

Since 1984, our National Government has had a crime victims fund, which is distributed by State government. This fund helps to pay for medical bills, counseling, lost wages. It helps provide for advocacy for crime victims when their assailant is standing trial. This year alone, it has helped 2,500 grassroots victim assistance programs, setting up battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers, children's advocacy centers. These resources for crime victims come from those convicted of Federal crimes, not from the taxpayer.

Because of large prosecutions and criminal penalties sought by our administration, the resources available in this fund for crime victims have grown by 250 percent during our service here. And I am happy to report a major new infusion of resources for crime victims. Two weeks ago, a major agribusiness corporation agreed to pay $100 million for criminal price-fixing violations. That's a fine 7 times larger than any previous antitrust fine. These penalties will now go to the crime victims fund. Earlier this year, a Japanese bank convicted of fraud paid $340 million. These two huge fines will increase the crime victims fund by $440 million, every penny to be used to help crime victims.

Already some of these funds are targeted to specific needs, including the victims of domestic violence, rape, or child abuse. I want this fund to focus on another key priority as well. Violent juvenile gangs can leave broken bodies and ruined neighborhoods in their wake. Children age 12 to 15 are the most likely victims of gang violence, and victims can be especially afraid to testify since they face not just a sole criminal but an organized gang. So today I'm challenging States to earmark 10 percent of the new resources from these huge new criminal fines—that's about $44 million—to help victims of gang violence and to keep gang violence from spreading.

We can help groups like Teens on Target in Los Angeles and Oakland, California, which help gang victims, many of them disabled, speak to thousands of schoolchildren each year to warn the children about the dangers of gang life. We can teach our children right from wrong and keep them from following a path that only leads to a life of crime, disappointment, and destruction.

With the new resources from these record-setting criminal fines, we can help the victims of crime and prevent gang violence. We're upholding the rule of law. We're putting crime victims where they belong, at the center of the criminal justice system, not on the outside looking in.

We're making real progress in our fight against crime, but we still have a lot of work to do. If we'll come together as a national community to stand by those who have been caught in the crossfire, to take crime out of politics and put the focus back on people, protecting them and making their future brighter, we will move together into the 21st century stronger and more united and safer than ever before.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 2:54 p.m. on October 25 at Paschal's Motor Hotel in Atlanta, GA, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on October 26.

Statement on Signing the Presidential and Executive Office Accountability Act

October 26, 1996

I am pleased to sign in law H.R. 3452, the "Presidential and Executive Office Accountability Act." This Act broadens the workplace protections available to employees in the White House and Executive Office of the President (EOP). My Administration supported this legislation and worked hard with the Congress to secure its passage.

This Act is closely modeled on the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995, which, in a comprehensive manner, has guaranteed employees in the legislative branch the protections of 11 basic workplace laws, including civil rights, labor, and health and safety laws. This Act applies those 11 workplace laws to the employees of the agencies and offices of the EOP, includ-

ing the White House. In contrast to the Congressional Accountability Act, however, most of these 11 workplace laws already apply to EOP employees, as a matter of law or policy. This Act will, therefore, have a less dramatic impact than the Congressional Accountability Act on the employees it protects. Nevertheless, it is still a welcome broadening of existing protections.

There were three principles that guided my Administration in announcing support for H.R. 3452 shortly after it was introduced.

First, the Nation's leaders should abide by the same laws that the people must follow.

Second, such laws must not infringe on basic constitutional principles, including separation of powers. The Congress apparently shared this concern when it enacted the Congressional Accountability Act.

Third, there must be balance, or symmetry, between the separate branches of Government. The same laws should be applied to the separate branches of Government in the same way, insofar as is practicable and constitutional.

While supporting the principles in H.R. 3452, my Administration expressed serious practical and constitutional concerns about specific provisions in earlier versions of the bill. These included a provision that, perhaps inadvertently, would have eliminated the White House Volunteer Program, and another provision that the Department of Justice advised would have unconstitutionally infringed upon the President's appointment powers under the Constitution. I am pleased that, working closely with Members of Congress in both the House and Senate, great strides were taken to address each of these important concerns.

In signing H.R. 3452, I am particularly gratified that it extends, as a matter of law, the protections of the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) to White House employees. I took steps after the passage of the FMLA to apply its protections to White House staff as a matter of policy—so that White House staff have enjoyed the same protections that the FMLA has brought to 12 million American families. This Act now applies FMLA as a matter of law, so that future Presidents will be bound to give their employees the same rights that I have afforded voluntarily.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
October 26, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 3452, approved October 26, was assigned Public Law No. 104–331.

Statement on Signing the National Invasive Species Act of 1996

October 26, 1996

I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 4283, the "National Invasive Species Act of 1996."

This legislation will help to control the unintentional introduction and spread of invasive species, such as zebra mussel, throughout the waters of our Nation. The damage such species cause to our environment and the economy, including our fisheries, is significant and continues to increase.

H.R. 4283 will establish a national voluntary ballast water management program to reduce the threat of additional pest species entering our waters. The bill also includes provisions to support important research and demonstrations of new technologies for combating aquatic nuisance species.

This bill is an important tool to safeguard our economic and environmental resources, and I am pleased to sign it.

NOTE: H.R. 4283, approved October 26, was assigned Public Law No. 104–332.

Remarks Announcing Anticancer Initiatives
October 27, 1996

The President. Thank you so much. Thank you. First of all, thank you all for joining me on this beautiful, beautiful Sunday afternoon to discuss our common efforts to fight cancer.

I want to thank Secretary Shalala and Dr. Susan Blumenthal for their tireless service on behalf of women throughout America. I thank Dr. Harold Varmus, the Director of the National Institutes of Health; Dr. Richard Klausner, the Director of the National Cancer Institute; and Dr. Stephen Joseph, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health. They have all been instrumental in the efforts we are here to talk about today.

And thank you, Jane Reese-Coulbourne, for your courage, your dedication, your willingness to come up here and make a public statement today that represents the feelings, the convictions, the interests, and the hopes of millions and millions of people throughout the United States. Let me thank all the survivors and advocates who are here today and who fight the battle against cancer every day for all the rest of us.

Our Nation is only as strong as our families are healthy. I have devoted a lot of time and thought to the question of what we need to do to help strong families survive and thrive and increase as we move into the 21st century. We have to help more people succeed at home and at work. But clearly, we have to help people live as long and as well as they can and then help families have the support they need when their family members are ill. That's why I was glad to sign the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill to preserve health insurance options for people when a family member has been sick; why I was proud to sign the bill that bans insurance companies from forcing mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after 24 hours; why in our new balanced budget there are funds for more regular mammograms for women on Medicare and funds to give respite care for families who are caring for members with Alzheimer's.

We have an enormous opportunity as we stand on the brink of this new century to take advantage of scientific possibilities, to help people live as long, as well as they can, and to build stronger families in the process. Nothing is more devastating to a family's strength than when someone is diagnosed with a life-threatening disease like cancer. As Jane said, I know about this from my own family's experience, and nearly every family does. This year alone nearly 1.4 million American men, women, and children will be diagnosed with some kind of cancer. This is the 25th anniversary of the National Cancer Act, and in those 25 years we've come a long way in the fight.

This month is also Breast Cancer Awareness Month, a time to remember the terrible toll breast cancer has taken, to assess our progress, to redouble our efforts to find a cure. That's why I wanted us to come together today, to talk about the new steps we are taking in the fight against cancer, and breast cancer in particular.

Since I took office we have mounted a comprehensive campaign to prevent and treat cancer. We are working to get tobacco out of our children's lives forever. We have accelerated FDA approval of cancer drugs and made it easier for patients to obtain promising therapies before they are formally approved. The Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Defense, NASA, and the CIA have all joined forces to develop cutting edge imaging technology for the early detection of cancer.

Most important of all, as has been said, we've increased spending on cancer research, treatment, and prevention by some $400 million. In the battle against breast cancer we've increased funding for research and prevention by nearly 80 percent since 1993. We launched a public awareness campaign to encourage older women to use Medicare to have mammograms. And my balanced budget goes even further, as I said. It will guarantee free annual mammograms to Medicare beneficiaries, removing all financial barriers that prevent some women from obtaining this vitally important test.

We are making progress. The survival rate has gone up. Seven out of ten children with cancer survive it; that's up from one out of ten just 25 years ago. The death rate for breast cancer has gone down every year in the last 7, has dropped by nearly 8 percent since 1990. Just last week, the NIH announced a milestone

in the human genome project, which is identifying the location and function of nearly every human gene. We've now mapped out 20 percent of all human genes, and anyone can use that map on the Internet. Soon we will know the genes that contribute to cancer and our genetic predisposition to inherit it and possibly then be able to prevent it before it strikes.

But as far as we have come, we still have far to go. We must continue to build on our progress and strengthen our efforts. Today I announced three new steps to bring us closer to a cure and to improve the lives of those who do survive.

First, we know that genetic research may be the key to understanding and curing breast cancer. In the last 2 years, scientists have discovered two genes that indicate susceptibility to breast cancer. This remarkable discovery is giving hope to women everywhere. Last month I signed a budget that reflects our values in devoting substantial resources to cancer research. Today I'm announcing we are directing $30 million of that new budget to support and expand breast cancer genetic research at hospitals, universities, and labs all across America. This step represents a major increase in breast cancer genetic research. It will ensure the development of this promising new research and bring us that much closer to a cure.

Second, we must all use the technology and we must use all the technology at our disposal to give women the information they need about breast cancer. We must unite the forces of the public and private sectors to achieve that goal. That's why I'm pleased to announce the launch of the new National Action Plan on Breast Cancer website on the Internet. This is easily accessible. The website address is right over there. It will answer the questions women have about early detection, clinical trials, and much more.

And finally, there's no greater proof of the progress we've made than the more than 10 million Americans who have survived cancer. Many have special psychological, physical, and health care counseling needs that we are only beginning to understand. Some face recurrence of their illness. Some can't get health insurance. I'm proud to have passed landmark legislation to guarantee that cancer survivors will no longer live in fear of losing that health insurance just because they have a preexisting condition.

Today I announced that this Friday, November 1st, the National Cancer Institute will open its new Office of Cancer Survivorship. The office will support much needed research that will help cancer survivors deal with the problems they face even after their cancer is cured. Dr. Anna Meadows will be the Director of the Office of Cancer Survivorship, and I thank her for her willingness to do this ground-breaking service on behalf of people with cancer who have survived it all across America.

These steps help us to put science at the service of our families and say we will do whatever it takes to continue the fight until there is a cure for cancer. And we will do everything we can to improve the lives of those who do survive.

Just a few moments ago I signed a piece of the Ribbon of Hope. This yellow ribbon, which is already over 750 feet long in its entirety, has been signed by more than 10,000 cancer survivors around the world. The First Lady was the first person to sign the ribbon, and I was honored to place my own signature alongside that of so many courageous people. The ribbon is a symbol of the hope that sustains people in their struggle with cancer. It is also a symbol of the progress we have made and the progress still to come in our common fight.

And now I'd like to present that piece of the Ribbon of Hope that I signed to Erin Schraibman, herself a cancer survivor, a very brave young girl whom I have very much enjoyed meeting today.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

[*At this point, the President presented the ribbon to Ms. Schraibman.*]

The President. We're adjourned.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jane Reese-Coulbourne, executive vice president, National Breast Cancer Coalition. The National Breast Cancer Awareness Month proclamation of October 3 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks in Springfield, Virginia
October 27, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, ladies and gentlemen, Senator Robb called me about a week ago, and he said, "You know, my father-in-law was the last Democrat to carry the State of Virginia. But I think if you'll come across the river and see us, you might be the next." And here I am.

I want to thank Chuck Robb and his wonderful wife, Lynda, for being such great friends to Hillary and to me for, well, a long, long time now. I want to thank him for his courage, his character, and his integrity in serving the people of Virginia and setting a model for people all across America. I want to thank Congressman Jim Moran and Congressman Bobby Scott for the work they've done for you and for America, and I'm glad you're sending them back to the Congress to serve for 2 more years.

Thank you, Lieutenant Governor Don Beyer, for your leadership and for your future leadership for Virginia. Thank you, Senator Yvonne Miller. Thank you, Kate Hanley. Thank you, Sue Wrenn, and thank you, Ellen Malcolm. Thank you, Bruce Hornsby, for playing the national anthem and for always being there for us.

And I want to thank the Lee High School Band over here. Let's give them a hand, the high school band. [*Applause*] Thank you for being here. I'd also like to tell you today, since our campaign is about the 21st century, I brought with me the President's adviser on science and technology—a key to the 21st century—a seventh generation Virginian, Dr. Jack Gibbons. Thank you for coming with me, Jack.

Folks, on any day this would be a great crowd in Virginia. But on this beautiful fall day, when the Redskins are playing and on a streak and the Marine Corps Marathon is going on, this is an unbelievable crowd. Thank you for being here.

Of course, you know, ever since I saw that ad with Chuck Robb's body and Mark Warner's head, I thought maybe you showed up to see if some medical miracle had been developed. [*Laughter*] I didn't know there was anything wrong with Mark Warner's body or Chuck Robb's head until I saw that. I'm still trying to figure out what it's all about. I'll tell you one thing, I don't think it was about you and your interests and your future.

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. But Mark Warner is committed to you and your interests and your future. Mark Warner supports the Family and Medical Leave Act that's allowed 12 million families to take some time off when their babies were born or their family members were sick. He supports our efforts to put 100,000 police on the street and our violence against women program in the Department of Justice. He supports our targeted tax cuts to help people pay for a college education. He does not support the other party's agenda of abolishing the Department of Education. So I say to you, this election is about the future. It is not about the Democratic or Republican Party; it's about which vision is right for our future.

Thomas Jefferson was elected President as the first President of the 19th century. Three distinguished Virginians, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, not only helped to found our country, they led us into a new century. Thomas Jefferson made the most important decision of my political life, a long time before I showed up; he bought the Louisiana territory. If he hadn't done it, I wouldn't be an American and I couldn't be here running today.

I say that to make this point. Believe me, when he bought the Louisiana territory for $15 million and more than doubled the land size of the United States—and by the way, that was the entire annual budget of the Government at the time. Can you imagine what you'd do to me if I tried to spend the annual budget of the Government on anything? [*Laughter*] And a lot of people thought he had lost his famous reason. He could not have foreseen the full implications of everything that would flow out of that decision. He could not have known that there would be all the things that happened in the 19th century, a great Civil War, two great World Wars and a depression in the 20th century, and that somewhere in a small town in that vast expanse of land that he bought, 150 years later some other young American would be born who would have a chance to grow up

and be President. He did it because he had this vision of the future. And that's what I want to talk to you about today.

Just before I came over here, I met with a lot of cancer advocates, people who have worked on research and treatment and prevention, people who have worked especially on breast cancer. I announced $30 million in extra funding for breast cancer genetic research because we just discovered two of the genes that cause breast cancer. It may enable us to prevent it forever.

Now, let me just talk about some of the other things that have happened in the last 4 years. Because of research and faster approval of drugs, we have more than doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS. It's on its way to becoming a chronic illness. We developed the first treatment for stroke ever. We have seen, for the first time ever, in laboratory animals whose spines were totally severed, movement in the lower limbs by the transfer of nerves from other parts of their bodies to the spine. This has enormous implications for military veterans, accident victims, and others who have been confined in their movements because of damage to their spines. We just signed a contract with IBM not very long ago to develop a supercomputer in the next couple of years that will do as many calculations in a second as you can do on a hand-held computer in 30,000 years.

Now, that is the world we're going into. I appreciate what Senator Robb said. We are better off than we were 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction. But the issue is, where are we going? What is our philosophy?

Again, I say, this is a period not all that unlike 200 years ago. It's not about party; it's about vision. Mark Warner, Chuck Robb, Bobby Scott, Jim Moran, Don Beyer, we share a vision about the things we must do together as a nation, in our States, in our communities to help each other make the most of our own lives, to seize those opportunities for the 21st century, and to move this country forward. That's the issue. Are we going to build a bridge to the future big enough and strong enough for us all to walk across? Are you willing to help? [*Applause*] Do we really believe we would be better off if their vision had prevailed for the last 4 years?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Would we be better off if there were no family and medical leave law?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Would we be better off it we cut student loans instead of increasing them?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Would we be better off if we cut Head Start instead of increasing it?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Would we be better off it we hadn't made those 300,000 loans to women business owners?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Of course not. Would we be better off if we hadn't cleaned up those toxic waste dumps—more in 3 years than they did in 12?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. This is not about party; it's about you, how we're going to live together and whether we should work together to give each other the tools to make the most of our future. Do you believe we'd be better off, as they say, if you were left on your own? Or do we believe it takes a village to raise our children and build a country and build a future? [*Applause*]

In Virginia, the State with the longest and proudest and richest history of all in leading America in the right direction, the State which gave us the people who led us into a new century 2 years ago, your votes will decide whether we balance the budget and move away from the dangerous and reckless fiscal policies that quadrupled our debt in the 12 years before I came to Washington and whether we balance that budget in a way that keeps interest rates coming down and the economy growing but still protects the fundamentals of educational investment, research investment, protection of the environment, Medicaid's guarantee of health care to people with disabilities, to poor children, to seniors in nursing homes, and the integrity of the Medicare program, which has given us the longest living—the highest life expectancy for senior citizens of any country in the entire world. You have to decide.

You have to decide, now that we have passed the family and medical leave law, whether you agree with me that we ought to extend it a little bit so that parents can go to see their children's teachers twice a year without losing their jobs or take their family members to the doctor, whether people who work for overtime should have the decision in their hands about whether to take their overtime in cash or time

with their families if their families need them at home.

You will decide about where we go in health care. We've now said you can't lose your health insurance just because you change jobs or someone in your family has been sick. We have said you cannot have an insurance company force a mother and a newborn baby out of a hospital in just 24 hours. We've said we're finally going to give some equal treatment to families with mental health problems. They deserve treatment, too. And after long, long years of advocacy by veterans like Chuck Robb, we have finally said to our veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam and whose children got spina bifida as a result, finally you're going to get the health care support—and the disability—you have deserved for so long.

Now you must decide. Their dangerous tax scheme would blow a hole in the deficit; require bigger cuts in medical programs, education, the environment, and research; and weaken our economy.

Our balanced budget goes further in health care. We want to give people help in keeping their health insurance for their families when they're between jobs. We want to make mammograms free for women over 65 on Medicare. And we want to say to the over 1½ million families who are courageously caring for family members with Alzheimer's, you ought to have some respite care; you're saving the health care system money; you're keeping your families together; we know how tough it is, and we're going to help you. That's all in our balanced budget plan. You have to decide.

We have worked to reduce the welfare rolls by 1.9 million, while our friends on the other side were just talking about it, acting as if all you have to do is pass a law. Before there ever was a new welfare reform, we took the rolls down 1.9 million, moving people from welfare to work, working with 43 States. Now there is a new law. Here's what it says: The National Government will continue to guarantee to poor families health care and food for the children and more for child care than ever when someone moves from welfare to work. But every State and local communities now will have 2 years in which to turn, for an able-bodied person, a welfare check into a paycheck.

But that's just a law. Are we going to walk away now, or are we going to say, if we're going to require poor people with little children to go to work, we've got to make sure the work is out there? I have a plan to create those jobs; we have to decide whether we want them or not.

Compared to 4 years ago, we have taken unbelievable amounts of dangerous chemicals out of our air. We've lifted the quality of our drinking water. We've improved the safety of our food. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12. We have worked to protect our precious national heritage and beat back their ill-advised plan to actually sell off some of our national parks. Now we have to decide whether we're going to go forward, continuing to clean up waterways that need to do it, continuing to uphold high environmental standards, and cleaning up 500 more of those toxic waste dumps so our children will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Let's don't turn back on environmental protection. Let's go forward and prove we can grow the economy and protect our environment.

Most of important of all, here in Virginia, where Thomas Jefferson first envisioned the need for free public school for all people, before others even thought most people should go to school, we are now on the threshold of an era in which what we earn depends on what we can learn, in which whether we can solve the medical problems of our time depends on what we can learn, in which our ability to preserve world peace and promote harmony depends in part on how much we can learn.

I want to give this country the finest educational system in the world when I leave office in the 21st century. I want us to have high standards, high accountability, and more freedom for principals, teachers, and parents to create those conditions in every school in America where those standards can be met. I want us to see a time when—different from now—today, 40 percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read a book on their own. Part of it is because we're blessed by having so many 8-year-olds whose parents come from other places and whose first language is not English. But I have a plan to mobilize AmeriCorps volunteers and reading tutors, 30,000 of them, to go out and generate a million volunteers to help our parents and our schools teach every 8-year-old so that by the year 2000 every single third grader in America can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." You have to decide.

We have to create a world where for the first time all our children have access to the same quality education. And we can do it. If we can hook up every classroom and every library and every school in America to the Internet by the year 2000—for those of you who aren't great computer experts, what it means is that for the first time in the history of the country, kids in the smallest rural community in southwest Virginia, kids in the poorest inner-city school districts will have access for the first time ever to the same quantity and quality of information in the same time in the same way as children in the richest districts in America do. It has never been done before. It is high time we did, and we're going to do it if you'll help us to stay with it.

And finally, you have to decide whether we are going to open the doors of college education to all. In the last 4 years, we've given 60,000 young people a chance to serve their communities in AmeriCorps and earn their way to college. Our friends on the other side opposed it. We have given 10 million young people the opportunity to get lower cost college loans and to pay those loans back now as a percentage of their income, so that no one can ever be bankrupted by borrowing the money to go to college. Our friends on the other side opposed it.

Now is the time to finish the job. And I want to do three simple things to help you, whatever your age—whatever your age—go on and get a college education.

Number one, I propose to let families save more for IRA's and withdraw from the money without penalty if they're using it to pay for education or buying a first home or dealing with medical costs.

Number two, I want 2 years of education after high school to become as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And we can do that—no bureaucracy, no program—simply say to people, we will let you deduct dollar for dollar from your tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition. If you will go, work hard, make your grades, and be a good citizen you can go to community college—everybody, without regard to income.

And finally, in this State which has such a fabulous tradition of higher education, it is long since time that we gave our families a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any tuition at any institution of higher education, graduate or undergraduate. That is what I propose to do.

Now, that is what we are working for. What is their education vision? Abolish the Department of Education.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. No word about standards, no word about accountability, no word about empowerment of teachers and principals and parents, no word about teaching our children to read or hooking them up to the Internet or opening the doors to college for all. This is not about party. This is about people; this is about the future of America.

And I leave you with this thought. Thomas Jefferson said—and if you go to the Jefferson Memorial you see it inscribed there—"I tremble for my Nation, to think that God is just when I consider slavery." We spent an enormous amount of our blood and time and effort getting over the racial discrimination that was at the core of our creation. We fought a Civil War to keep the country together. We went through a civil rights revolution to live up to the meaning of the Constitution. We had to amend the Constitution to do it. And we're still struggling with it.

But for the last 100 years—starting about 100 years ago, we have become increasingly a nation of greater racial and ethnic and religious diversity, so that now, in northern Virginia alone, there are more people from more countries, with more native languages and more different religions, than any of our Founders ever could have imagined. That means, however, that we have both the greatest challenge the modern world is facing today in our borders and the most fabulous opportunity.

Consider how much of your time I spend as President dealing with other people around the world who simply cannot get along because of their religious, their racial, their ethnic, or their tribal differences. Consider how many people there are in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in Burundi and Rwanda, in Bosnia, the bloodiest battleground of Europe since World War II, and countless other places who draw all their strength in life by saying, "Well, whatever's wrong with me, thank God I'm not them," who get up every day and think, "My life has meaning because there's somebody who's different from me I can hate."

And what has it led to in Bosnia? People killing other people's children. What has it led

to in the Middle East, the home of the three great monotheistic religions in the world? On this Sunday, I called the leaders of the talks now going on in the Middle East and pleaded with them again to resolve their differences, to preserve what is a holy land for so many of us so that their children can grow up in peace and dignity and honor.

America's soldiers went to Rwanda and to Somalia to save hundreds and hundreds of thousands of people who should have been able to get along. America's soldiers are today in Bosnia, saving the lives of people who should have been able to get along.

On the other hand, if you look at how small the world is getting, and if you look at our base, our economic base, our resources, our capacity to produce, our educational system, our connections with the rest of the world, our diversity is a miracle of opportunity as we stand on the threshold of the 21st century.

And so I say again, as important as all those specific policies are, it's also important that we make up our mind that we're going to build that bridge to the 21st century together, we're going to walk across it together, we're going to say to each other, "If you believe in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, if you're willing to show up tomorrow and do your job or go to school and do what you're supposed to do, we don't need to know anything else about you. You're part of our America. We're going forward with you. We're going forward with you."

So I ask you to decide. This election is not very far away. Most people in Virginia have been voting against members of my party for President for over three decades now. And I know how hard it is to break a habit. [*Laughter*] But one of the things we all teach our kids is that some habits have to be broken.

I want you to go out from this place and spend the next 9 days and tell your fellow Virginians they did a great thing for America when they and their native sons led us into the 19th century 200 years ago. And Virginia can help lead America into the 21st century 9 days from now.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. at Lee High School Park. In his remarks, he referred to Virginia State Senator Yvonne Miller; Katherine K. Hanley, chair, Fairfax County Board of Supervisors; Sue Wrenn, chair, Virginia Democratic Party; Ellen Malcolm, president, EMILY's List; musician Bruce Hornsby; and Virginia senatorial candidate Mark Warner.

Remarks at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee
October 27, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. I am delighted to be here at the reunion of the Vice President's family, friends, and medical support team. [*Laughter*] I would like to keep this crowd with us for the next several days. [*Laughter*]

I'm delighted to be back at Vanderbilt. Chancellor Wyatt, Vice Chancellor Robinson, thank you very much for making us feel so welcome here. Congressman Clement, thank you for coming with us. I'd also like to acknowledge our good friend Justin Dart, who leads our national effort to mobilize people with disabilities. Thank you, Justin. Thank you for being here.

Noah Liff, thank you for your example and for your fine words and for your support of welfare reform. And I thank the other business leaders who are here as well.

Governor McWherter, thank you for being my friend and my colleague over all these years. You know, you Tennesseans can say that he was the best Governor Tennessee ever had. I don't know that because I never lived here. But I can tell you this: He's the best politician I ever met. The first time I ever met him, he put that "aw, shucks" deal on me that he does, you know. I wanted to reach in my pocket and make sure the billfold was still there. [*Laughter*] And if he'd wanted it, I would have given it to him. [*Laughter*]

I think it's fair to say that those of us who served as Governors with Ned McWherter thought at the time there was no State that was better run, no State more oriented toward the proper balance of continuous change and

sensible management and old-fashioned common sense and good values. And I'm honored by his friendship and his support, and I'm delighted he's here with us today.

I want to say a special word of thanks, as we move to the end of this election season, to the Vice President. I was watching him on the debate the other night and thinking that I knew exactly what he was going to say before he said it. And we've spent so much time together now, it's almost like we can begin to speak in code, you know—two or three words and I can finish the sentence, and vice-versa. I think there has never been a relationship quite like this in American history between a President and a Vice President. But I must tell you, it's been one of the most richly rewarding things of my life, and I think it's been very, very good for the American people.

His leadership is the principal reason that we have been able to reduce the Government to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration, eliminate more regulations and Government programs, and privatize more operations than the previous two administrations combined. And no one has noticed a decline in Government services. In fact, our Federal employees are doing more with less and doing it better than ever before, thanks to the Vice President's leadership in reinventing Government. He was responsible for many of the most important provisions of the landmark telecommunications bill. He's helped us devise a budget that would continue to increase our investment in research and technology, even while we cut overall spending to balance the budget. He has made a major contribution to our efforts to finish the unfinished business of the cold war, especially in his work in Russia. There has never been a Vice President with more responsibility, who has achieved more, and who has done more to advance the cause of America than your native son Al Gore.

As all of you know, 10 days from now the American people will go to the polls to choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. Tonight and over the next several days, I will ask the American people not just to come to rallies and cheer, although we all need that, especially in the last days of a long, hard effort, but to think again about how we are going to meet the challenges of the 21st century, how we are going to seize the opportunities of the 21st century, how we are going to preserve our values and the things we hold dear in the next century, how we can make it the age of greatest possibility in human history. Our central goal must be to work together to give our people the tools they need to master the changes that are taking place.

In the next week I'm going to talk about four of the biggest challenges we face: How we finish the job of balancing the budget while preserving our values; giving our children a world-class education; opening the doors of college to all Americans; and making at least 2 years of education after high school as universal by the dawn of the 21st century as a high school diploma is today. And I want to talk about making our families stronger by helping all Americans to succeed both at home and at work, in safety and security. And tonight I want to talk about ending the cycle of welfare dependency, family breakdown, and crime by carrying on our historic efforts to reform welfare.

I first came to Vanderbilt to give a speech nearly a decade ago now, when I was invited to come here and talk about what it was like to be a Governor in a time of change in the global economy. I remember it very well. I expect I'm the only person in this audience who remembers it very well—[*laughter*]—but nonetheless, I do. It was about that time that I was asked to represent the Democratic Governors, along with my colleague, the Governor of Delaware—the Republican Governor of Delaware—and working with Congress and the Reagan administration to try to help reform the welfare system.

Those efforts produced the Family Support Act of 1988, which itself was a substantial improvement over the previous law, and which gave the President very, very broad powers, which before I took office were rarely used, to work with States and communities to change the rules of welfare, to try to develop a system that would move people from dependence to independence.

Four years ago when Al Gore and I came to Nashville, I said I wanted an America in which every person responsible enough to work for it has a shot at the American dream, an America still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, an America coming together and relishing its diversity through its shared values.

We have pursued a simple but profound strategy. We have worked to expand opportunity for

all, to demand responsibility from all, and to build a stronger American community, to make that America's basic bargain. Four years ago, the Vice President and I asked you to take us on faith. Tonight, you can look at a record.

Our Nation is clearly moving in the right direction. We have 10½ million new jobs, over 270,000 of them here in Tennessee. Unemployment here has dropped by about a third, to 4.1 percent. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation in home mortgages in 20 years—28 years. After inflation, household income is up about $1,600 in the last 2 years. There are 4½ million new homeowners. The inequality among working people just declined by the largest amount in 27 years. Childhood poverty dropped the most it has in 20 years. The incomes and poverty of households headed by women had its most dramatic drop in 30 years. And we just recorded the lowest poverty rates ever recorded for African-Americans and all our senior citizens. We have 4½ million new homeowners, record numbers of new small businesses, record exports. We are moving in the right direction.

We are pushing back the frontiers of knowledge in ways that will benefit all of us. Here at the medical center, in science labs, biotech firms, and universities all across our Nation, in millions of homes in the everyday miracle of the Internet, we see the leaps of science, technology that are no less dazzling for being so widespread.

Just today before I came here, I met with a lot of people who work with the problems of cancer. I met with cancer survivors; I met with physicians; I met with researchers; I met with people in support groups. Among other things, I announced that we will be dedicating 30 million more dollars this year to genetic breast cancer research, because—and this is just one example—we have identified two of the genes in the human structure that cause breast cancer. And when you put that with the fact that we are now using the very sophisticated imaging technology we use in our satellites for defense and intelligence purposes on the human body, so we can detect, prevent, or stop early the spread of all kinds of diseases, we are literally on the verge of breakthroughs we never could have dreamed of just a couple of years ago.

Not very long ago, we had movement for the first time ever in a laboratory animal whose spine has been completely severed; the animal had movement in its lower limbs when there were nerve transplants from other parts of the body to the spine. We've developed the first treatment for stroke ever in the last 4 years. The average life expectancy of people with HIV has more than doubled in the last 4 years with research and more rapid movement of drugs to market. It will soon, I believe, become a manageable chronic disease, not a certain death warrant. All these things have happened in the last 4 years.

But we have much to do, and we have to choose a decision about how we're going to walk into the future. And one of the major decisions before the American people in this election—and not just the race for President but many others as well—is what are those things which we should do together? To what extent do we believe we're better off on our own? To what extent do we believe, yes, it does take a village to raise our children and build our future? To what extent do we think we can find our way on our own into the 21st century? To what extent do we need to build a bridge that's clearly marked and big and wide and strong enough for us all to go over together?

We have tried to define what we think we should do together and what we think the Nation's responsibilities are. We've cut the deficit by 60 percent. Now we can finish the job of balancing the budget and do it in a way that reflects our values, that preserves the fundamental structure of Medicaid and Medicare, education and the environment, research and technology.

We have cut taxes for 15 million working families. And because our economy is on the right track, we can balance the budget with a targeted tax cut for families where they need it the most, for education, childrearing, medical care, and buying that first home.

We've improved our educational standards, expanded college scholarships and loans. Now we have to reform education at every level, raising standards, increasing accountability, making sure that every 8-year-old can read independently, every 12-year-old can log into the Internet in every classroom and library in America, every 18-year-old can go on to college.

We're making our families and neighborhoods safer. We're in the process of putting 100,000 more police on our streets, getting gangs and guns and drugs off the streets. Now we have

to finish the job of putting those police on the street and crack down on teen gangs with the same focus and the same law we are using to break organized crime.

We now have the lowest crime rate in 10 years—4 years of declining crime rates. But all of you know there is still a long way to go before the American people really feel safe and secure again. Now is not the time to back up; now is the time to bear down with an approach that is working.

We've helped to strengthen our families with the family leave law; 12 million times families have taken a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick, without losing their jobs. And I think America is stronger because of it. I thank the Vice President and Tipper for the work they did to advocate that here in Nashville at the family conference.

Now it's time to expand family leave, I believe, so that parents can take a little time off to go see their children's teachers twice a year or to make regular doctor appointments for their kids. And because people are working harder than ever and so many people have trouble juggling the demands of parenting and work, I think we ought to give workers the option of using overtime they accumulate and taking it either in cash or in more time with their families at their own discretion. That will help us to be a stronger country.

But we also have to finish the job of welfare reform. For many reasons, most of which have already been explained by previous speakers and especially the Vice President, our welfare system has failed a lot of people. To be frank, a lot of people—it worked as well as anything would because they were just in a temporary difficult position. They got on welfare; then they got off again and went on with their lives. But year-in and year-out, especially as more and more children were born into single-parent homes, more and more people became trapped in a permanent cycle of welfare dependency in ways that literally physically isolated generations of people away from communities with mainstream values, mainstream opportunities, and mainstream futures, exiling people from the world of work that gives structure, meaning, and dignity to the lives of the rest of us.

The system—for those people for whom it did not work, the system hurt them a lot more than it did the other taxpayers who often complained about it loudly and publicly. Children who are born to a life on welfare, we know from study after study, are more likely to drop out of school, fall afoul of the law, become teen mothers or teen fathers, raise their own children on welfare.

For too long, welfare has been the object of partisan debate rather than collective common effort. Too many people in politics, especially the further you get away from the people on welfare, if you get all the way back to Washington, DC, ask who is to blame instead of what to do. For too long, a lot of other Americans assumed there was nothing that could be done about it; you simply could not make it any better than it was. Welfare, teen pregnancy, crime all seemed destined to go on and grow forever.

That's why Al Gore and I pledged to end welfare as we know it 4 years ago. We did not believe that these problems would not yield to sensible, persistent human effort. As a Governor, for 16 years—12 years as Governor, now 4 years as President—I have worked on welfare reform and worked personally face-to-face with people on welfare. I knew better. I knew how bad those people wanted a different deal and a better, brighter future. I knew from the beginning we could change this system for the better.

The old system, yes, it wasted taxpayers' money, but even more tragically, it trapped millions into a lifetime of dependency. Well, that system is now over, but the question is, what are we going to do now?

We have shown that we can restore our communities and renew our values, but the job is not done. As the Vice President said, we gave special permission to 43 States to get out from under a whole variety of Federal rules, to redesign systems that would help move people from welfare to work more rapidly. This has made a real difference. We also had some rules, including requiring teen mothers to live at home and stay in school, or lose their welfare benefits.

We also recognize that governments can't raise children, parents do that. One of the main reasons people go on welfare in the first place is that parents run away from their responsibility to support their own children. Do you know, tonight, if every parent who is legally obligated to do so paid all the child support they had been legally found able to pay, 800,000 people would be off the welfare rolls tomorrow? That's why we stiffened Federal child support enforce-

ment, worked with the States more closely than ever, and why I signed an order directing Federal employees to pay their child support or have it paid for them. I wanted us to set an example.

We required hospitals to have programs to identify the father at the time of birth, insisted that welfare recipients name the father or lose benefits. We posted deadbeat parents in post offices, on the Internet; we're going to deny them Federal loans. We used the IRS to collect a record $1 billion in child support, worked with States on a new computer system to identify those who switched jobs or moved from their home State to avoid paying child support.

I might say that 35 percent of all delinquent child support cases involve people who have crossed State lines. In the first few months of this new system, we identified 60,000 deadbeat parents who now must pay.

All of these efforts are bearing fruit. The welfare rolls are down by nearly 2 million in the last 4 years. Tennessee has 75,000 fewer recipients, a 25 percent drop. Just this week new statistics were published showing that all across America child support collections have increased by 50 percent in the last 4 years, up in every single State in America. That's $4 billion a year more going to children and parents who otherwise would have to fend for themselves and depend more on the taxpayers to support them.

Another thing you can be proud of in Tennessee is that Tennessee is one of the top five States in the country over the last 4 years—here, child support collections have doubled. They're up 100 percent in the last 4 years.

And believe it or not, while too many young people are still having babies outside marriage, even on that front America is making progress. Teen births have gone down for 4 years in a row. And last year the out-of-wedlock birth rate declined for the first time in nearly 20 years.

That brings us to where we are now, a people determined to get back to our basic values, even as we modernize our economy and face the future. This welfare reform law gives us an historic chance, but not a guarantee, to restore the basic values of work, responsibility, and families and to end the literal exile of millions of poor people from the mainstream of American life and all of its promise. The new law imposes strict time limits on welfare. It requires those who can work to go to work. It mounts the strictest crackdown ever on child support collections. But it also says we will continue to provide as a national guarantee health care and nutrition for poor families and, when the welfare recipient goes to work, more for child care than ever before, so that families will get the help they need when they move from welfare to work. The new law gives us a change to make welfare what it was intended to be, a second chance, not a way of life.

But let me say again, we say from now on people who can work have to go to work; no one who can work can stay on welfare forever. We're making work, family, and responsibility a way of life. We are not going back. Our welfare legislation, however, is just the beginning. That is the important thing that every single American citizen has to understand. Maybe it's because I was a Governor before I became a President, but I know that there's a lot of difference between passing a law and changing lives in the neighborhoods and streets of every community in the United States. You have to help us change those lives. You have to help us implement this welfare reform law and make it work the way it was supposed to.

We're not going to walk away from these children. We're not going to walk away from these families. We're going to take them by the hand and walk with them into a bright new future. And you're going to help. [*Applause*] Thank you. Thank you.

Let's look at where you are in Tennessee right now. You've heard this talked about before tonight, but I want to say again, there are 12,000 Tennessee families who have signed new personal responsibility contracts. Now, they've promised to be personally responsible. And the people of Tennessee, through their elected officials and those who work for the State, have promised to keep up their end of the bargain to give those people a chance to act on their responsibility, like these fine folks who stood up over here and whom we clapped for tonight. So as we require people to take responsibility and go to work, we have to make sure they have the opportunity to work.

One of the reasons that I wanted to sign this law so badly, maintaining the guarantees of health care and nutrition and child care but giving the welfare money back to the States and ultimately to the local communities, was so we could take poverty out of politics and substitute reality for that old rhetoric. Now, everybody who has ever said a bad word about

the welfare system has nothing left to cuss; there is nothing there anymore. [*Laughter*] And now, there is no politics in poverty any more; there are only people. And they are our people. They are our children. They are our future.

This law says to them, "We're not going to keep you on modified life support forever anymore. It's a lousy deal for you and a bad deal for us." But here's where you come in. This is not the New Deal in the Great Depression anymore, either. The Government has to balance the budget to keep interest rates down, to keep the economy strong, so we can keep creating jobs for everybody. We cannot have a Government-created program that hires all these folks. You're going to have to do that.

Sure, there will be some hired into public jobs, and in areas of densely high unemployment we're going to give extra help in the early years to make sure that people have a chance, but by and large, over the Nation, people will have to be hired by employers in the private sector, in the nonprofit sector, churches, and great universities like Vanderbilt, both public and private.

But that is better—it is better that people be hired, 10 or 15 or maybe even 1 or 2 at a time, and given a chance to just be integrated into the normal flow of American life, rather than being hired 1,000 at a time to do one thing off here to the side. We want everybody to walk together into the future. But to do it—to do it—we have to have an upsurge of personal responsibility from the private sector.

Now, as I said, under the new law States can take this money the Federal Government used to give for the monthly welfare check, and they can use it to help businesses provide paychecks. Seven hundred people have gone to work in Kansas City at the Full Employment Council that I visited in that system. That's a good deal for businesses; they can create more jobs for less money. And it's a good deal for taxpayers; they save money every time someone leaves welfare to work. It's a good deal for the people on welfare; they get a job.

The National Government has tried to make work pay. We've raised the minimum wage. We dramatically expanded the earned-income tax credit. We have made—clearly made now work a better deal than welfare. That tax credit alone is worth about $10 billion this year, and it's reducing the poverty rate among working people dramatically. It only goes to people who are working. And it is reducing the poverty rate dramatically by saying we're not going to tax people into poverty anymore.

The Vice President has helped us to create a national network of community development banks, 105 empowerment zones and enterprise communities to get more private capital into the areas where there are large numbers of unemployed people, including many who are unemployed who are not on welfare—a lot of single men, for example.

I have proposed a plan now that will create another million jobs. Number one, we want to give business a new tax credit for every person hired off welfare. Number two, we want to give the same private job placement firms that Americans use to get better jobs for themselves when they're already working—we want to give those firms a bonus for helping people on welfare find their first job. And we want to help States and communities give businesses more incentives to hire welfare recipients.

These are the things that we can do. We can also give greater investments into those areas, as I said, where there are a whole lot of people who are unemployed, including large welfare populations, because we may not be able to get enough private sector jobs in the short run.

But in the end—we can do all this, we can do every bit of it, but if we don't have more people like Noah Liff, we're not going to make it. If we don't have more people like the nearly 50 business leaders who have already agreed to participate here in Tennessee, we're not going to make it.

So I ask you, every one of you, just think what would happen if every business, every nonprofit, every university, every school, and every church, synagogue, and religious institution in this country took what used to go to the welfare recipient in the welfare check as a supplement and hired just one person—just one person—and took responsibility for training that person, making sure their kids were okay and going forward. Just think about it. Think what we could do. We can revolutionize this. This would be over. Just one person.

I should emphasize—Governor McWherter reminded me, you know, he plays like he's not interested in policy, but he's a policy wonk in his rural clothing. [*Laughter*] He said, "Now, when you get up there tonight, Mr. President, don't forget to tell them that in Tennessee we also guarantee that if these people have to go

to work in a place that doesn't have health insurance, we set it up so they can keep their health insurance under Medicaid for a good while. And then after a certain amount of time, under TennCare, they can buy in at a rate they can afford to keep their health insurance even more." That's also important. You're doing that.

It's amazing to me, the excitement here. The Governor of North Carolina told me he was in Charlotte the other day talking to 4,000 people at the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, and he said before he got out the door, 25 percent of them had volunteered to help.

The other day in Missouri, the CEO of Monsanto asked all his division heads to study every aspect of their company to see what they could do to hire as many people off welfare as possible in Monsanto, and to—I hesitate to use the word, but "lean on" their suppliers and other business contacts to ask them to do the same thing.

The CEO of Sprint pledged to provide an 800 number that any employer in America can call to find out how to move people off welfare. A few weeks ago in Connecticut, hundreds of business leaders pledged that their companies would help us to meet this challenge. Last week in Louisiana, the CEO of Northrop Grumman, a company that makes a lot of products important to our national defense, did the same.

But this Tennessee Business Partnership is especially impressive. From Fortune 500 companies to Opryland, to companies like the recycling business that Noah described, it represents your whole business community. Just remember what I said: If every company would just hire one person, and not just companies but nonprofits and universities and religious institutions, we would whip this thing. And if every State will form a partnership like the Tennessee Business Partnership, we will work with them to get this job done.

I want to say again: We passed a law; that's a good thing. The law didn't change anybody's lives. And if we don't change the lives, benefits will someday be cut off, but we won't be creating jobs and building new futures for those people and their children. That's the important thing.

The other day I was in Florida, where I met with four very impressive women who were working themselves off welfare. And it was phenomenal to me—I asked them all, "Why are you doing this?" And they gave all of the obvious answers. And I said, "What's the most important thing about it?" And all four of them said, "We want our children to look up to us. We want our children to be proud of us, and we want to feel good because we know we're supporting our kids." All four of them said that.

And you know, more than 10 years ago—I've told this story many times, but I was at a Governor's meeting when we were talking about reforming the welfare system, and I brought a woman from Arkansas there, and I asked her what the best thing about being off welfare was. And she said, "When my boy goes to school and they say, 'What does your mama do for a living,' he can give an answer." He can give an answer.

Now, I have kept in touch with that woman for 10 years, and she introduced me the day I signed the welfare reform bill. She has four children now, this lady who was trapped in welfare. One of them has a good job; one of them is studying to be a doctor; one is in a technical school; the other one is a high school honor student. I'd say welfare reform worked for her. And it will work for nearly everybody if the rest of us will just create enough opportunity for all of those people who are dying to have it.

Now, I want to say, finally, we have got to take this law and make it live in the lives of our people. We can take poverty out of politics. We can give it back to the community. There will always be a time when the economy is better and the economy is worse. There will always be people who will hit a little rough patch in life and have trouble. But we do not need to have a nation with a huge number of people who are physically isolated from the rest of us living lives they can never break out of. We have all permitted that to happen; now it is time for all of us to stop that from happening and chart a bright new future to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:41 p.m. in the Langford Auditorium at the Vanderbilt University Medical Center. In his remarks, he referred to Joe Wyatt, chancellor, Vanderbilt University; Roscoe Robinson, vice chancellor for health affairs, Vanderbilt University Medical Center; Justin Dart, former Chair, President's Committee on

Employment of People With Disabilities; Noah Liff, chairman, Steiner Liff Iron and Metal Co.; and Ned Ray McWherter, former Governor of Tennessee.

Remarks in University City, Missouri
October 28, 1996

The President. Thank you. Good morning, University City! Good morning, St. Louis! Good morning, Missouri! Thank you for being here. Thank you for your good spirits. Thank you for your support. Thank you very much, Mayor Joe Adams, for this wonderful day. I assume the mayor arranges the weather in University City every day. It's a beautiful day.

I want to thank Attorney General Jay Nixon and Treasurer Bob Holden and Secretary of State Bekki Cooke, Lieutenant Governor Roger Wilson for being here. And I want to thank St. Louis' own Bobby McFerrin for that great, great musical tribute. Thank you.

Thank you, Joan Kelly Horn, for running for the Congress and for standing up against the Republican Congress and what they tried to do to cut education and the environment, to weaken Medicare and Medicaid, to allow workers' pension funds to be raided. They say if they keep their majority, they're going to do it one more time. You have to decide, and Joan Kelly Horn is your alternative, folks. Thank you for being here, Joan, and thank you for running.

I want to say a special word of thanks, too, to Congressman Bill Clay and Congressman Dick Gephardt, who are not here today but who are working their hearts out for victory in November and who have stood by you and for your future. And I want to thank my good friend Governor Mel Carnahan for his leadership for Missouri, his support for me. He will be a great Governor for the next 4 years. Thank you, Mel Carnahan.

I'd also like to acknowledge two people in the audience: Senator Tom Eagleton, thank you for being here, and former Lieutenant Governor Harriet Woods. And the people of Project Vote, thank you for being here. Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to be here in University City, a model of racial and religious diversity, a city with more than 24 churches and synagogues, a leader in equal opportunity and racial harmony since the 1960's, a stern rebuke to those who would divide our country today by race or ethnicity or religion. Thank you for the example you have set.

Folks, I like the cheering in elections. I even like it when our opponents show up and cheer. I like it when Americans are enthusiastic. It's what America is all about. But I also hope every one of you will take a little time in these last 8 days not only to cheer but to think and to ponder. This is the last election for President in the 20th century and the first election for President in the 21st century. I'm glad so many young people are here today because this is about your future in a new world, a new era, a new time.

So as we close this election season, I also want to take some time every day to focus on the big issues before us. Yesterday we talked about welfare reform. Today I want to talk about how we can keep our economy strong by balancing the budget and still investing in the priorities that matter to Americans.

You have to decide who can best lead America into the 21st century. You have to decide whether you want to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past. You have to decide whether you want to build a bridge wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across together, or just say, "There's the future; I hope you make it." You have to decide whether we're better off being told we're on our own, or whether you believe it does take a village to raise our children and educate them and protect our country and build a good future.

Four years ago I ran for President with a simple vision, and I ask you to think about it tonight. When you go home, just take a little time and ask yourself, what do I want America to look like 4 years from now when we start that new century? What do I want America to look like when my children are my age? My answer is simple: I want an America where the American dream is alive and well for everybody who is responsible enough to work for it. I want

an America still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want an America relishing, respecting its diversity and coming together across its differences in shared values, not being driven apart as so many places in the world are today.

To achieve that America, I have worked hard on a strategy to expand opportunity for all, demand responsibility from all, and build an American community where everybody has a role to play and a place at the table. Four years ago when I came to you and told you this, you in Missouri, even here in the Show Me State, had to take me on faith. But today you don't have to do it anymore. Today there is a record, and we can show you. And that's why they're trying to shout us down, because we can show you. We can show you. So today, Missouri, you don't have to listen to the shouting, you can look at the showing. You can look at the showing.

We have more evidence today that our economy is on the right track. When I ran for President 4 years ago, no challenge loomed larger or seemed more difficult to solve than the deficit. The deficit had soared to $290 billion, a record high and growing. In the 12 years before I took office, our national debt had quadrupled over what it had accumulated for the 200 years before. We worked hard to change that. We passed a tough economic plan without a single, solitary vote on the other side. My opponent and others said we could never reduce the deficit. They said we would wreck the economy. They said these tough decisions would bring no good.

Well, we knew sooner or later there would be "show me" time. And we know now that for 4 years in a row, we have reduced the deficit. That's the first time a President has reduced the deficit in all 4 years of a term in the 20th century. We know now that our budget would be in surplus today if it weren't for the interest we pay on the debt run up in just the 12 years before I took office.

I pledged to you when I ran for President that we would restore fiscal discipline to our Government, cut the deficit in half in 4 years. I said it was wrong to leave our children a legacy of debt, and we would never get Missouri and America's economy growing again until we got the deficit down to get interest rates down, so that business loans, home mortgages, car payments, and student loan payments were going down. We had to get those interest rates down. The deficit was a ball and chain holding back our economy.

Well, today we've got some new good news about exactly how far the deficit has dropped since I took office. So, since the young people have the biggest stake in it, I want to ask two of your young people, Daraa Seward and Matthew Laudano, to join me, and we are going to officially announce, along with Frank Raines, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the 1996 deficit figure. You can listen to them and look at the figure, and you decide.

[*At this point, Daraa Seward, Gateway Institute of Technology student, and Matthew Laudano, Hazelwood Central High School student, unveiled the figures.*]

The President. The last time they were in office, the deficit was $290 billion. The 1996 deficit has been cut to $107 billion. That's a reduction of 63 percent. That's the lowest level since 1981. But when you adjust for inflation, it is the lowest deficit in 22 years. Today, the United States has a deficit in its budget that—as a percentage of our income—that is lower than that of any other major industrial nation on the face of the Earth. This has meant real benefits to the people in this audience. It means cheaper auto, home, credit card, business loan rates, more business expansion, more job creation, a growing economy, providing opportunity again.

My friends, America has heard a lot of calls in the last several days. I would say that these results prove that America is awake and moving in the right direction to the 21st century. We are moving toward a balanced budget. We are going to continue building prosperity and creating jobs.

What has been the result of all of these efforts? Look at where we are now compared to where we were 4 years ago: 10½ million new jobs in America; an unemployment rate of 3.9 percent in Missouri; median household income up $1,600 after inflation in just the last 2 years; the largest drop in child poverty in 20 years; the lowest rate of poverty among senior citizens ever recorded; the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years; the welfare rolls down by 1.9 million fewer people on welfare today than the day I became President; child support collections up 50 percent, $4 billion a year. And I might say in Missouri it's even bet-

ter. Child support collections in Missouri are up 59 percent under Governor Carnahan. Thank you.

The crime rate has dropped for 4 years and is now at a 10-year low. Thank you. Here's a guy with a sign that says "Cop for Clinton." Thank you, sir. God bless you. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million families on October 1st. Twelve million families have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law to take a little time off from work when a baby is born or a family member is sick, and our economy is stronger because of it.

Twenty-five million families may get protection because we passed a law that says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you change jobs or somebody in your family's been sick. We passed a law to say that new mothers and their newborn babies cannot be forced by insurance companies out of the hospital in only 24 hours anymore.

We lowered the cost of student loans, had the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years, and gave students the option to pay off their loans as a percentage of their income, so no one should be deterred from borrowing the money to go to college.

We are moving in the right direction: more opportunity, more responsibility, a greater sense of community. But there is more to do, and your vote in this election will make a great difference. Your vote will decide, for example, whether we're going to keep this economy growing by bringing that 107 number down to zero, balancing the budget while continuing to invest in education and the environment, protecting our obligations through Medicare and through Medicaid to poor children, to the elderly in nursing homes, to families with members with disabilities, whether we continue to invest in technology and grow this economy for the future; or whether we adopt a $550 billion risky tax scheme that will actually raise taxes on 9 million working families, require bigger cuts in education, the environment, Medicare, and Medicaid than the ones I vetoed last year, and still blow up the deficit and weaken the economy and send that number going right up again. Your vote will decide. Are you going to help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We have begun to pass health care reform. Your vote will decide whether we adopt our balanced budget plan which will give families help to keep their health insurance when they're between jobs, which will give free mammograms to women on Medicare, which will give help for respite care to the over 1½ million American families that are out there caring for a family member with Alzheimer's, and still balance the budget. Your vote will decide whether we do that or continue to cut Medicare in ways that will allow it to wither on the vine and divide us in the future. Your vote will decide. Will you help us build the bridge to the 21st century with health care for all? [*Applause*]

We have had 4 years of declining crime rates. We've funded nearly half of those 100,000 police in our crime bill. The Brady bill and the assault weapons ban didn't cost a single hunter a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers could not get handguns because of the Brady bill. And now the law says if you beat up your spouse or your child, you can't get a gun either. That's what the law says.

Now, your vote will decide whether we turn our back on that or whether we keep putting 100,000 police on the street; whether we take on the problem of violent teen gangs with the same vigilance we went after the mob; whether we give our kids something to say yes to by continuing to fund the safe and drug-free schools program and opportunities to keep children from getting in trouble in the first place; and whether we ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers. Your vote will decide whether we do that.

On welfare reform, your vote will decide a very great deal. We have already moved 1.9 million people from welfare to work. We've passed the new welfare reform law, which says we will continue as a nation to guarantee to the poor medical care and food for the kids and more for child care than ever, if the parent goes to work, but now the State of Missouri and local communities will have 2 years to turn a welfare check into a paycheck.

It sounds great, but it's just a law. The question is, what are we going to do about it? Missouri has a program. Governor Carnahan has a plan—I have seen it working here—to bring in people in the private sector and offer them real incentives to bring people from welfare to work. I have a plan to add another million jobs from welfare to work. I have a plan to help cities like St. Louis make the extra steps that people with large welfare populations will have to do.

It is wrong to tell people they have to go to work and then not have a job there. I want to require people to work and have the jobs. And you will decide whether we are going to do that. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Folks, under great assault by the present majority in Congress, we have continued to fight for our environment. When they tried to even float a scheme to sell a lot of our national parks, we said no. When they tried to cut back on environmental enforcement, we said no. When they tried to end our ability to enact new protections for our land, our water, our food, we said no.

We have instead taken more dangerous chemicals out of the air, moved to improve the purity of our drinking water, moved to raise the standards for our food. We have closed more toxic waste dumps in 3½ years than the previous administrations did in 12.

But there is more to do. And I'll just give you one example. Ten million American children still live within 4 miles of a toxic waste site. If you'll give us 4 years, we'll clean up 500 more so our children will grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Most important of all, especially here, will you help us give the American people a world-class system of education for every single young person in America? [*Applause*] We have worked hard to increase Head Start, to raise standards in our schools, to improve efforts at reform at the grassroots level. We have increased college scholarships and improved college loans and given 60,000 of our young people a chance to serve in AmeriCorps, the national service program, and earn their way through college.

But we must do more. And I just want to mention three things, very seriously, in this great center of learning. Number one, 40 percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read on their own. Children cannot learn if they cannot read. Now, a lot of that is because we're a nation of immigrants again, the way we were 100 years ago, and English is not the first language. But that's not an excuse. That won't be much help to those young people when they're 15 and trying to learn algebra, trying to master the most sophisticated aspects of all the other science and math and other courses they have to take. I have a plan to mobilize 30,000 people, reading specialists, to get a million volunteers together to go out and solve this problem.

We just increased the number of work-study slots for college students by about 200,000. I want 100,000 of those work-study positions to be young college students teaching children to read, so that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in this country can pick up a book and say, "Now I can read this all by myself." Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We want to hook up every classroom and library in the country to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. What that means for all of you who don't have computers at home is that for the first time in history, in the next 4 years, for the first time in American history we can finally make available to every child in the poorest inner-city school districts, in the most remote districts in the high plains—every child in every school district, poor, middle class, or rich—the same information at the same level of quality in the same time in the same way. It has never happened before. Will you help us do it in just 4 more years? Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, will you help us open the doors of college education to every single American who wishes to go? [*Applause*] On the way out here this morning I passed the St. Louis Community College. We know now—we know that young people who want to get jobs with growing prospects in terms of income and security need at least 2 years of education after high school. I propose in 4 years to make 2 years of college as universal as a high school diploma is today, simply by saying to the American people, we will let you deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the typical cost of a community college tuition for 2 years. All you have to do is go and make your grades and work hard and be responsible, and you can do it.

I want to let more Americans save in an IRA and withdraw without tax penalty if the money is used for a college education, to buy a first home, or for medical expenses. And finally, I believe that families should be able to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition. We need to open the doors to college education. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Do you understand what the choices are? Will you help us build a bridge wide enough and strong enough for all of us to go? [*Applause*]

We need you, Missouri. Thank you. God bless you. Bear down, 8 days. Thank you. Show them.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. at city hall. In his remarks, he referred to Joan Kelly Horn, candidate for Missouri's Second Congressional District.

Remarks in Minneapolis, Minnesota
October 28, 1996

The President. Hello, Minnesota! Thank you. Thank you. Wow! Thank you. Let me say, first of all, with 8 days to go in this election, to come out here and see this shining sea of enthusiastic, exuberant faces, believing in our country and believing in our future, I'd rather hear your cheers than my words any day. You have made this the event it is. Thank you, thank you.

I want to thank the Members of Congress who are here, Congressmen Martin Sabo and Bruce Vento and Bill Luther. I thank Attorney General Skip Humphrey, who has been the chair of my campaign, for all he has done, but especially for being one of the first leaders to stand up and say it is time to stop the tobacco companies from advertising, marketing tobacco to our children. Thank you, Skip Humphrey.

I thank your State party chair, Mark Andrew, for his leadership. I want to thank the Sounds of Blackness. They were wonderful. Thank you.

I know that Minnesota is a great sports town, and we have two of your greatest athletes today here. I want to recognize them. Kevin Garnett from the Timberwolves, stand up. Thank you. Thank you, Kevin. And one of the greatest baseball players in modern history, who just got his 3,000th hit this season with the Minnesota Twins, Paul Molitor. Paul, stand up. Thank you. They're here because they want to make sure you vote on election day. Are you going to do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. I thank you, Mary Rieder, for being willing to run against what was done in the last Congress by Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole, and for being willing to run for the people of Minnesota. Will you help Mary Rieder serve you in the Congress in Minnesota? [*Applause*] I want to say a little more about that in a minute.

And I want to thank Paul Wellstone. You know, over the last 22 years, since I first ran for public office as a very young man—I can remember when I was a young man—[*laughter*]—I have had the privilege to meet many people in public life, men and women of all backgrounds, races, all political philosophies. I have to say, even though it's not fashionable in the heat of a campaign, that most of the people I have met in both parties and from different philosophies loved our country, wanted to do the right thing, and were harder working and more honest than they ever got credit for. But if you were to ask me after 22 years, here on the verge of my last election, what is the most important characteristic a public official can have, day-in and day-out, year-in and year-out, I would say it's a good thing to be smart because there are complicated problems. It's a good thing if you're physically strong because it can be exhausting. And now more than ever you need a thick hide; that's a good thing. [*Laughter*] It's very important to have common sense, and it's important to be able to communicate what you feel to people so they can understand it. But the most important quality is the one that Paul Wellstone has in abundance, a great heart. It is most important to have a great heart.

You know, Hillary and I always love to come to Minnesota. I love being here. I thought about this State a lot over the years. Our daughter came here to summer camp to the Concordia Language Village for many years. So I had a chance to come here many times when I was completely anonymous, back when I still had a life. [*Laughter*] And I sort of conducted my own little sociological survey of this remarkable place. And I've noticed that Minnesotans are independent; they'll vote for Republicans, and they'll vote for Democrats. I've noticed that they

don't like name-calling very much and that, historically, they've been quite progressive. And I've noticed also what I think is the most important characteristic in terms of the decisions we make about our future, which is that, historically at least, across party lines, in this State you've had a very strong sense of community, a sense that we have to do some things by working together, a sense that, as somebody that I know and care a lot about once said, it does take a village to raise our children and build our future.

And 8 days from this election, most of what I guess we need is a lot of your enthusiasm and energy and the kind of thing I've already heard today. But I hope you will stop and think, too, just a minute. I hope tonight before you go to bed you'll do something that I do, I try to do every day. I hope you'll ask yourself a simple question: This is the last election for President of the 20th century, the first election of the 21st century; what do you want your country to look like when we start that great new era in 4 years? What do you want your country to be like when your children are your age?

For me, the answer is simple but profound: I want an America where the American dream of being able to live out your dreams is alive and well for every citizen who is responsible enough to work for it. I want an America that is still leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want an America where, unlike so much of the rest of the world, we are coming together with our diversity, making ourselves stronger, where everybody has a place and a future in our America.

And that is the choice you face. For 4 years we have relentlessly pursued an aggressive strategy to create opportunity for all, to get more responsibility from all of our citizens, and to create an American community where everyone has a role to play and a place at the table. Four years ago when I came to Minnesota and the people supported Al Gore and Bill Clinton, you took us on faith; you couldn't have known. Well, now there is a record.

Today we have even more evidence that we're on the right track to the 21st century. Earlier today I announced the official figures for the deficit in 1996. When I took office, it was $290 billion; this year, it is $107 billion. My fellow Americans, 4 years ago I said if you gave us a chance we'd cut that deficit in half to get interest rates down and get the economy going again. It's been cut by 63 percent in 4 years. If you adjust the dollars for inflation, we have the lowest deficit in 22 years. It is a smaller percentage of our income than that of any other advanced economy in the entire world. And I want to say a special word of thanks to one of the chief engineers of the economic plan of 1993 which made it possible, Congressman Martin Sabo of Minnesota. Thank you, sir.

Now, there's been a lot of name-calling in these races up here. But you need to know when we brought the deficit down there was not a single member of the other party who voted for it. They said it would wreck the economy. They said it would bring us a recession. They said it would increase interest rates. They said the deficit would not go down.

Well, Paul Wellstone said, "I think we ought to bring the deficit down and keep investing in the economy, keep investing in education, keep protecting the environment, keep protecting those who depend upon Medicare and Medicaid. But we still have to bring the deficit down." That was the conservative thing to do: to protect our future, to conserve our people and our resources, and get our house in order. Senator Paul Wellstone said yes, and they said no. Don't forget that at election time. Don't forget that at election time.

I was reading some of the clips about Minnesota, where the unemployment rate has dropped to 3.8 or 3.7 or 3.6 percent, and I hear now there is a big problem with labor shortages in some places. Listen, folks, compared to 4 years ago, that is a high-class problem. Let's have more problems like that, labor shortage problems.

We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years. We've had the biggest drop in income inequality among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, all-time record rates of exports and the formation of new businesses. That is the record. That is the direction we're going in. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. We are moving in the right direction; we need to stay on this track all the way to the 21st century.

We made every small business in America eligible for a tax cut when they invest more in their business. We made it easier for people to take out pensions when they work for small businesses and move from job to job. We made

it easier for self-employed people to buy their own health insurance by giving them a bigger tax cut when they do so. We cut taxes for 15 million of the hardest pressed working people in America, and Paul Wellstone voted for that.

You should also know that we have reduced the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million starting in January of '93 through policies all of the folks in our party, including Senator Wellstone, supported—1.9 million fewer people on welfare, 1.9 million more people at work. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row; it's at a 10-year low. Child support collections in America are up 50 percent compared to 4 years ago and almost 70 percent in Minnesota. We're moving in the right direction.

We raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. Twelve million people have taken advantage of the family and medical leave law that says you can have a little time off from work when a baby is born or a family member is sick. We are stronger because of that. Twenty-five million people now may be able to save their health insurance because we passed a law that says you can't have your insurance jerked just because you've moved from job to job or because someone in your family has been sick. And we passed another law that says mothers and their newborn babies cannot be forced out of the hospital within 24 hours. Thank you, Senator Wellstone. Thank you, Members of Congress.

Now, what you have to decide here in this election is not a matter of party. That's an unconventional thing for me to say with all my fellow Democrats up here and most of you presumably members of our party, but it is not. What you have to decide—what you have to decide is what vision, what ideas do you want to shape the direction our country takes as we go through this huge time of change. There is a dramatic change. You know it here in Minnesota. Here in the Twin Cities area you're on the cutting edge of so much change, but let me just tell you a couple of things to illustrate how much we're changing the way we work and live and relate to each other.

When I became President, there were 3 million people working at home on their computers, away from the office. Today there are over 12 million people doing that. Four years from now there will be 30 million people doing that. That will change everything in the way we work.

When I became President, most people thought HIV and AIDS was a death sentence. We have more than doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS. We're on the verge of turning it into a chronic disease. The medical research we've invested in has given us the first treatment ever for strokes. Last year medical researchers in Government-funded research discovered two genes that cause breast cancer, and we may be able now not only to detect it early and avoid radical treatment but even to prevent it altogether. I announced 30 million more dollars for genetic research and breast cancer yesterday.

Many of you were moved when Christopher Reeve spoke at the Democratic Convention about the importance of medical research. And just about the time he spoke, for the first time ever a laboratory animal whose spine had been completely severed regained movement in its lower limbs by the transfer of nerves to the spine from other parts of the body. Think what that could mean. Think what that could mean—revolutionizing the potential of life in America. We are on the verge of an explosion of possibility, where more people than ever before will have a chance to live out their dreams. But you have to make the right decisions. Are we going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past?

Audience members. The future!

The President. Is that bridge going to be big enough for all of us to walk across together?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Are we going to tell some people, "You're on your own, have a good time," or are we going to say, "It does take a village"?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. That is the issue. When you see Mary Rieder up here talking, a person who has been a committed private citizen offering herself for Congress, you have to ask yourself, is this the vision I believe in, or was Speaker Gingrich right?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. This is not about party; this is about your life. They passed a budget which would have ended the guarantee of medical care to our poorest children, to our seniors in nursing homes, to families who can maintain middle class lifestyles and still care for family members with disabilities. They would have ended that. They would have given us the first real cuts in our education investments in modern history.

They would have paralyzed the ability of the Environmental Protection Agency to protect the quality of our environment. They would have allowed employers to raid their employees' pension funds, even to raise their own pay, if that's what they wanted.

And when I vetoed that budget, they shut the Government down and said, "Oh, those Democrats, they love the Government so much they'll give us what we want just to get it open." And I said, "I'd a lot rather see you hurt people for 3 months than 30 years. No, thank you very much. We are going to stand up."

Now, these things have significance. This is not about the old-fashioned political debates: should this be done at the national and local level. This is really about how you think we're going forward into the future. That's what's at stake in Mary Rieder's race. And all these talks about, you know, liberal and conservative—let me just give you an example of some of the choices before us. This will happen; your vote will decide how this comes out.

Your vote in the Presidential race and in other races will decide whether now that we've cut the deficit from $209 billion to $107 billion, whether we go on and balance the budget and still protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, and have targeted tax cuts that help people raise their children, have access to college, buy a first-time home, and pay for health insurance, all paid for already in our balanced budget plan; or whether we embrace this huge, $550 billion tax scheme which raises taxes on 9 million of our hardest working people, will blow a hole in the deficit, raise your interest rates, raise the cost of student loans, car payments, house payments, and business loans, and require bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed. That's the decision. Forget about party; ask yourself, do you want that for your future?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Don't you think we ought to balance the budget and protect our values and our future?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. That's what Paul Wellstone voted to do, and that's what we'll do in the future. Your vote will decide. We passed the family and medical leave law. The leaders of the other party said it was a bad thing, it would hurt the economy. Twelve million families took advantage of it, and we have record numbers of new businesses. They were wrong.

Now, I want to expand the family leave law and say people ought to be able to get a little time off to go see their children's teacher twice a year and take their kids to regular doctor's appointments. And I believe when workers earn overtime—I'm going to tell you, everywhere I go, people tell me the biggest challenge they're facing in their lives if they're parents and workers is trying to balance the demand of being parents and workers. So I'd like to see us change the overtime law to give the worker the option when they run up overtime of taking the money for overtime or taking time with their children or sick parents or their sick spouses, if that's what they want to do. You will decide. You will decide.

You will decide whether we finish this work we are doing to stop the advertising, marketing, and sales, illegally, of tobacco to children. They are against it. Paul Wellstone is for it. You will decide in the Presidential race and in other races.

You will decide whether we continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program. Let me say this: There has been a lot of talk about the drug issue. This is a difficult thing for America now. We've had a big decline in drug use in America, a big decline overall, but drug use is still going up among people under 18. And we now know from surveys that somewhere around 1990 large numbers of young people decided it wasn't dangerous anymore, even though, if you take marijuana, all the medical studies now show that the toxicity of marijuana available today breaks up the concentration patterns of young people, can threaten the ability of young women to give birth to normal children, can undermine the whole future of people, not to mention what all the other drugs will do. It's a problem. We all have to do more.

We increased border patrols. We increased penalties on drug kingpins and others. And we put more people in the schools, early, to give the kids something to say yes to, those D.A.R.E. officers and others. They tried to cut the safe and drug-free schools program in half. That's their program for our kids—cut the safe and drug-free schools program in half. Paul Wellstone and I said, no thank you. We want more people out there trying to keep our kids out of trouble and giving them a future. And I think that's what you ought to support. I don't think it is conservative to want to cut the safe and drug-free schools program in half.

Look at the crime rate. The crime rate's gone down now for 4 years in a row. Is it still too high? You bet it is. But we know what works. All these folks up here in the Congress, they stood with me and helped me to pass the toughest crime bill in history. The leaders of the other party, they all fought it. And they went around and made a lot of hay in a lot of rural congressional districts, including in this part of our country, by telling people that "the President and his party, they're trying to take your guns away from you. That's what the Brady bill is all about; that's what the assault weapons ban is all about."

Well, they did that in '94, but now we know, we've got a record now. Two years later, not a single hunter in Minnesota has lost a rifle. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong. They were wrong. And we just voted to extend the Brady bill to say if you beat up your spouse or your child, you can't get a gun either. And I think we were right again.

So now, when you think about the President or the Senator or Mary Rieder, you have to think about what's still out there. Let me tell you what's still out there. Are we going to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street, or shall we do it their way and walk away from it? Why would we abandon a strategy that is working, that is not only catching criminals but is preventing crime and giving our kids some role models in their neighborhoods and people to work with and something to say yes to? I think I know your answer. We need to build communities from the grassroots up, and we need to continue until we finish the job of putting these 100,000 police on the street and making all of our neighborhoods safe in America again. Will you help us? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

The same thing is true in the environment. We fought, we fought, we fought, and finally we prevailed. And so we have taken millions of tons of poisonous chemicals out of our air. We've lifted the quality of drinking water and the safety of our foods, and we've closed more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. And we saved the parks from an ill-advised attempt to sell off some of our national parks. But we have a lot to do. Ten million children still live within 4 miles of toxic waste sites. If you give us a chance to move forward, we'll close 500 more and say our children are growing up next to parks, not poison. I want you to help us build that future. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

But let me say this: Far and away the most important distinction between us, and far and away the most important decision you have to make in terms of how we'll be living 20 or 30 years from now involves education. You've heard Mary talk about it. You heard Senator Wellstone talk about it. The truth is that even in a State like Minnesota, with a well-deserved reputation for having one of the finest educational systems in the world, we have to do better. We have to do better. The truth is that with our increasing diversity, 40 percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read a book independently. And so I have proposed that we marshal 30,000 reading specialists and AmeriCorps volunteers and that we go out and ask for a million more volunteers. And let me say, in the budget I just signed we got 200,000 more positions in work-study for college students. And I want half of them to go to teaching kids to read because I know if we all work on it, by the year 2000 we can have a country where every 8-year-old in American can hold up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." That's what I'm trying to get done.

And I want us to build an America in the year 2000 where every classroom and every library and every school is hooked up to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. What is the significance of that? Well, here in the Twin Cities there are a lot of you in this audience today that know more about computers now than I'll ever know. But I know this: There are still people in isolated inner cities and in remote rural areas that do not have the educational opportunities they need and deserve, and they are not learning as much as they should, and the rest of us will pay for it unless we do better. If we hook up every classroom and every library to the information superhighway, for the very first time in the history of the United States all of our children in the rich, the middle class, and the poor districts will have access to the same information in the same way in the same time. It will revolutionize education, and we can do it together. We can do it together.

And the last thing I would say to you is, we must open the doors of college education to every single American of any age who needs

to go. And in our balanced budget plan—in our balanced budget plan, paid for, every dime of it—are three proposals: One, more people can save in IRA's for years and years and then take the money out without any penalty if the money is being used to pay for a college education or health care or to buy a first home. Two, we want to make 2 years of education in a community college as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. And here's how we're going to do it—no program, no bureaucracy—just simply to say we will give you a deduction, dollar for dollar. You can take, dollar for dollar, off your tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition for 2 years if you will just go, make your grades, and do a good job. That will revolutionize opportunity in America. And finally, I believe we should offer a tax deduction every year of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition at any institution at any level. That will revolutionize American education.

Now, if we do these things, we will create an America in which everybody has a chance to live out their dreams. We will create an America that is still leading the world economically and politically and militarily for peace and prosperity and freedom.

And finally, and maybe most important, we have to commit ourselves not to falling prey to the demonic divisions that are hurting so many people elsewhere in the world. How much time have I spent as your President in the Middle East, in Northern Ireland, in Bosnia, sending troops to Rwanda to save hundreds of thousands of lives, where people are fighting all over the world because they're of different races, religions, tribes, creeds. How many people are there in the world who get up every day, and the only way they can get through the day is to say, "Well, whatever you think about me, at least I'm not them." They look down on them.

How much hatred will we have to endure before we finally say, "Enough"? That is what I have worked for in Bosnia, what I worked for in Haiti, what we're working for in the Middle East at this very moment. In America, that is why I've fought those church burnings and the desecration of the synagogues and the Islamic centers. That is why.

Now, in Minnesota, I want you all to say this election is also about whether we're going to treat each other with respect, because I want to be able to say we're going to build this bridge, and it's going to walk across to the 21st century, to the era of greatest possibility ever known. And all I need to know about you is whether you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and whether you're willing to show up and do your job tomorrow. If you are, I don't want to know anything else about you. You're part of my America.

Let's join hands and walk into a bright new future. Will you help us build that bridge? Will you help us? Will you be there on Tuesday? [*Applause*]

God bless you, Minnesota. Thank you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:40 p.m. at the Target Center. In his remarks, he referred to Hubert H. Humphrey III, Minnesota attorney general, and Mary Rieder, candidate for Minnesota's First Congressional District. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Chicago, Illinois

October 28, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you so much. It is always, always good to be back in Chicago. Senator Moseley-Braun, thank you so much. And Mr. Mayor, thank you for your strong support, your friendship, and your very moving history lesson about the times when your father was here with President Kennedy. Maybe a week from tomorrow we can reclaim a lot of our great hopes and take them into the 21st century with pride and energy and vigor.

I want to thank Congressman Bobby Rush, Congresswoman Cardiss Collins, Congressman Bill Lipinski for being here. And I know that there are some other congressional candidates

other than those that Dick Durbin mentioned: Clem Balanoff, my friend Danny Davis, and Rod Blagojevich. We're going to win that seat back to Congress. Thank you, Cook County Board President John Stroger, Assessor Tom Hynes, State Chair Gary LaPaille, our attorney general candidate, Dick Devine; thank you all for being here.

I want to thank Kevin Cronin, Koko Taylor, the Chicago Children's Choir, the Lennox Family, and Perfect Harmony, who sang for us tonight and performed. I also want you to know that in addition to Mayor Daley we have some other mayors here. It's nearly heresy to say there is another mayor besides Mayor Daley in Chicago, but we have here a very large number of mayors from all over the Midwest who have endorsed Al Gore and Bill Clinton for reelection today, including the great mayor of the city of Detroit, Dennis Archer, who is over here; Mayor Carty Finkbeiner of Toledo, who had a rally with 25,000 people for me late in Toledo one night, thank you; Mayor Gordon Bush from East St. Louis; Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton from Minneapolis; Mayor Kernan from South Bend, Indiana; and many others who are here. Thank you, all the mayors, for coming and for your support.

You know, on Saint Patrick's Day of 1992, the people of Illinois gave me a great victory in the Democratic primary for President and sent me on the way to a nomination and to ultimate victory in November, again led by the strong support of the people from Illinois and the strong support of the people from Chicago. One week from tomorrow, I want to ride home to victory for America on the shoulders of the people from Illinois one more time.

I want to say to you how glad I am tonight that so many of you in this audience are young. I thank the young people for coming tonight. And I want to say how grateful I am for all the various groups of people who are represented here: the labor people, the business people, the union leaders, the veterans' leaders, the Haitian-Americans, the Asian-Americans, the African-Americans, the Hispanic-Americans, the Irish-Americans, the Polish-Americans—all of us—and then all the rest of us like me, and whatever is left.

I say that because you will have to make two great decisions in that election a week from tomorrow. It is the last election of the 20th century and the first Presidential election of the 21st century, and you must decide whether in that election you believe our best days are before us, you believe as I do we are entering a great age of possibility, and you are determined to see us build a bridge to the future, not a bridge to the past.

And then you must decide, as you look around this great crowd tonight, whether we are going forward in that future together. How many times have we seen America be put back when we became divided against one another? But when all of these different people here show up in one crowd and join hands, with shared values, shared hopes, and shared dreams, respecting our differences and cherishing our common values, there is nothing that can stop America. We're going forward together into that 21st century.

You know, I remember so many things over the last 4 years, and I always get terribly nostalgic when I come to Chicago. But I want to say a few things about what's happened that affect you and your decision, that involve Dick Durbin.

You know, when I came here 4 years ago, even though Hillary was from Chicago, you sort of took me on faith. Well, now there is a record. Today we announced that the deficit, which was $290 billion when I took office, has dropped all 4 years for the first time in the 20th century and is now going to be $107 billion this year. Now, for you, for you that's meant lower interest rates. It means more investment and more jobs. It means lower car payments, lower home mortgage payments. It means lower college loan payments. That's what that means.

Now, when we were debating the economic plan in 1993, all of our friends on the other side, all of our friends on the other side voted against it. They said it would increase the deficit. They said it would wreck the economy. They said it was a terrible thing. Dick Durbin voted for it and provided the decisive vote. His courage has given us the economy we have today, and he deserves your vote for the United States Senate.

Audience members. Durbin! Durbin! Durbin!

The President. Not only that, this is about more than economics. The FBI reported last week that crime is at a 10-year low in America, that crime has gone down in each of the last 4 years. Now, we all know it's still too high, but it's moving in the right direction. And one reason is, our administration has formed a part-

nership with the city of Chicago, the other cities represented here. We're putting 100,000 more police on the street. We're taking assault weapons off the street. We passed the Brady bill. The Brady bill has kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns. And we just said if you beat up your spouse or your child, you can't buy a handgun either. That's what we did.

Now, the leaders of the other party, they fought us. The toughest crime bill in history with all the law enforcement organizations in the country behind it, and they wouldn't help. They fought us. They said we were going to take people's guns away, and they walked away from a historic opportunity to make our children, our streets, our neighborhoods, our schools, our homes safer.

But Dick Durbin didn't walk away. He stood up to bat and helped us hit it out of the park. And that's why the crime rate's down and why he has earned your support for the United States Senate for the future of Illinois. Will you help him? [*Applause*]

Audience members. Durbin! Durbin! Durbin!

The President. Folks, you heard Senator Moseley-Braun and Congressman Durbin talking about the budget fight we had before. We did have a difficult budget fight. They did shut the Government down. They wanted to cut education on the verge of the 21st century. They wanted to paralyze our ability to protect the environment. They wanted to remove a 30-year guarantee of health care to poor families, to older people in nursing homes, to families who have members with disabilities. They wanted to take all of it away. We said no. They shut the Government down. We said no again. But the real reason it worked is that people like Dick Durbin were there to say we're going to uphold the President's veto. We're not going to let them divide our country and take us back.

So now you have the future out there. You have the future out there, and you have to decide. Are we going to balance the budget in a way that protects our investment in our future and our obligations to each other, or are we going to adopt their risky tax scheme that would blow a hole in the deficit, raise taxes on 9 million people, and bring back all those cuts again even more? We're going to do the right thing and balance the budget and build that bridge to the 21st century. That's what we're going to do.

Are we going to do the right thing and keep going until we put those 100,000 police on the street, help the cities take on the gangs, ban those bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers? [*Applause*] Let's do the right thing and keep building that bridge to the 21st century.

Are we going to do the right thing and keep protecting our environment and clean up all those toxic waste dumps that are threatening our children's future? [*Applause*] Let's don't turn back. Let's build that bridge to the 21st century.

Are we going to do the right thing and help our families? Are we going to expand the family leave law so that parents can go to their children's parent conferences at the school and take their kids to the doctor? [*Applause*] I think we're going to do the right thing.

Are we going to do the right thing and open the doors of college education to all Americans? [*Applause*] We want to see all of our children learning in our schools. We want to see every 12-year-old able to hook up to the Internet. And we want to see every 18-year-old in America able to go to college. If you give us a chance, that's what we'll do.

Finally, are we going to do the right thing about going forward together? [*Applause*] Look around this crowd tonight, just look around. Look around. We've got all kinds of people here tonight. We even have some folks here for the other candidates tonight. You're welcome; we're glad to have you here. We're glad you're here. Look around.

Just think about this world we're moving into: the cold war in the background; no Russian missiles pointed at the children of the United States for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. But what threatens us? Racial, ethnic, religious, tribal hatred; terrorism fueled by those hatreds. People all over the world who believe their life only has meaning if they can look down on someone else—"At least I'm not in that racial group, that ethnic group, that religious group."

Look at the Middle East and Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Rwanda and Burundi and Haiti, and all these places where the United States had tried to stand up for freedom and human dignity and peace. We dare not let that happen here. It should be thrilling to you that you can look around this crowd and see Americans from every continent. It should be thrilling

to you that except for the Native Americans, we all come from someplace else, and we need to respect each other.

So I say to you, that future out there in the 21st century will be the greatest age of human possibility we have ever known. More of our children will have a chance to live out their dreams than any time in history if we make the right decisions. The decision we make a week from tomorrow will have a profound impact on how we go into that new century, on whether we say, "We're going forward together" or whether we say, "You're on your own;" on whether we say, "I hope you can make it, but we're too busy to help," or whether we say, "We do think it takes a village to raise our children and build our future, and we're going to do it."

And so I say to you, probably no person in history who was not a child of Illinois has ever loved this State more or owed more to it than I do. But I ask you one last time, one week from tomorrow, let's build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:15 p.m. in Daley Plaza. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago; Clem Balanoff, Danny K. Davis, and Rod R. Blagojevich, candidates for Illinois' 11th, 7th, and 5th Congressional Districts, respectively; and Mayor Joseph Kernan of South Bend, IN.

Remarks at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio

October 29, 1996

The President. Thank you very much, Jennie Nelson. Your fellow student did a good job, didn't she, up here in front of this big crowd. Give her a hand. Thank you. [*Applause*] Thank you, Senator John Glenn. Thank you, Senator Ben Espy. Thank you, Ted Strickland, for having the courage to run for the Congress again. Your courage should be rewarded, and I hope it will be, by the people of Ohio.

We have a number of other people here with me today, including our National Treasurer and your former State treasurer from Ohio, Mary Ellen Withrow. Thank you, Mary Ellen. And we have another candidate for Congress here today who is opposing the architect of the Gingrich-Dole budget that shut the Government down and would have divided the country. Thank you, Cynthia Ruccia, for having the courage to take on that race for Congress.

I thank Representative Charlita Tavares for being here; our State Democratic chair, David Leland; State senate candidate Mary Jo Kilroy; Bill Burga, the president of the AFL–CIO; Mike Bilirakis, the president of the Ohio Education Association; Tom Mooney of the Ohio Federation of Teachers. Tony Celebreeze, thank you for being here.

And thank you, Ohio State. Thank you, band and cheerleaders, for being here. Thank you all up there; thank you. On the way in today, your student leaders gave me an Ohio State pin, your fine basketball coach gave me a jogging suit for the winter that I can run in, and I needed no reminding that your football team is having another wonderful season. Congratulations.

Ladies and gentlemen, it seems almost amazing to me that it was 4 years ago that I came here to Ohio State, and we had a great rally outside, thousands of people, a lot of enthusiasm. I think I stood around for more than an hour to shake hands, talking to you about my hopes for the future.

Now, 4 years later, you are about to go to the polls just a week from today to elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. Four years ago when I came here, I came because I was worried about how you would go into the 21st century and because I had a vision for what America ought to be like at the dawn of that new era: a country with the American dream alive and well for everyone willing to work for it; a country still leading the world toward peace and freedom and prosperity; a country where we are coming together in the midst of all of our diversity, not being driven apart and divided as so many other countries in the world are.

I believe we are closer to that vision today than we were 4 years ago, and I ask you to stay on the right track to build our bridge to the 21st century.

Our strategy of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community in which everyone has a place at the table and a role to play, is paying off. You heard Senator Glenn say we have 10½ million new jobs; unemployment in Ohio has dropped a third to 4.6 percent. We've cut the deficit by 63 percent. We got the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years. We have the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years. We have the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years. Household income is up $1,600. We have now dropping crime rates and dropping welfare rolls for 4 years in a row. We are moving in the right direction toward the 21st century, and I ask you to stay on that track.

We are also breaking the barriers that will unleash a future that we can only imagine and sometimes not even imagine. Many of you students in this audience will soon be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Some of you will soon be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet.

Here at Ohio State and Ohio Tech and biotech centers and firms all across America, new discoveries are being made at breathtaking speed. The United States Government just signed a contract with IBM to produce a supercomputer——

Audience members. Dole-Kemp! Dole-Kemp! Dole-Kemp!

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Wait. Hey, wait a minute. Just listen to it. Wait, wait. Wait a minute; wait a minute. Just listen to them. Wait a minute. Why are they screaming like that? We heard you. Now, how about the first amendment? We heard your message; now you listen to ours. This is a university. This is a university, and we have respected their free speech. They won't respect ours because they hate the truth. We're better off, and we had to run over them to do it.

Now—they must not have any student loans; Senator Dole voted against creating the student loan program. Ohio State adopted our direct loan program. They must not be in the direct loan program, which gives you the right to pay your loan back as a percentage of your income, because Senator Dole led the fight against the direct loan program. And they must believe we should start the 21st century as the only great nation in the world with no one in the President's Cabinet to represent education, because that is part of the Dole-Kemp program for the 21st century: Get rid of the Department of Education.

I welcome anyone to these rallies, and I welcome you to theirs. I hope you will never go to theirs and stop them from speaking. I believe in free speech at every university in America.

Now, where was I? We just signed a contract with IBM in which the United States and IBM will produce a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than you can do at home tonight on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Recently, scientists were able to have movement in laboratory animals whose spines have been completely severed because of nerve transplants to the spine from other parts of the body.

The human genome project has now mapped out 40 percent of the genetic structure of the body, including discovering in the last 4 years two genes which cause breast cancer. We have more than doubled the life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS in only 4 years, which opens the prospects that it will become a chronic disease. Now all these things are happening——

Audience members. Dole-Kemp! Dole-Kemp! Dole-Kemp!

The President. ——and therefore what we ought to be focusing on today is how we can build a future together that will be worthy of all of our people.

I tell you what I'll do, I'll bet you they won't be doing that a week from today. Everybody who believes in the first amendment, cheer.

Audience members. Yea!

The President. Thank you. Now, let's go on.

You know, we heard a lot of talk from the other side about fiscal responsibility. And you heard Senator Glenn say that the deficit has gone down in all 4 years of this administration for the first time, he said, since President Truman. Actually, President Truman had to raise the deficit one year because of the war in Korea. This is the first time in the 20th century in all 4 years of a President's administration the deficit has gone down. And that's a good thing for America. It means lower interest rates, lower credit card rates, car payment rates, home mort-

gage payments. It's moving us in the right direction.

We're moving from a welfare system based on dependence to one based on independence. The welfare rolls are nearly 2 million smaller than they were 4 years ago—inconvenient for those who would shout down speakers, but it is—2 million. Now, this welfare reform bill gives us a chance to move people forever from welfare to work. But we still have to create jobs. If you're going to tell people you've got to go to work if you're able-bodied, there has to be work there for them to go to. So we have a plan for that.

We're making our families, our neighborhoods safer. We're putting 100,000 police on the street, taking drugs and guns and gangs off the street. The Brady bill has kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns, but no Ohio hunter has lost his weapon, not a single one.

We have helped to strengthen families by passing the family and medical leave law. I tell all of you students here who have not started your families yet, one of the biggest challenges facing parents—I hear it everywhere I go—is how to balance the demands of work and the demands of parenting. Everywhere I go people talk about it. The family and medical leave law has allowed 12 million families to take some time off from work without losing their jobs. Senator Dole led the fight against the family leave law. That's why they're screaming now, and they're wrong, and they won't be screaming.

So you tell me, do you agree with the screamers who were against family and medical leave, or do you think America is better off that you can take a little time off when your baby is born or someone in your family has been sick? Do you agree? [*Applause*] And would you like to see the family leave law extended so that you can take some time off to see parents go to the teacher conferences at the school or to medical appointments with their family members? These are the things we have to do.

But there is no choice before you that is more profoundly significant than the choice involving education. Today I brought with me the Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, who served with me as a Governor and I believe is the finest Secretary of Education ever to serve the United States. I'd like for him to stand up and be recognized. [*Applause*] We have worked—for 20 years we have worked, first as Governors then, now here in the National Government, to try to advance the cause of education. Now you have to decide whether you believe there are things we should do together or whether we should just say, "You're on your own."

When Ted Strickland said his opponent had said to the school people in his district, "You're entitled to only so much education as you can afford," I think we ought to compliment his opponent for his candor and his honesty because that is what they believe. But I don't believe that; I believe everybody should have a chance to have as much education as is necessary to develop their God-given capacity. And you have to decide. You have to decide. You have to decide.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You know—remember what John Glenn said? I want a country in which every 8-year-old can read, in which every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet, in which every 18-year-old can go to college. I would be screaming, too, if I wanted a country that took Head Start and Big Bird away from 5-year-olds, school lunches away from 10-year-olds, summer jobs away from 15-year-olds, and college loans away from 20-year-olds. I might be screaming, too. We are not afraid of honest discussion and debate, so we don't have to shout our opponents down. But I might be screaming if I had that kind of record—either that or running and looking for a rock to hide behind.

We're having a good time here today, but this is serious business. Our ability to give every young person in this country the capacity to live up to his or her God-given abilities, without regard to their race, their income, their region, where they start out in life, is central to their ability, all of your abilities to build strong families, strong careers, and strong communities and central to America's ability to maintain its world leadership, not only in economic but in military and political terms, in the 21st century.

I'd like to talk to you just for a minute—you know what we have done—I want to talk about what we are going to do. First of all, we know that we have the best system of higher education in the world. We know that our schools are doing a great job with a lot of our students, but we also know that compared to many other countries, too many of our students are getting too far in schools without knowing what they need to know to compete and win

in the global economy of the 21st century. So here's what I think should be done in the future and what I will work for.

Number one, as we have been trying to do for years, the States of this country must set high national standards based on international standards of excellence for students, for teachers, and for schools. The only way to get excellence in education for everyone is to define it, to expect it, to demand it, and then to measure it. I believe all children can learn. But we have to have high expectations, and people need to understand that 90 percent of what we need to know is not a function of IQ, it is a function of sustained effort, and we have to have it measured against high standards.

That's why I believe that students should pass to move from one level in school to another, and a diploma ought to mean something, and we ought to know that, we ought to measure it. But these standardized tests shouldn't be just measuring your test-taking ability; everybody should know on the front end what it is you need to know to meet world-class standards, and that is what should be tested. So you can have a lot of tests that don't mean anything. If we're going to have the tests, they must be tied to what is defined as an excellent education. That is what I favor, and everybody in every State is entitled to it.

Number two, we should continue to support grassroots reforms, as Secretary Riley has, to give parents and teachers and principals and students the capacity to achieve their highest level in every school in America. Every parent should have the freedom to choose their child's public school. Our balanced budget plan contains funds to create 3,000 new schools, charter schools, schools that are free to innovate, to demand high standards, schools that survive only if they produce results. The States already have money to begin that, and I urge them to do it.

But before parents can exercise the right sort of choice, they have to have enough information. So today again let me say, I challenge the States and the school districts of America to publish report cards on every school and to put them on the Internet. Parents should be able to compare class size, reading scores, safety records with all the schools in their district, all the schools in their State, and with schools across the country. We need to know how our schools are doing, and the schools should have a report card accessible to every parent in the United States, in every State and every community.

Number three, we should do, as Ted Strickland says—in our balanced budget plan we have a plan that will lower the interest rates on borrowing for school districts that are desperate to build cafeterias, new facilities, remodel facilities. There are almost 52 million children in school this year. This is the first year when there have been more children in our school systems across America than were there during the baby boom years—the first year. I have been to school after school after school where people are running out of the classrooms, where the conditions are broken down and the schools don't have the money to fix them, where beautiful old buildings are surrounded by trailers taking up the extra students. We have to do this together now.

Number four, we ought to work hard to make our schools, all our schools, places of values and learning, not violence. We have supported zero tolerance for guns in schools. We have encouraged schools to adopt school uniform policies. We have helped communities to enforce truancy laws and curfews. We fought hard to protect the safe and drug-free schools program from slashing cuts, because all of our children, early in life, need to see one of those D.A.R.E. officers or other role models up in their classrooms saying, "These drugs can kill you. They're not just illegal. They're wrong. They can kill you." We need to do that, and we should support it.

I have also challenged all of our schools to a broad national goal: Every child in America should be able to read independently by the third grade. Forty percent of our children still cannot do that. I want to send 30,000 reading specialists and national service corps, AmeriCorps volunteers around the country to form an army of one million people to make sure that by the year 2000 all of our third graders can read independently.

In the budget I signed last month, we increased the number of work-study jobs for college students by a third, by 200,000—that many more work-study slots. Now, I want to ask you something. I have recommended that at least 100,000 of those new work-study slots be allocated to young people who are willing to work to teach children to read. Would you help do that? Will you support that goal? Will you help us? [*Applause*] Think what it would mean for

America if every 8-year-old in this country could hold up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." We can do that.

The next thing we have to do is to hook up every classroom and library in America to the Internet by the year 2000. You know, 4 years ago nobody but nuclear physicists had ever heard of the Internet. Today even my cat, Socks, has his own web page. [*Laughter*] I'm amazed at that. I meet kids all the time, been talking to my cat on the Internet. [*Laughter*] It's an amazing thing. By the time a child born today is old enough to read, there will be 100 million people on the Internet. We must connect all of our classrooms and libraries to that information superhighway by the year 2000. Here in Ohio and 18 other States this past weekend, a NetDay was held in which business people, computer technicians, students, parents, teachers all worked to hook up their schools.

Now, let me tell you what this means. I have asked the Federal Communications Commission to authorize an E-rate, a rate that would say, all the schools and libraries in America will be able to hook up to the Internet for free. We've committed—actually, the Internet is even getting overload now, so we've committed another $100 million to creating a new, expanded, upgraded, next-generation Internet to handle all of you who want to get on it.

Now, if you're not a computer wizard, like me, let me explain in plain language what it means. If we can hook up all of our classrooms to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, what it means is, in those school districts Ted Strickland was talking about in southern Ohio, in the poorest inner-city school districts in America, in the most remote school districts in the far reaches of the high plains in America, for the first time ever they and the schools in all the richest districts and the middle class districts, for the first time ever, will have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize educational opportunity in America, and we owe it to our children to do just that. And I hope you will support it.

And finally, I want you to help me in this election and afterward to open the doors of college education to all Americans. Everybody who wants to go who is willing to work should be able to go.

We have improved the student loan program. This direct loan program that Ohio State participates in has saved the average college student $200 and lots of time. But most important of all, it says you can pay your college loan back as a percentage of your income. So no student ever now needs to fear borrowing money to go to college for fear they'll go broke paying the loans off, because you can pay it back as a percentage of your income. It is a very important thing. Secondly, we've signed the biggest increase in Pell grants last month in 20 years. We did add 200,000 people to work-study. We've got almost 70,000 young people who have now earned money for college through AmeriCorps. But I want to do three more things and ask you to help me.

Number one, not everybody in America is or can go to a place like Ohio State, but almost every American of any age who needs further education is within driving distance of a good community college. I want to make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today, and we can do it. We can do it. We can do it by simply saying you can deduct the cost of your tuition, dollar for dollar, from your tax bill, a HOPE scholarship in the form of a $1,500 tax credit. That will revolutionize education.

Number two, we should give every family a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition at any place of higher education, undergraduate or graduate, in the United States of America.

And number three, we should expand IRA's so that families can save in these individual retirement accounts and then withdraw from them without any tax penalty if the money is used to pay for college or buying a first-time home or dealing with a family medical cost. These things will allow us to say that middle income families will never, never be taxed on the money they save and spend for college. It will revolutionize the capacity of people to finance a college education in America.

Now, again I say I want you to think about what our country should look like in the 21st century. What is your vision for America then? What is your vision for America when your children are your age? That is what this whole thing is about. So as you go to the polls and as you debate this with your friends and neighbors over the next week and as you encourage a vigorous exchange, think about this, and think about this last point.

Look around this hall today. Look around this hall today. We have people of all kinds of different political views—[*laughter*]—and genders and ethnic backgrounds and religions and races. There is no place in America anymore where you can't find some measure of diversity.

I was in Detroit the other day, and I was told that in Wayne County there are people from 141 different racial and ethnic groups—141 in one county in America. There are only 192 different national groups represented at the Olympics. Amazing. But you look at the rest of the world. Pick up the paper on any day, and you read about the Middle East or Bosnia or Northern Ireland or Rwanda or Burundi—all over the world, people literally torn apart by their differences. Why? Because there is something in human nature that makes people have to believe that they can only be important if they're looking down on someone else—"Well, whatever is wrong with me, at least I'm not them."

Now, we're trying to beat that rap. And that's why we cannot tolerate hatred or intolerance in this country. That's why America reacted so strongly against the horror of Oklahoma City. That's why America reacted so strongly against the church burnings and the desecration of synagogues and Islamic centers in America. That's why—we know that. We know that.

And let me tell you, for all of the other issues I've talked about today, it is just as important for you to be able to say in your heart that you want to build a bridge to the 21st century big enough, wide enough, strong enough for everybody to walk across, and if someone stands up and says, "I believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, and I'm willing to show up and do my job at work or as a student or in some other way tomorrow. I'm going to obey the law and be a responsible citizen," you need to be able to say back, "I need to know nothing else about you. You're part of my America. I will join hands with you, and we will walk into the 21st century together."

Thank you, Ohio. Thank you. God bless you. Be there with us next Tuesday.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 a.m. at St. John's Arena. In his remarks, he referred to State Senator Ben Espy; Cynthia Ruccia, candidate for Ohio's 12th Congressional District; State Representative Charlita Tavares; and Franklin County recorder candidate Anthony Celebreeze, Jr.

Remarks at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
October 29, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you, Philadelphia. Can you hear us in the back? Beyond the fence? Thank you. Thank you for being here today. Thank you, Congressman Chaka Fattah, for your eloquent introduction. What's all that music? [*Laughter*] Whoever turned it off, give them a hand. That's great. There are a few thousand people out there beyond the fence. Can you hear us back there? Welcome. We're glad to see you.

Thank you, Congressman Chaka Fattah, for your leadership. Thank you, Mayor Rendell, for your outstanding leadership of Philadelphia. It's amazing what you've accomplished for all of America, as you said in your introduction. [*Laughter*] Congressman Borski, Congressman Foglietta. And I'd like to introduce a person that I hope will be joining them in the United States Congress to fight for you and your future, Joe Hoeffel, a congressional candidate, very near here. Thank you, sir. Thank you, president of the Philadelphia City Council John Street. Thank you, my good friends Grover Washington, Patti LaBelle, Boyz 2 Men. Weren't they great?

Thank you, Rodney Peete, for what you said and what you do, and we all wish you well in your recovery. He's in a line of work where he even takes more blows than I do, and he's doing very well. [*Laughter*] And thank you, Holly, for being here. Thank you, Dr. Papadakis, and thank you, Dr. Judith Roden. Thank you, Chairman Brady, and thank you, Catherine Baker Knowles. And I understand that there are students here from 21 different colleges and universities throughout the Delaware Valley, thank you, all of you, for coming here today.

Thank you, Secretary Riley, for being here with me and for being, I believe, the most outstanding Secretary of Education in the history of that department.

Ladies and gentlemen, we're about to elect the last President of the 20th century, the first President of the 21st century. You have a lot at stake in that election. I wanted to come here today where there would be so many young people to ask you to think about your tomorrows. I ask you to go home tonight and before you go to bed, to spend just a few moments asking yourself a simple question: What do I want my country to be like when we cross that bridge into the 21st century? What do I hope my country will be like when my children are my age?

Here we are in Philadelphia, the birthplace of American democracy. When our forefathers gathered here to lead the way into the 19th century over 200 years ago, they restored to the Earth a form of government called democracy that had been all but forgotten for 2000 years. Since ancient Greece, people had given up on the idea that people could be free, could freely govern themselves, could elect their own leaders and make their own decisions and march into the future as equal children of God. It was a revolutionary idea.

And because they did that, they set in motion a whole chain of circumstances that have brought us all here today. All of us from our different ethnic and racial and religious backgrounds, all of us from our different economic circumstances, all of us from all over this great country and from all over the world, we stand here today freely to debate our opinions and discuss our visions, because they did that. What I want you to understand is that we are about to begin a new century and a new millennium where we are radically changing the way we work and live and relate to each other, where we must find a way to meet our challenges and seize our opportunities while preserving the values that have sustained this country and our families and our lives for over 200 years.

Many of you in this audience today will soon be doing jobs that have not been invented yet; many of you will even be doing work that has not been imagined yet. I want to say a special word of thanks to those who are here who are pushing the frontiers of knowledge, the hundreds of scientists and engineers, including many here in Pennsylvania, who have supported our goals in science and technology. And I want to thank especially one of your own who is here today and was a pioneer of the Internet and one of the cochairs of Scientists and Engineers for Clinton/Gore, Pennsylvania's own David Farber. Thank you for being here today.

If you just think about the Internet, 4 years ago when I took the oath of office as President, about the only people who knew about the Internet were nuclear physicists. Today, my cat has his own home page and own website. [*Laughter*] I stop and shake hands with schoolchildren; they know not very much about me, but they have been conversing with Socks on the Internet. [*Laughter*] Before you know it there will be 100 million people on the Internet.

So when we think about this election, I think it's good to cheer and shout, make a lot of noise and get our emotions running, but I also think you ought to take a little time just to ask yourself, "What do I want this country to be like when we cross that bridge to a new century and a new millennium?"

I have always wanted America to go into this new century with the American dream alive and well for everyone responsible enough to work for it. I have always wanted to know that our country would still be the strongest force in the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I have always wanted to know that we could beat the tide of history driving so many people apart around the world, and we could say, we love our diversity, we relish our diversity, we're building a stronger American community with all the different people who come here who share our values and believe in our Constitution.

Now you know, 4 years ago when the people of Pennsylvania supported me, you sort of took me on faith. Today you don't have to do that entirely. There is a record. And it is true that we have 10½ million more jobs; that we have the lowest deficit that our country has had, once you adjust for inflation, in 22 years; that our deficit is now the lowest of any advanced country in the world; and that in part because of that, we have lower interest rates, which means lower loan rates for businesses, lower car payment rates and student loan rates and home mortgage rates. That's what gives you 10½ million new jobs and record numbers of new businesses.

We have seen, after years and years and years of decline and stagnation, the typical families'

incomes begin to go up substantially again, the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years. We have the largest number of businesses owned by women and minorities in the history of America. We are moving in the right direction to the 21st century.

The welfare rolls have dropped by nearly 2 million. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row and is now at a 10-year low. Ten million Americans just got an increase in their minimum wage. Twenty-five million Americans may be helped by the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you change jobs or somebody in your family has been sick. We've stopped and made it illegal for insurance companies to kick mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after 24 hours.

There are fewer chemical pollutants in the air. Our drinking water is safer. Our food standards have been raised. We've cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than the previous administrations did in 12. The environment is cleaner, and we have fought off the most vigorous assault on environmental protection since we began to protect the environment in 1970. We are moving in the right direction to the 21st century.

We have expanded Head Start, created the national service program, given our schools the tools they need to meet higher standards. We have lowered the cost of college loans and improved the repayment terms so that for 10 million American students today you can pay your college loan back as a percentage of your income and never fear being bankrupted because of the increase in the cost of college. I just signed the biggest increase in the Pell grant program in 20 years, and 200,000 more work-study positions for college students throughout America. We are moving in the right direction.

But you have to decide. And I want to go through some of the specific issues, but I want you to keep the big issues in mind. The big issues are, what do you believe we have to do together as a people nationally? It's not the Government versus the people; our administration has reduced the size of Government, the number of regulations, the number of programs and privatized more Government operations than the last two administrations combined. That is not what it is. It's whether you believe we'd be better off going into the future with the philosophy of "you're on your own," or whether you think it does take a village to raise our children and invest in our future and move forward into the 21st century. It's whether you believe that it's enough for someone to say to you, "Whatever your station in life, there is the future out there and there is a lot of mountains to climb and valleys to cross and rivers to ford; I hope you make it," or whether you want to build a bridge that's strong enough and wide enough for every one of us to walk across together. That is the question before you.

So will we balance the budget while we protect our investments in education, research, the environment, and our obligations to poor children, to our families in nursing homes, to people with disabilities through Medicare and Medicaid? Or will we adopt a risky tax scheme that will blow a hole in the deficit and require bigger cuts than those I vetoed last year when they shut the Government down? I think I know the answer to that. I think you want to balance the budget, keep the economy growing, and have targeted tax cuts for education and childrearing and health care and buying a first home. Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*]

We have made a beginning on health care reform, but our balanced budget plan will go further. It will help families keep their insurance when they're between jobs for 6 months. It will add another million children to the ranks of insured. It will give free mammograms to women on Medicare. And for the nearly 2 million families struggling to care with a family member with Alzheimer's, we're going to give them some respite care because they're trying to keep their families together. That's what we ought to do. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*]

We passed the family and medical leave law, which has given 12 million families a chance to take a little time off from work when a baby is born or a family member is sick. Our friends on the other side led the fight against family and medical leave. They said it would hurt the economy. We have 10½ million more jobs and the fastest small business growth in American history; it does not hurt the economy when you help people succeed at home and at work. Parenting is our most important work, and we're better off.

I want to expand family and medical leave to say you can have a little time off without losing your job to go see your children's teacher

twice a year and when someone in your family needs to go to the doctor, to take them. And I think when people earn overtime, they ought to have the right to decide whether to take the overtime in cash or time with their family if they're needed at home. Will you help us build that kind of future? [*Applause*]

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row because we listen to the police in this country and to community activists, because we passed a crime bill that had tougher punishment but also had prevention programs to give our children something to say yes to, is putting 100,000 police on the street and taking guns and drugs and gangs off the street. The Brady bill cost no Pennsylvania hunter a weapon, not a single one. But 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers didn't get handguns to terrorize the people here in Philadelphia as a result of it.

And now we have to go further and finish the job of putting those police on the street. You know, our friends on the other side, they still are trying to undermine our commitment to 100,000 police. It is bringing the crime rate down. I want to keep going until we have 8 years of declining crime and everybody in this country feels safe walking on the street outside their house with their children playing in the park down the street, feels safe in their schools, safe in their homes, safe in their neighborhoods. From the Violence Against Women Act, to the domestic violence prevention program, to the 100,000 police, we are moving in the right direction. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

There are still 10 million children in this country living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. I want to close 500 more so we can look every child in the face and say, "Son or daughter, you're going to grow up next to a park, not poison." In America, we know the environment can be enhanced as we grow the economy, and we will never turn back on that commitment. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We've moved almost 2 million people from welfare to work and signed a new bill that says that people who are able-bodied have to turn their welfare check into a paycheck within 2 years. That sounds good, but passing a law does not change people's lives. I say if you require people to go to work, you had better make sure there is work for them to do. I have a plan to create those jobs, and I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

Most of all, my fellow Americans, your vote will decide whether we go forward together in our common quest to give every person in this country, from the smallest children to people way in their later years who need it, the opportunity to learn and to keep on learning for a lifetime and to do so at international standards of excellence.

We have worked hard to improve education, but we must do more. We have to raise standards, define them, expect them, and measure them and hold people accountable. We ought to do more. Forty percent of the 8-year-olds in this country—this is important—40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country can still not read independently. That's partly because we have so many people coming to our country from other places and their first language isn't English. But they need to learn to read so they can grow and learn and someday show up at the University of Pennsylvania or Drexel and do well. That's when they need to learn.

Now, we have a plan to mobilize 30,000 AmeriCorps volunteers and other trained reading experts to go across the country to generate a million total volunteers to help teach children to read. Of the 200,000 extra work study slots we just got allocated to college students, I want 100,000 of those devoted to young people who say, "Yes, if you will help me go through college, I will be glad to take some of my time to teach a young child to read." Will you help us do that? Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

We have to keep going with technology until we hook every school and library in the country up to the Internet, to the information superhighway. I want to do it for free—every classroom and every library. For the first time in history, if we do this, we can know, for the very first time since education began in America, that the students in the poorest inner-city schools, the students in the most remote mountain villages, along with the students in the wealthiest schools and the middle class schools, all of our kids together for the first time ever will have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. We are going to revolutionize learning in America if we do it. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And finally, we are determined to open the doors of college education to all Americans by passing the HOPE scholarship, and saying, with-

in 4 years we want 2 years of education after high school to be as universal as a high school diploma is today. And we'll help you do it. You can deduct dollar for dollar from your tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition. Until everybody can go, we'll pay the way. All you have to do is work hard and make your grades, be responsible, and we'll give you the opportunity to build a new life. We want to give every college student, undergraduate or graduate in any form of higher education, a $10,000 tax deduction a year for the cost of any tuition. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

We want to let families all over America save in IRA's for college and withdraw the money without tax penalty for education or homebuying or medical costs, so that we can say we will never tax the money being used for higher education in America because we want everyone to go. I want you to help us achieve that. We can do it with your help. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

And finally, let me just say this: Look around this great sea of people today. You have people here who come from every continent, from many different racial and ethnic and religious groups. Here we are together as Americans. You have people here with different political opinions. I'm glad some of the opposition showed up today—reminds us we don't have everything.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, wait a minute. No. Listen. That's what makes America America. If we all agreed, it wouldn't be nearly as interesting as it is, because we're all different.

But you think about the rest of the world—Congressman Fattah mentioned it—but you think about Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi, South Africa; how many places in the world have people been torn apart because folks are driven by their hatreds rather than their hopes, because people define themselves in terms of who they aren't instead of who they are, because political leaders are always looking for a wedge to drive into the stake of the spirit of people instead of looking for ways to bring us together. We have beat that.

In the reaction we had to the terrible tragedy in Oklahoma City, we said, "We don't hate people just because they work for our Government. They're our servants." In the reaction we had to the terrible church burnings, to the desecrations of synagogues and the destruction of Islamic centers, we said, "In America we believe in religious freedom and dignity."

You look around this crowd today—that's the last thing I want to say—we have got to say, "If you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights birthed by our Founders here so many years ago, if you are willing to show up tomorrow and do the right thing, being a good student, going to work and doing your best, we don't need to know anything else about you. You're part of our America, part of our future, and you're going to walk across that bridge with us into the 21st century."

Will you be there next week? Will you lead them? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. We can do it. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:33 p.m. at Hill Field. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Edward Rendell of Philadelphia; Joe Hoeffel, candidate for Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District; entertainers Grover Washington, Patti LaBelle, and Boyz 2 Men; Rodney Peete, NFL Philadelphia Eagles quarterback, and his wife, Holly Robinson Peete; Constantine Papadakis, president, Drexel University; Judith Roden, president, University of Pennsylvania; Bob Brady, chairman, Philadelphia Democratic Party; and Catherine Baker Knowles, Pennsylvania State treasurer.

Remarks on Receiving a Henry Ossawa Tanner Painting for the White House Collection

October 29, 1996

Let me just say, very briefly, I want to thank Dr. Rae Alexander-Minter for her moving tribute and for making this possible. I want to thank her mother for taking good care of this picture.

Thank you, Edward Bell, for being a good American citizen and asking questions, which is what we need our citizens to do. Thank you, Rex Scouten; and thank you, David Driskell; thank you to the late Sylvia Williams. I'd also like to thank my wife for her insistence that we take up Mr. Bell's suggestion.

Tonight is a happy night for us, to be here, to be a part of this. Tonight reminds us, in all humility, that we are simply tenants here passing through—even though we're trying to get our lease renewed at the moment. [*Laughter*] There is, in any case, a limit on the lease, and it's a very short period in the very long life of our great country.

And in so many ways, everything that represents America sooner or later has to come to represent a better America, has to come to reflect our ongoing journey. And I was thinking tonight that Thomas Jefferson, whose statue looks directly into the second floor Oval Room, right above us here, would be smiling. You know, on the memorial they have that wonderful quote, when Jefferson said, "When I think of slavery, I tremble to think that God is just." He knew better. And it took us a long time to come to grips with all that.

And this magnificent artist whom we honor tonight had to live in the afterwash of the Civil War and our continuing struggle to come to grips with our obligations as a people, both moral and constitutional. Now, a long time after that and too long in coming, this great painting will hang in the Green Room and over 1½ million visitors will see it every year. Most of them, but not all of them, will be Americans. Of the Americans, they will come from more than African-American and Caucasian-American stock. They will now come from a myriad of racial and ethnic and religious groups. But when they stop in the Green Room and look at this beautiful work of art, they will know that America here in the people's house is moving again toward its ultimate destiny and living closer to its ideals.

To all of you who have made that possible, I thank you. I thank you for being here tonight. And I ask you now to join us in the reception. Thank you very, very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:52 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Rae Alexander-Minter, grandniece of the artist and former owner of the painting *Sand Dunes at Sunset, Atlantic City*; Edward Bell, who wrote to the President informing him that no works of African-American artists were included in the White House collection; Rex Scouten, White House Curator; David Driskell, expert on African-American art; and Sylvia Williams, former director, Smithsonian Institution Museum of African Art.

Remarks at the Saxophone Club Presidential Victory Concert
October 29, 1996

Thank you. Let me say to all of you, you have honored me and our party by being here tonight. I can't thank you enough. I want to say a special word of thanks to the Saxophone Club, to the DC Chapter, and to Bennet Kelley, to all of you who had anything to do with putting this together.

I thank Bruce Hornsby and his wonderful band for keeping us pumped up and playing so brilliantly. I thank Stevie Wonder for so brilliantly taking us back across the years and bringing us back today again. He was magnificent, let's give him a hand. [*Applause*]

And thank you, Kevin Spacey, for being here and for showing your versatility, your patience, your talent. You know, from "The Usual Suspects" to "Seven" to "A Time To Kill," to Johnny Carson, to killing time creatively—[*laughter*]—this man has a brilliant past and a more brilliant future. I am so honored that he was here tonight. We ought to give him a Purple Heart for how much time he had to stand up.

You know, I felt so sorry for Kevin up here. It reminded me of some of the licks that I have taken in this campaign. And one day when I was kind of feeling sorry for myself, somebody reminded me of something Mark Twain said and I wish I could have whispered to Kevin. The fellow said, "You know, you ought to consider yourself like the dog Mark Twain talked

about. He said, every dog needs a few fleas; it keeps him from worrying so much about being a dog." [*Laughter*] And so no matter whatever happens to Kevin in his performing life, he'll always remember it will never be as bad as when he had to stand in Constitution Hall and make up jokes for 20 minutes during acts. You were great. Thank you, and God bless you.

You know, this election is in 7 days. It has always been about the future. The work that Al Gore and I have done for 4 years has been about building an America for the 21st century. Whatever else people say or talk about in the end, it's about the future of the young people in this grand old Constitution Hall tonight and all your counterparts all across our great country.

And so I ask you to give 7 more days of effort and your voice, your passion, your commitment to making sure that we roar into that next century together; that we build a bridge we can all walk across; that we say no to division, no to going back, no to the short-sighted, negative forces that would tend to divide us and cloud our clear vision of the tomorrow we can make together. Our best days are still ahead.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:27 p.m. in Constitution Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Bennet Kelley, national cochair, Saxophone Club; musicians Bruce Hornsby and Stevie Wonder; and actor Kevin Spacey.

Remarks at Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, Michigan
October 30, 1996

Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to ask right here at the beginning that we give another round of applause not only to Irma Elder but to Juanita Bycraft Walker and to Gail Davis. The three of them represent the whole range of women's businesses in America today. Let's give them a hand. They were great. Thank you. [*Applause*]

Thank you. Let me say I am delighted to be back at Eastern Michigan, where I prepared for one of my debates in 1992. I had a great time here then, and I'm glad to be back now. I want to thank both the marching band and the concert band for playing for us today. Thank you very much.

And just on a purely personal point, I first heard of Eastern Michigan University a long time ago when I hired a young man from one of the poorest counties in America out of the Mississippi Delta, right on the river of the Mississippi in my home State, to work for me in the attorney general's office and later in the Governor's office, who told me he had been given his start in life when he got a football scholarship to Eastern Michigan University. And that young man, Rodney Slater, is now the Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration, investing billions of dollars in growing the American economy through infrastructure. So you can always be proud of your mission here and what you're doing and the opportunity you've given to people.

I'd like to thank Vice President Juanita Reid for making me feel so welcome today, and Michelle Vasquez, the executive director of the Ann Arbor Community Development Corporation. Senator and Mrs. Riegle, thank you for coming. Congressman Ford, thank you for coming. I'd like to acknowledge the presence here of the Director of the Small Business Administration, Phil Lader, and the head of the White House Office on Women's Affairs, Betsy Myers, who have both done a wonderful job for the women business owners of America. Thank you very much. Thank you, Senator Carl Levin, for your speech and for your service to Michigan. And I have a great deal of confidence that you're going to get your service extended in 6 more days.

And I was looking at Lynn Rivers give her speech, and I thought, I wish everybody in America could see this woman give her talk, could hear her story. I wish everybody in America could meet her husband who's working down at the UAW—Ford plant down the road here and can't be here today. That represents what America is all about. The story that Irma told of her life represents what America's all about.

The stories that Juanita and Gail told of their lives represent what America's all about.

I especially want to thank Lynn Rivers for not forgetting where she came from when she went to Congress and for voting to give every other person in America the same chance to make the most of his or her own life that she did.

I ran for this office 4 years ago with a vision of what our country should look like when we start the 21st century, a simple but profound one. I want every person in America, without regard to their background, to have a chance to live out their dreams if they're responsible enough to work for it. I want our country to keep leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want us—and as I look around this room today I feel good about it—I want us to defy the trend that is bedeviling the rest of the world and say, we are not going to be consumed by our differences; we're going to celebrate our diversity and go forward together in an America where everybody has a chance to make it.

As Senator Levin said, we've had a good run of success in trying to turn the economy around. We have cut the deficit by 63 percent. We have seen America produce 10½ million more jobs. We have seen an income increase of $1,600 for the typical family in the last 2 years. We know we have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 28 years, the biggest drop in inequality of incomes among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in poverty among female-headed households in 30 years, the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years. We're moving in the right direction, and that's a good thing. We know that small business has a lot to do with that.

One of the things that I'm proudest of is that this has happened while we have reduced the size of the Federal Government and increased the percentage of new jobs in America being created by the private sector. In each of the last 3 years, the number of new businesses started has reached record levels. This has included a surge in businesses owned by all kinds of Americans: more than 220,000 new Hispanic businesses, more than 100,000 new African-American businesses, the highest rate of business ownership in both minority groups ever recorded, and a record number of new small businesses owned by women.

Women are establishing businesses and creating new jobs at twice the national rate of business and job growth. One-third of all the businesses in our country, about 8 million companies now, are owned by women. They employ one in five of American workers. Here in Michigan, over a quarter of a million women-owned businesses employ over a half-million people. In 1992, women-owned businesses contributed $1.6 trillion to our economy. Today, in only 4 years, that number has grown to $2.3 trillion. I might say, there are a very, very few countries in the world that have an annual output of more than $2.3 trillion.

In every community, in every State, the face of our businesses are changing. Every day it looks more and more like the people in this room, men and women, people of color, increasingly Americans with disabilities are becoming business owners. More and more people are finding ways to make the free enterprise system work for them. That supports stronger families, more stable communities, and a much, much stronger America with a brighter future. Today we received some more good news: Our economy is continuing to grow steady and strong, with an annual growth rate of nearly 3 percent; real incomes for American workers, after being stagnant for virtually 20 years, are rising at nearly 5 percent, with no inflation in this economy.

And the future in many ways looks even better, because in the past 3 months alone, business investment has risen at 18.9 percent, and the rate of investment now is the strongest since President Kennedy was in office over 30 years ago. There is an extreme increase in the expectation that we can keep our free enterprise system growing, flourishing, growing stronger, with rising incomes, more businesses, more jobs. And we cannot turn back on that.

What we are trying to do, of course, goes beyond economics, but when the economy improves, it makes our other common endeavors more likely to succeed. I think just in the last 4 years we've had 4 years of declining crime rates, 4 years of declining welfare rolls, 1.9 million fewer Americans on the welfare rolls than 4 years ago.

I think of the fact that we now have a sense that we can actually begin to reform our health care system in a positive way. The Kennedy-Kassebaum bill says to 25 million Americans, you can't lose your health insurance anymore if you change jobs or someone in your family

gets sick. I just signed a bill which says that mothers and their newborn babies can't be kicked out of the hospital in 24 hours anymore. I think that's very important.

So this thing—we're moving this in the right direction. But I want to focus today a little bit on small business because we know that increasingly more and more and more of our jobs are coming from our small businesses. And I'd like to talk a little bit about that.

When I became President, it troubled me that there were certain critical jobs that previous Presidents, both Republicans and Democrats, had typically given to political appointees without regard to whether they knew anything about the work they were supposed to do. One of them was the Federal Emergency Management Administration. I had been a Governor; I'd dealt with a lot of floods and fires and tornadoes and natural disasters. And I can tell you when they hit, if you don't have somebody who knows what they're doing, you're in a world of hurt. So I changed that. I put a person in who knew what to do. And as you know, we've had a lot of natural disasters in America in the last 4 years; everything but the locusts have hit us. [*Laughter*] But people know in all local communities that we now have a competent, aggressive strategy for dealing with it.

And that was true in the Small Business Administration. I've had two Administrators in the Small Business Administration, Erskine Bowles and Phil Lader, both of them experienced in starting small businesses and running small businesses and understanding how businesses work. We have doubled the loan volume of the SBA in the last 4 years while reducing the budget. We have cut the regulations by 50 percent in the SBA. For loan applications of $100,000 or less, we've gone from an application form that is one inch thick to a form that is one page, in 4 years.

The White House Conference on Small Business asked us to do a number of things. We have now, in two different bites, in 1993 and 1996, increased the expensing for small businesses who invest more in their own business from $10,000 a year all the way to $25,000 a year, the number one recommendation we got out of the White House Conference. The second thing that we were asked to do was to make it easier for people who own small businesses and for their employees to take out 401(k) pension plans and to move those plans when they change from job to job, and we have done that. And I am very proud of that.

I signed regulatory legislation which will make it more difficult in the future for Government to do things that are dumb to small-business people without giving small-business people a chance to stop it in the first place.

We established a network of community development banks, each with a mission to have a microenterprise loan program like those which many of you have experienced around here. If you think about it, microenterprise loans have helped to revolutionize the culture of poverty in countries far poorer than America all over the world. Why couldn't we revolutionize the culture of poverty in our inner cities and other isolated areas with microenterprise loans in America to bring free enterprise? Women can lead the way in this.

And in general, I'm proud of the fact that we have reduced the size of Government by about 250,000 to its smallest point in 30 years. We have reduced 16,000 pages of regulations. We have eliminated hundreds of programs. We have privatized significant chunks of the Federal Government that belonged in the private sector—more reduction in size, regulation, and programs and more privatization in these 4 years than in the previous 12 years combined, giving you a smaller, less bureaucratic Government, but one still committed to investing in education, protecting the environment, and moving this country forward together, giving everybody a chance to live up to the fullest of their own capacities.

Today we are taking two more steps to extend opportunities that come from small businesses. First, I want to build on a program that is plainly working. We established in 1994 a women's prequalification pilot loan program for loan applications of under $250,000 in 16 sites. That's kind of a mouthful; you know, I wish I had some fancy acronym for it. But what it meant in basic terms was, in these 16 places, we worked with women who wanted to start businesses or wanted to expand businesses and needed capital, and we worked up the loan application in advance for them so we knew it would have a good chance of being approved at the bank. And we gave them a commitment on the front end that the SBA would guarantee it. Now, since that happened in just 16 sites, 575 separate women businesses have gotten over $58 million in loans. We are now going to do

that nationwide. We will make that service available to women in every State in the United States.

The second thing we're going to do relates to another request we got out of the White House Conference on Small Businesses for loans above $250,000. There we were told over and over, at the White House Conference on Small Business, that the biggest problem was finding capital, even for worthy enterprises, if the business were small. So we are now starting something new that came directly out of the White House Conference that does have a catchy acronym—I can say that better—the Angel Capital Electronic Network, or ACENET, a new computer website that will allow small-business owners to put their prospectus on the Internet and match small businesses with sophisticated investors. That will make it much, much easier than ever before for people who are in small business to get money. I hope a lot of you can take advantage of it. This new net site will allow women business owners to go directly to investors to avoid confusing rules, lack of information, and their lack of access to what we ought to call, I guess, the old boy networks. It will work if you will make it work.

These are just two more things that are part of our ongoing commitment. Now, let me say there is a lot more to do. We have a lot to do to build a bridge that I want to build to the 21st century, to realize the vision that I have. I hope every one of you tonight, whatever your political party or background, will take a little time before you turn in to do something that I do on a regular basis. Take a little time and ask yourself, what do I want my country to look like when we start the new century? And what would I like my country to look like when my children are my age? It's an amazing thing what that does for you when you ask that question and how you answer it.

But as I said, for me it's simple. I just want everybody to have the chances that I had, that Lynn Rivers had, that so many of us had. We wouldn't be here today, I think, if we had all been told, "You're on your own." Most of us are pretty self-reliant, or we wouldn't be in this room. But I still believe that, as someone reasonably close to me said, it does take a village to raise our children and grow our economy and build our future. That's what I believe.

So I say to you, we have to balance the budget, and I hope every one of you will help lead the demand that we continue to do so, because that will keep those interest rates down, it will keep the economy going, it will make that money more available to you. But we have to do it while we continue to invest in our future and in Medicaid's guarantee of health care to families with members with disabilities or poor children or the elderly in nursing homes and in the Medicare program. We can reform those programs without wrecking them, and we still can invest in our future, in education and technology and in research as well.

When people—I hear people say, "I'm me, and the Government is them." I don't know what they're talking about, because the Government is nothing but the reflection of the collective choices of the American people. And the issue is, what are these things that we do? We've had a great debate in Washington for the last 4 years that I think has been very healthy for the country: What things should we do together at the national level; what things can be better done by States and localities; what things can be better done in the private sector; what things can better be done by families? And we've had huge differences, which I think have been healthy.

I think we did the right thing on family and medical leave. We're stronger because you can take a little time off from sizeable employers when a baby is born or somebody in your family is sick, without losing your job. If you can succeed at home and at work, the country is better, not worse, because of that. That makes us stronger. It makes us stronger.

I think it's a better country because we cut the cost of college loans for people that participate in the direct loan program and said, "You can pay that loan off as a percentage of your income so you never need to be afraid of borrowing money to go to school, because now you won't be bankrupted paying it back. Your limited payments every year will be limited to a certain percentage of your income." I think that made us a better, stronger country because we made more people eligible to go to college.

Therefore, I believe we should go forward in that spirit. We should be committed to growing our economy. We should be committed to doing it through the free enterprise system. We should be committed to continuing to make our Government as lean and efficient and as little bureaucratic as possible. But there are things we ought to do together.

And the education thing is so important to me. I don't believe we can afford the big tax plan my opponent has proposed because I think it will blow a hole in the deficit and will give it all right back in higher interest rates and a weaker economy, and because it will require even bigger cuts than I vetoed last year. But I do think we should have targeted tax cuts to help families raise their children, to help people afford health care and buying that first-time home, and especially to pay for the cost of education.

I believe as strongly as I can say—and I want to give Michigan another hand here, or at least one of my friends in Michigan—I got interested in the idea that we ought to make college available to everyone when Governor Blanchard started the Michigan tuition savings plan here. I remember that.

And so we have given almost 70,000 young people a chance to earn money for college through AmeriCorps. We've given the improvements I mentioned in the student loan program. We're now selling inflation-proof savings bonds for people so they can save, knowing that inflation won't eat up the gains. But I'd like to do some more things. I believe that we ought to let people save in an IRA and withdraw from it without penalty if the money is used for a college education or health care or buying a first home—more people.

I believe—even at this distinguished university let me say that we know from the census figures that if people get at least 2 years of education after high school in a good community college, they've got a good chance to get a job that is a good job with growing prospects. Almost every American lives within driving distance of one, so I have proposed to give Americans a $1,500 tax credit, the typical cost of community college tuition, a dollar-for-dollar reduction from your taxes, for the first 2 years of college as long as people go, make their grades, and do what they're supposed to do. I think it's a good thing to do. And I believe we ought to give everybody a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for any tuition at any institution of higher education anywhere in America for undergraduate or graduate studies—Eastern Michigan, anyplace else in the country. It will change the face of America if we open the doors of college education to all of our people.

Now, let me say, since one of the women on the stage with me has worked herself off welfare into being a business owner, I am very proud of the fact that we've worked hard with the States to reduce the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million. I signed the welfare reform bill because it now guarantees to poor families health care and nutrition and more for child care than ever if they go to work. But it now says to all the States and local communities, if you have an able-bodied person, you have 2 years to turn the welfare check into a paycheck.

I like that, but if we're going to do it, what it means is we have to create the jobs. I have a plan to give those folks the opportunity to go to work: investing in our communities with the microenterprise loans, with special incentives to employers. And every one of you—let me just say, if you ever criticized the welfare system in your life, which includes 100 percent of the American people, I think, and especially people who have been on it, and you're now an employer, you ought to think about hiring someone off welfare. You ought to think about doing that now.

Under the new law, every State in America can give you the welfare check for a year or two while you—as a wage subsidy, under the new law. If my new proposal passes, we'll have a special tax credit. If we get all the community development banks that I want, there will be microenterprise loans for people to do that.

We can do this. We can break the culture of poverty in America, but only if we create opportunity. It's one thing to tell somebody in the law they have to go to work and quite another to make sure that there is a job there. You have to do that, and I will help you, and I hope you will.

Again, let me say, our country is going in the right direction. I thank Senator Carl Levin and Congresswoman Lynn Rivers for the votes they cast to put it there. Some of them were awful tough, when we were told we were going to bring on a recession and all that. But we're better off than we were. We're going in the right direction. We have made unprecedented gains in the area of helping women to start their businesses, to stay in business, to expand their businesses, and that has helped to lift the rate of growth of the American economy and our capacity to create jobs.

I was a little amused today; my distinguished opponent said that we had the worst economy in 20 years. Now, 2 weeks ago he said it was the worst economy in 100 years, so we're mak-

ing progress—[*laughter*]—and I feel good about that. Not everybody can make up 80 years in 2 weeks, and I'm proud, you know. [*Laughter*] But he was right in February. In February he said we had the best economy we've had in 30 years, and he was right when he said that. And I don't deserve all the credit for that. No one does. But our policies have helped you to create those jobs. And we are working together. And that's my whole theory of how this country should work. And I'll just leave you with that.

No matter what vision you have for the future, one of the things that I know in my bones is that the great meal ticket America has to the 21st century—which will clearly be the time of greatest human possibility ever known, where more people will have more chances to live out their dreams than any time in history, where the young people that are in this audience will be doing jobs that haven't been invented yet, many of them will be doing work that has not even been imagined yet—our great ticket to that 21st century is our vibrant democracy, our vibrant free enterprise system, and the fact that in America we can say, we will take anybody from anywhere who is here lawfully.

We don't have to know much about you—if you were born in Mexico of Syrian descent, or we don't need to know how much Cherokee Indian blood you have in you. We don't need to know anything about you except that you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence, and you're willing to show up for work or school or do whatever you're supposed to do tomorrow. We need to know nothing else. We're not going to be like Bosnia. We're not going to be consumed by religious hatred as they are in the Middle East. We're not going to be fighting battles 300 and 600 years old, as my ancestors' people are in Ireland. We're not going to do that in America.

And when people try to do it, when they blow up Federal buildings or burn churches or desecrate synagogues or Islamic centers, we're going to say, we are against that because our America has everybody in it. And we're going to build a bridge to the future together.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. at Bowen Field House. In his remarks, he referred to Irma B. Elder, owner, Troy Ford; Juanita Bycraft Walker, owner, Production Cleaning Co., Inc.; Gail Davis, president, KDY Enterprise, Inc.; Juanita M. Reid, vice president for university relations, Eastern Michigan University; and former Senator Donald W. Riegle, Jr., and his wife, Lori Hansen Riegle. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks to Colorado Democrats in Denver, Colorado

October 30, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Webb, Governor Romer, Congressman Fields, Chairperson Vivian Stovall, and Mike Beatty, my old friend Norm Early—I'm glad to see him again. And I want to say a special word on behalf of Diana DeGette, who's trying to make sure that we have a different leadership in the House of Representatives and for the Congress.

I'd also like to say a word for our Senate nominee, Tom Strickland, who is, as you know, going to another one of his debates with Mr. Allard. And you have to be thinking about him. You're going to be enjoying a dinner, and he won't be able to eat. [*Laughter*] But I think he'll represent us well, and I hope you will help him prevail on election day.

Let me also say, if you have never heard Cleo Fields give a speech, when I finish you will have not heard the best speaker tonight on the platform. And I want to thank him. He comes from my neighboring State of Louisiana; I was elated when he was elected to Congress. I was downhearted when he was redistricted by a court. And I think he has a brilliant future ahead of him, and I'm glad he's here with you. Ron Brown would be glad he is here with you tonight.

I would like to talk a little history with you tonight, just to bring you to this point so soon, so near to our election. First, I thank you for

naming these awards for Ron Brown and Barbara Jordan. They were both friends of mine and my relationship with each of them, though different, is something I will treasure all of my life.

I too remember the first time I ever heard Barbara Jordan speak, and I thought, maybe God is a woman after all. [*Laughter*] I always—I got to where I wanted to say "yes, ma'am" before she ever opened her mouth, every time I was ever around her. [*Laughter*]

She never lost her love for this country, and the more her body became weakened by her condition, the stronger her heart and voice became. And in her last year she agreed to chair for me a commission looking at what we should do about the issues of immigration in our country, how we could remain a nation of immigrants and still take a strong stand that people who come here should do so legally. And she did it with a grace, a strength, a balance, a fundamental sense of fairness and common sense that everyone who worked with her marveled about. And that was her last great contribution to our Nation. And I've done my best to implement the ideas that Barbara Jordan advanced. And I'll always be grateful to her.

And all of you know, of course, of my relationship with Ron Brown. I doubt very seriously that I'd be standing here as President of the United States tonight if it hadn't been for Ron Brown. And so I'm going to keep him smiling from up there the next week. I'm going to do everything I can to keep that big smile on his face.

I also want to thank you for honoring Wellington and Wilma Webb. I not only like them very much, but I admire them very much. And Hillary and I identify with them. We love being around them. And I like seeing a strong first lady, and I like seeing a mayor who is strong enough to want to be married to a strong first lady—[*laughter*]—and I like that.

So I thank you for that. And let me say that Colorado has—I've been coming here a lot for the last 15 years, a long time before I ever thought I'd be here as President. I came every chance I could because it represented something very special to me. And I think you've been blessed by the quality of your leaders. Roy Romer I think is clearly, both in terms of accomplishment and intellect and vision of the future, the most gifted Governor in the United States in terms of his contribution to our future.

And he's like all of us aging warriors. He was reluctant to give up on his youth, so he broke his leg on a motorcycle and—[*laughter*]—he's left his cane, and he's kind of trading up his shoes gradually, you know. [*Laughter*] But I am delighted to be here with all of them.

This election we're going to have will elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. Colorado sort of embodies both the promise and the struggles of the present and the future. And I was thinking when Mayor Webb was talking about Abraham Lincoln and the long talks we had about Lincoln when he was staying in the White House that the great thing about America is that there's always been a relentless quest for a better future in a way that would embrace the moment and, in doing so, not abandon our traditional values and ideals but instead try to perfect them.

A lot of people have this idea that, well, if you were really a future-oriented person, it means you're too material or you're too concerned about ideas, and that's very exciting, but you must be a little shy on the traditional ideals and values that have kept our country strong. But I don't see it that way at all. I think that our expanding abundance only gives us the opportunity which we then have to seize to live up more closely to our ideals and our values.

And this period that we're living in now involves such a remarkable change in the way people are living and working, relating to each other, the way we're relating to the rest of the world, that it has only basically one parallel in American history: 100 years ago—very interesting—when we moved from the farm to the factory, when we moved from the country to the city, when we then had our first big wave of immigrants coming in. And because we did not put aside our racial bigotry after the Civil War, even though we stayed together as a country and we abolished slavery legally and we adopted the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments and we began to move forward, we still were a country that said one thing and did another.

All of us are like that still, you know. [*Laughter*] Every one of us had a parent at one moment in a lapse said, "Well, I still want you to do what I say, not what I do." But what happened was, those immigrants, when they came in here 100 years ago, they felt terrible prejudice, the Italians, the Irish, the Poles. And then we had the Red Scare, and then we had

the Ku Klux Klan rise up in America; no more than 50 years after the Civil War they were hanging black people again in the South where I grew up.

Because of the civil rights struggle and because of the progress which has been made, even though we're a long way from where we ought to be in the relationships between African-Americans and the white majority, we have a chance to deal with this new infusion of immigrants and all the new explosion of diversity of all kinds in our country in a different way than we did 100 years ago and to take advantage of all these technological and other changes to move closer to our ideals.

We also have a chance—it's very important to Coloradans—to take advantage of these new exploding economic opportunities in a way that preserves and indeed enhances our environment instead of undermining it, which is what happened 100 years ago.

So this is a time of enormous possibility. And it's very important that we not be distracted from the big issues here. There are two great, different philosophies at stake in this election. One of them basically says that the main thing about America is that everybody came over here to get a good letting-alone, and that's true. Our Constitution was constructed to limit the ability of Government to oppress people. But one of the things we've learned over the last 100 years is, in the world we're living in and in the world we're going to, as Wellington said, none of us get there by ourselves.

You know, I was thinking of Wellington's story—I was raised by—I was born to a widowed mother, and my stepfather didn't graduate from high school. And it's inconceivable, I think, to a lot of my kinfolks at home that I ever turned out to be President. [*Laughter*] But I know one thing: If I had been born black instead of white, I wouldn't be President. I know that. But I know we're closer to the time when anybody can run for President, fulfilling the Constitution's requirements, and be considered on his or her own merits. We're closer.

And so I still believe that the Government in many areas of private life—choice, religion, many other areas—should let people, as long as they're not hurting other people, make their own decisions and go forward. One of the proudest moments of my Presidency was signing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. And most of you probably don't even know I signed it because there was no fight about, and if there's not a fight in Washington, it doesn't get on the news in Denver. [*Laughter*] It passed unanimously. And then we have vigorously enforced it, including in a controversial case out here in Colorado where—every case I have bent over backwards to make sure that we never interfere with any person's exercise of his or her religious convictions, whatever they are, unless it's really going to threaten to bring the Government down or something terrible.

And so, here we are at this moment, and I think what we've learned is, yes, we should guarantee, first and foremost, the individual liberty of people; but to guarantee their security and to give them all the same chance—not a guarantee but a chance in life—there are some things we have to do together. And it is the difference of opinion over how much we should do together and what we should do together that this election is all about.

It is not about big Government. Our administration has reduced the size of Government, the number of regulations, the number of Government programs eliminated, and we have privatized more Government operations than the previous two Republican administrations combined. If they had this record, they would be saying it's the greatest thing since sliced bread.

But what I have not been willing to do is to see us walk away from our common obligations to give all of our people educational opportunities; to give health care to poor children, to families with disabilities, to the elderly in nursing homes; to preserve the gains of Medicare, even as we reform the system; and to protect the environment and to continue our investment in research and in technology in our endless quest to move into the future so more people can live closer to what we all say we believe.

That's what this election is about, whether you think we're better off being told, "You're on your own, and we hope you make it," or whether we think it does take a village to raise our children and build a country. That's what this election is about.

It's about whether we're going to build a bridge to the 21st century that's big enough and wide enough for all of us to walk across, and then whether we're going to have in our hearts the capacity to say, "If you believe in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution and you're willing

to show up for work tomorrow—or, if you're of that age, to show up for school tomorrow—if you're willing to do your job as an American, we don't need to know anything else about you, nothing. Nothing else matters. You're part of our America, and we're willing to walk hand in hand with you across that bridge into the future."

Now, that is what the election is about. I was reading today an amusing—I thought it was amusing—an article in a magazine about my judicial appointments, because they pointed out that one of the things that has not been discussed much in the election is the fact that the next President may well get to make a couple more appointments to the Supreme Court. And they were saying that the previous administration imposed—two administrations—imposed strict ideological litmus tests on a lot of judges and that a lot of my supporters were disappointed that I didn't turn around and do exactly the same thing on the other end, but instead I had insisted on two things, excellence and diversity.

And they pointed out that I had appointed more African-Americans, more Hispanics, more Asian-Americans, and more women to the Federal bench than any President in history and that, in spite of that, we had the highest ratings from the American Bar Association for excellence of any judicial selections in the history of the country since they've been doing that.

I think if you have a Federal bench that reflects the vast experiences of America, with people that are smart enough to figure out the issues that are put before them and they share the experiences of America in all of its permutations, chances are pretty good that they'll do what they ought to do. And judges aren't like Presidents or Congressmen, but they should reflect America.

I say all that to make this point. Every election time the election is always decided by those who vote and by those who don't. And the people that have the biggest stake in whether we build a bridge that we can all walk across together—in whether we adopt my education agenda, which is to expand Head Start; to teach every 8-year-old to read a book independently; to have every classroom in the country, even in the poorest school districts, in the most remote rural districts, hooked up to the information superhighway by the year 2000; to make 2 years of college as universal as high school is today by giving people a tax credit, a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their tax bill of up to $1,500 a year, the cost of a typical community college education; to give every family a tax deduction of up to $10,000 for any college tuition, undergraduate or graduate, for people of any age; to let families save in an IRA and withdraw from it tax-free if the money is used for education or buying a first home or a medical emergency—that agenda, if you embrace that, it means that you think we have a common obligation to help each other live up to the fullest of our abilities and that we'll all be better off if we all have a chance to do well.

If you support my agenda—that I think we have a common obligation to eliminate discrimination of all kinds in the workplace; to protect the environment; to continue to try to expand coverage of health care step by step to people, so that people who work have a chance to buy health care—you have to believe that it's because we're all going to be better off if we live closer to what we say we believe and we give everybody else a chance to do the same. That's what the election is about.

And the people that have the most at stake are the ones that will have the best excuse not to vote. How many mothers do we know out there raising two or three kids, working two jobs, having to figure out, "I've got to figure out how to vote on a workday, and I've got to get my kids somewhere before I go to work, and what's going to happen to them after school, and I don't have enough money for child care, and what have I got to do tonight?" All the people that may have the biggest stake in this election may have the best excuse—not a reason but it's a pretty good excuse—because their lives will be crowded with other things.

And maybe they have or haven't felt it, but it makes a difference. Ten million more Americans got an increase in the minimum wage. The average income is up $1,600 for the typical family in the last 2 years after 20 years of wage stagnation. Last month we found out—or just 2 weeks ago we found out that we had the biggest decline in income inequality among working people in 27 years, since this administration came in; the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years; the biggest drop in poverty in female-headed households in 30 years; the lowest recorded poverty levels ever for senior citizens and African-Americans; the largest number of new businesses owned by minorities and

women in the history of the country; the largest number of new small businesses owned by anybody in the history of the country. It makes a difference. It makes a difference.

So it makes a difference what policies we pursue, and it will change people's lives here. And so I ask you to go out and help our Senate candidate, help Diana DeGette, help Bill Clinton and Al Gore, not as a matter of party, now, but because it has fallen to our party to embrace a philosophy that the other party embraced briefly under Abraham Lincoln, that they embraced briefly under Theodore Roosevelt, but that they have abandoned. And so it has fallen to us to carry this banner, not as a matter of party but as a matter of carrying on the great American experiment in a way that will truly realize the era of greatest possibility ever known.

I honestly believe these kids here in this audience, they'll be doing things in 10 or 15 years we couldn't even dream of. They'll be doing jobs that haven't been invented; some of them will be doing jobs that haven't been imagined. It's all out there. But we have to make the right decisions. And as much as anything else, that's why I have fought so hard not only to make the right governmental decisions but to say the right things as your President when the hatred of the Government led a demented person to blow up a Federal building in Oklahoma City—allegedly; they haven't been tried yet, and we can't presume anybody's guilt. But we know that Government hatred has led people into bands of folks that are paranoid that terrible things are going to happen to them. I had to speak against that.

When the black churches are being burned or white churches are being burned or synagogues are being defaced or Islamic centers are being defaced, that's not our America. But that is the dominant theme of life that caused people to slaughter each other's children in Bosnia. And it still bedevils Northern Ireland; they're still arguing over things—they're my ancestors, you know, and they're my relatives now, so I can talk about them. They're still fighting over things that happened 300 years ago and battles that occurred 600 years ago, when all the kids want to do is to let it go and go on into the future. In the Middle East, where I have worked so hard, the Holy Land for the three great monotheistic religions in the world—if anyplace in the world ought to be a peaceful sanctuary for Jews and Muslims and Christians, it ought to be the Holy Land. But so many of them just can't let it go.

And we're going to beat all that if we do the right things. When Hillary and Chelsea and I went to open the Olympics and I looked at those people—we had people from 197 different racial and ethnic groups. Almost every single one of them had people in America. And that's because we're not about race or religion or anything else. We're about these ideas and trying every, every, every age to live up closer to them.

This is a very historic election, not because of me but because of what's happening to us. And we go through periods of huge change like this only rarely. And that's a good thing, because nobody can change—you know, any of us can just stand so much change at once. One of my laws of politics: We're all for change in general, but we're against it in particular. [*Laughter*] Or as one of my friends said, "Yes, I agree with you, we ought to change. You go first." [*Laughter*]

So this is our responsibility. Now, you know what to do, and you know how to do it. And if Ron Brown were here giving a speech tonight, that's all he'd be talking about. That's all he'd be talking about. And Barbara Jordan, if she were here, she'd make you feel so guilty you wouldn't sleep between now and Tuesday—[*laughter*]—until you dragged every human being you knew to the polls. Now, you know that.

So I want you to think about that. And I want you to understand that you carry with you the great burden and opportunity of American history. Every one of us should be grateful to be alive at this time, should be grateful to have this moment in which we have a chance to further break down the walls of discrimination in our minds and hearts, explode opportunity for all Americans, and that these changes that are going on give us this incredible opportunity to really actually enhance the natural environment God has given us and leave it stronger and better for our children and grandchildren, even as we prosper.

That's what I want you to think about. I want you to think about, Tuesday morning when you get up, that bridge to tomorrow, and how you wouldn't let your child have to go down deep valleys and cross rushing rivers and climb big mountains if they could just get on a bridge and walk straight across. And that's what I want for everybody. And in order to do it, we've

got to show up. You know what to do. You know how to do it. Your country needs you. I know you'll be there.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:20 p.m. at the Red Lion Inn to the Colorado Democratic Coordinated Campaign and the African-American Initiative of Colorado Democrats. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver and his wife, Wilma; Representative Cleo Fields of Louisiana; Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado; Vivian Stovall, chair, African-American Initiative of the Colorado Democrats; Mike Beatty, chair, Colorado Democratic Party; Norm Early, former Denver district attorney; Diana DeGette, candidate for Colorado's First Congressional District; Colorado senatorial candidate Tom Strickland; and Representative Wayne Allard of Colorado.

Remarks to the Community in Denver
October 30, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you. Wow! Hello, Denver! Can you keep this up until Tuesday? [*Applause*] Let's give Katherine Diamond another hand. She was fabulous. Thank you very much. [*Applause*]

Thank you, Governor Romer, for your friendship and your leadership. I said the other day and I said just a few moments ago at another event, I think if you took an honest poll among all the Governors in this country, they would tell you, by reason of intellect, vision, and accomplishment, Roy Romer is the most outstanding public servant in the Governor's office in America today.

Thank you, Mayor Webb, and thank you for writing him in, because he's a great mayor, and I'm honored to be his friend.

Thank you, Diana DeGette, for being willing to go to Congress, and thank you for sending her. We need her there. Congressman Skaggs, thank you for being here. Lieutenant Governor Schoettler, Bess Strickland, thank you for being here. Tom's over at another one of those debates he's having, and I bet he's winning. But you have to help him win on Tuesday. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

I want to thank Shawn Kelley and Richie Sambora and the Samples for their music. I want to thank the Denver Broncos who came here tonight and wish them well on the rest of a great season. And I want to thank Mark Jackson for being here tonight. We could use a few of his moves between now and Tuesday. Give Mark Jackson a hand. He's a great player and a great citizen. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Bill Ritter for his support of our anticrime initiatives and ask you for his support.

Folks, in 1992, when Al Gore and I came here and we asked the people of Colorado to support us, I felt a special kinship to this State, which I had been visiting for many years as a private citizen. And I always felt that Colorado represented all the cauldron of things that are happening in America a little bit ahead of time, that you were on the cutting edge of the future, that you were embracing the future, but that you were also dealing with the conflicts that bedevil us all and that threaten to divide us and take us back.

I always felt that here people had a good old-fashioned conservative sense that there were some things the Government ought not to do and mess with, and that that gave some of our opponents on the other side an unusual and often unfair advantage in the rhetoric of these elections. And I told you that if you gave us a chance to serve, I would pursue my vision for the 21st century with a simple strategy. I want us to go into that next century 4 years from now with the American dream alive and well for every person who's responsible to work for it.

I want us to continue to lead the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I've had to make some decisions I know were unpopular at the time to stand up for those ideals in Bosnia and Haiti, to keep working in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. But we are standing up for peace and freedom, and there's not a single Russian missile pointed at an American child tonight in part because of what we are doing.

And look around this room tonight—I wanted us to stand against those forces that are gripping the rest of the world, of racial and ethnic and tribal and religious hatred and division, and say, "All we want in America is for everybody to agree on the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and be a good citizen, and you're part of our America. We like our diversity. We're coming together."

I look out here tonight, I see Latino-Americans and African-Americans and Asian-Americans and Arab-Americans and Irish- and Polish- and Italian-Americans, and I think it's good. And I want more of it. And I want us to learn every day a little more about how we're going to live together. And we have worked hard to create more opportunity, to insist on more responsibility, and to build an American community where everybody has a seat at the table and a role to play.

Now, 4 years ago you took us on faith, but now there's a record. And we're better off than we were 4 years ago. This election for President, the election for the Senate, the election for the Congress, fundamentally, they are not elections of party, even though there are partisan differences. We're going into a great new century. We're undergoing vast changes in the way we work and the way we live.

Let me just give you one example. When I became President, 3 million Americans——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. Wait, wait, wait, wait, wait. Wait a minute, wait——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Don't boo them. Let them have their say. Now, we heard—if Senator Dole or Congressman Kemp come here, don't you dare do this to them. You let them have their say. Don't do it.

Now, the only reason—the only reason they're screaming is the truth hurts. Those young people back there that are holding those signs, they must not have needed a student loan, because Senator Dole and Congressman Allard voted to cut it.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Now, here's what this is about.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Look, you shouldn't be too upset about that. You know what Mark Twain said about that? He said, "Every dog needs a few fleas." Now, I'll admit, I've had a few more than I wanted. But Mark Twain said, "Every dog needs a few fleas. It keeps him from worrying so much about being a dog."

Now, let me go back to what I was going to say. Here's the big issue—bigger than me or Senator Dole, or Mr. Allard or Mr. Strickland. We're on the verge—you can hear me over them. Let them talk.

Bye, folks, we'll see you Tuesday. Bye-bye. Thank you.

Now, we've had a lot of fun tonight, but this is really serious. This election, here's what's at stake. All these debates and these fights over the budget and the environment and all this stuff, it comes down to two big ideas: Do you believe that we should go into this new century, with all these dramatic changes, by doing what they believe when they're talking in a sound voice and saying, "You're on you're own"? Or do you believe that, as a person I'm reasonably close to once said, it takes a village to raise our children and to go forward? That's the issue.

Do you believe that we should say, "There's the future out there. Now, there's a big running river between here and there, and there's a deep valley, and there's a huge mountain, and I hope you get there"? Or would you like to build a big, wide bridge that we can all walk across together? That's what this is about. That's what this is about.

And all the specific issues, if you think about that, that's what it's about. It is not about big, oppressive Government. Our administration, under the leadership of Vice President Gore, has reduced the size of the Government to its smallest point since John Kennedy was President. We have eliminated more Government regulations and more Government programs, and we've privatized more Government operations that belong in the private sector than my two Republican predecessors did put together. It is not about that.

But what we believe is that there are some things we should do together. I think this is a better country because we've got hundreds of thousands more children in Head Start. I think this is a better country because we work with Roy Romer and other Governors to give States the ability to set high standards and to

promote reforms like that charter school right there that—they've got a sign up.

I think this is a better country because we had the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years and because we lowered the cost of college loans and improved the repayment terms. I believe it's a better country. I believe we're a better country because we set aside 1.7 million acres in southern Utah for the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. I believe it's a better country.

I believe it's a better country because we passed the family and medical leave law and 12 million people got to take some time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick. I believe it's a better country because we passed a crime bill, and we're putting 100,000 more police on the street. I believe it's a better country.

I believe it's a better country because we've doubled the number of children who are getting the message from D.A.R.E. officers and others, through the safe and drug-free schools program, that drugs can kill you and they're wrong and you should stay away from them. I think it's a better country because we did that.

And you have to decide whether you don't believe we should have joined together as a people and done those things together and whether you believe the ideas we have for the future are right or wrong. But it all comes down to whether you think we're all in this together, we're better off, each of us individually and our families and our communities, when we work together to help everybody have the tools to make the most of their own lives and live up to their God-given potential. That is the great issue in this election. That is the great issue in this election.

You have some evidence about which works. We've got 10½ million more jobs, the biggest decline in inequality among working families in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, record numbers of new small businesses in every year, record numbers of new businesses owned by women and minorities in the history of America. You have some evidence. We have record exports. The welfare rolls have declined by 1.9 million. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row; it's at a 10-year low in the United States. It's not like there's no evidence. You have evidence now. This country is on the right track to the 21st century, and we need to keep going.

When I told you before that it's not a matter of party, I meant it. There was a time, under Abraham Lincoln, when the Republican Party believed that we had to go forward together and we couldn't live with the lie of slavery anymore. It was a lie. It defied all the values of the Constitution. There was a time when the Republican Party, under Theodore Roosevelt, believed that we could not become a great industrial nation and forget about the importance of protecting small business and working people through free enterprise and maintaining competition and protecting innocent children from being forced to work 70 hours a week in coal mines and in beginning the work of conserving our great natural resources with the Grand Canyon and other things that Theodore Roosevelt did. This does not have to be a matter of party.

But if you look at what they did when their philosophy controlled—what Mr. Allard did, Tom Strickland's opponent, and Mr. Gingrich did and my opponent did—they passed a budget that had the first education cuts in modern history. They cut college loans and cut Head Start. They passed a budget that would have paralyzed our ability to protect the environment and to enforce the environmental laws. They passed a budget that would have for the first time in 30 years taken away the guarantee of health care to our poorest children, to middle class families that have family members with disabilities—but because they get a little help they can go on being middle class families and support themselves and their loved ones in dignity. They would have repealed the standards on quality nursing home care as oppressive Government. That was their idea of being conservative. That was their idea.

They opposed the crime bill. They said we were going to take people's guns away from them in Colorado. Folks, they didn't know then, but we've got 2 years now; we know who was telling the truth. There's not a single Colorado hunter that's lost a rifle, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have not gotten handguns because of the Brady bill. We know what happened.

So I don't want you—I don't vote here. I can't stand up here and ask you to vote for Tom Strickland because he's a Democrat. But I can do this: I can tell you that he believes, as I do, that we have an obligation to bring our people together and to move forward together. You heard what Diana DeGette said

when she was up here speaking. I know Bill Ritter has supported our anticrime strategy and so has Wellington Webb, and that's why you've had some of the success you've had here. And this is not so much about liberal or conservative or Republican or Democrat. It's whether you believe that there are some things that we must do together if we want the 21st century to be the greatest age of possibility in human history.

I loved it when Wellington said a few minutes ago that he was talking to some of his friends and supporters and he said, "I didn't get there alone, you put me there." And he mentioned that old rural saying that I was raised with, "If you see a frog on a fence post, chances are it didn't get there by accident." [*Laughter*] You know, I've heard all these people get up here and run for office and talk about how much they've achieved through their own effort. And most of us who run for office would like you to believe we were born in a log cabin we built ourselves. [*Laughter*] But the truth is, success in life requires both individual effort and responsibility and a loving family, a loving community, a supportive nation, people trying to help each other to move forward together, and we're all stronger when we do that. And that's what this is about.

And that's what it's about for the next 4 years. When you go home tonight, every one of you, especially the young people, I want you to ask yourself this question before you turn in. Just ask yourself and see if you can answer in a minute or two, what do I want my country to be like when we cross that bridge into the 21st century? What do I want my country to be like when I have children and they are my age? What do I want them to feel about America? What do I want the feel of America to be? What do I want the position of my country in the world to be?

If you ask the right question, and if America asks the right question on Tuesday, we'll get the right answer. The only way we won't get it is if we don't ask the right question.

Now, I want to build a bridge to the 21st century where we go on and balance the budget, because if we get interest rates down we'll have more jobs, more incomes, and more opportunities. But I know we can do it, and I've submitted a plan to do it that protects education and the environment and research and technology and Medicare and Medicaid. And I want you to help me build that bridge. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

I like the family and medical leave law, and I think we should be doing more to help people succeed at home and at work. I can tell you young people who are here who don't have kids yet, the single thing I hear most from parents all over America is—whether they're low-income working people, middle class people, or even people with comfortable incomes—is they're spending more hours at work than ever before, and they are worried that they won't be able to succeed at their most important job—I was so glad to hear Katherine say that—their most important job, raising their kids, and succeed at work. We can't make Americans make that choice. We have to be able to do both.

So I like the family and medical leave law, and I want to expand it. I want to say you can take a little time off from work to go see your children's teachers twice a year and take your kids to the doctor without losing your job. I want to say, if you work overtime because you need to or because you have to, and a family emergency comes up, you ought to be able to decide whether to take that overtime in pay or in time with your family. It ought to be your decision because that will make us a stronger country. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We've now said to the American people—the beginnings of health care reform—you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because you changed jobs or because somebody in your family's been sick. A mother and a newborn baby cannot be forced out of a hospital anymore by an insurance company after 24 hours.

We made a beginning. But I want to do more. Our balanced budget plan gives help to families that are between jobs so they can keep their health insurance for 6 more months. It adds another million children to the ranks of the insured. It gives free mammograms to women on Medicare. It gives—there are over 1½ million families in this country today doing a brave and good and honorable thing, caring for a family member with Alzheimer's. It is a very hard thing. I've lost an aunt and an uncle. I can tell you, it is a loving thing; it is a debilitating thing. Our balanced budget plan gives respite care support to those families who are caring for their family members. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We've done a lot of work on this crime issue. But we're only halfway home. Our opponents, including Congressman Allard, not only voted against putting 100,000 police on the street, they passed a budget that would have stopped it. And when I vetoed their budget, they shut the Government down and tried to force us to do it. And when we said no, we fought it again and again. You have a choice to make.

We need to finish the job. We need to finish the job. We need to go after these violent gangs that are killing our children and corrupting them. We need to keep fighting until we whip this problem for good. I want you to help me build that bridge to the 21st century where everyone feels safe on their streets, in their schools, in their neighborhoods, in their parks. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

We have taken millions of pounds of poisonous chemicals out of the air. We have raised the standards for drinking water. We have raised the standards for food. We have cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12. We are lifting the quality of our environment, and our economy is not hurting from it; it's generating new jobs and new opportunities.

There is much, much more to be done. I'll just give you one example. Ten million American children still live within just 4 miles of a toxic waste site. If you will give us 4 more years, we'll clean up the 500 worst ones and our kids will be growing up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

The most important issue of all is your education and the education of those coming behind you. There is so much more to be done to raise standards, to promote reform, to bring more children into the Head Start program. There is so much more to be done. Forty percent of our children who are 8 years old, third graders, still cannot read a book on their own. A lot of it is because they come from other places; their first language is not English. But that will be cold comfort to them if they can't learn as they move on through school.

I have a plan to mobilize 30,000 AmeriCorps and other reading specialists to get them to put together a million volunteers. In this last budget we got 200,000 more work-study slots for college students. I want—and a lot of you will use these—I want to use 100,000 of those slots for young people to earn their way through college by teaching children to read so that every 8-year-old can say, "I can read this book by myself." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

In 4 more years we can hook every classroom and every library and every school in this country to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, to the whole information superhighway. For the first time ever, all of our children will be able to get the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize education. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, we've done a lot to make college more accessible. Ten million young people now have lower cost college loans, and they can pay them back as a percentage of their income instead of being overrun by debt when they get out of college, but we need to do more. I want to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal in America as a high school diploma is today in the next 4 years. I want to do it by letting Americans deduct dollar for dollar from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition. No bureaucracy, no program, just send people and say, you make your grades, stay in, and you can go to community college for free. You can do it in America.

I want to give every American the right to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, undergraduate or graduate. I believe families should be able to save for college in an IRA and withdraw from it without any tax penalty if they're using the money to pay for college or health care or a first-time home. Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*]

Between now and Tuesday you may hear someone say that your vote doesn't matter. After you have heard this tonight, do you have something to say back to them? Will you say it? [*Applause*]

Folks, before I came here today I was in Ypsilanti, Michigan, on the campus of Eastern Michigan University. And I was there at a big conference with 4,000 women business owners. There were three women who preceded me on the program. I want to tell you about them. One came here as an immigrant from Mexico as a child, of Syrian heritage. Her parents were Syrians living in Mexico. She spoke not a word of English. She got married. She had children. Her husband ran a car dealership. He died suddenly in 1984. She could have sold the business

and at least lived comfortably in retirement. Instead, she says, "Maybe I can be a businesswoman." Today that woman owns 5 car dealerships and has 260 employees.

The second, a young woman with very little formal education, was making a living cleaning houses. And she was hitchhiking home one day from a job she had. And the person who was giving her a ride said, "You know, I'm amazed you don't have more work. Everybody I know has got both people in the house working. I bet you could find more jobs." This woman, hitchhiking home from work, had the idea that she would start her own business. She borrowed $11,000 from one of our programs—$11,000. Today she runs a house-cleaning business with 29 employees.

The third woman was a former welfare recipient who today owns a construction company. That is America.

And every one of them—every one of them made it on their own, all right; if they hadn't worked hard, if they hadn't had talent, if they hadn't had stick-to-itiveness, if they hadn't been willing to face failure down, they would not have made it. But they also got a little help from their friends, the American people, to work together and make this country a greater place.

I want you to go home tonight and ask yourself this question: What do I want America to look like and how are we going to get there. And I think you will say, we have got to join hands. We've got to build a bridge that is big enough and wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across. And if we do it, the best days of this country are still ahead.

Let's go build that bridge between now and Tuesday. Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:52 p.m. at the National Western Events Center. In his remarks, he referred to Clinton/Gore '96 volunteer Katherine Diamond, who introduced the President; Gov. Roy Romer and Lt. Gov. Gail Schoettler of Colorado; Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver; Colorado senatorial candidate Tom Strickland and his wife, Bess; Shawn Kelley, lead singer with the Samples; musician Richie Sambora; former NFL Denver Broncos player Mark Jackson; Bill Ritter, Denver district attorney; and Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Remarks at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona
October 31, 1996

Thank you. Hello, Arizona! Good morning. Let's give the band a hand. [*Applause*] Thank you very much. Are you going to the Rose Bowl? [*Applause*] Are we going to win on Tuesday? [*Applause*] I want to thank the people who performed before I came here: the ASU Student Saxophone Combo, the Mariachi del Sur, the Clan/destine, the Tempe High School Marching Band—again, thank you—and Jeff Goodman. I thank those who spoke earlier, including the students, Sadohana Stone and Michelle Carson, the legislators who were here, the other candidates, the vice mayor. And I want to say to Juan Roque, you're having a great season, and I wish you would play offensive line for me for the next 5 days. Thank you. I thank Governor Rose Mofford, my friend and former colleague. Thank you, Congressman Ed Pastor, Mrs. Pastor. Thank you, Steve Owens, for running for Congress and trying to turn the Congress around and put it back on the side of the American people and their future. Thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank Bill Bratton for coming all the way to Arizona to endorse our candidacy, to be here with Mike Petchel. While Bill Bratton was the police chief of New York, violent crime decreased almost 40 percent, the murder rate was decreased by 50 percent. We can make our streets safer for our children and their future if we all work together. Thank you, Commissioner Bratton, for being here.

Five days from today, the American people will choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. I am very, very glad that there are so many young people here today because this election is about your future.

You know, there are many different issues in this election, many matters on which Senator

Dole and I disagree, many matters on which I disagreed with Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich over the last 2 years. But the big issue that embraces them all is what you want America to look like when we cross that bridge into the 21st century and what you are prepared to do to get us there.

I want an America where the American dream is alive and well for any person responsible enough to work for it, without regard to race or gender or background or where they start out in life. I want everybody to have a chance to live up to their God-given capacities. I want an America that is still the world's leading force for peace and freedom and for prosperity. And I want an America that is rejecting the racial, the ethnic, the tribal, the religious division that is tearing apart so much of the rest of the world and says we're going forward into the 21st century as one community together. We need each other, and we'll do better when we work forward together. Will you help me build that kind of America? [*Applause*]

Four years ago, when I came to the American people with Al Gore and said we wanted a different kind of political direction, we wanted to break out of the mold of the old debates and take America forward, we thought the right and left, liberal and conservative debate was sterile and outdated and the issue was what we had to do together to move our country forward, the American people took me on faith—and we came within one percentage point of carrying Arizona. I hope you'll help us do just a little better on Tuesday.

But today, you don't have to do that. There is a record. You can make a judgment based on the evidence about whether this approach is going to make you more likely to live out your dreams in the 21st century, more likely to make this a more responsible and caring society in the 21st century, more likely to preserve the greatness that has always been America's hallmark.

Compared to 4 years ago, we have 10½ million more jobs. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 27 years, the biggest drop in inequality among working families in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, the highest homeownership rates in 15 years. The deficit has been cut in all 4 years of an administration for the first time in the 20th century. We are moving in the right direction.

The crime rate is down for 4 years in a row and is now at a 10-year low in America, the welfare rolls have been reduced by 1.9 million, child support collections have been increased by $4 billion a year—50 percent. We are moving in the right direction.

Just in the last few weeks, we've seen the minimum wage go up for 10 million people, 25 million Americans protected by a law that now says you cannot lose your health insurance if you move from job to job or someone in your family gets sick, a law that says insurance companies can no longer kick mothers and their newborn children out of the hospital after only 24 hours. We are moving the right direction.

Income for the typical family is up about $1,600 in the last 2 years. Our air is cleaner. Our drinking water is safer. We have preserved our natural heritage; we fought all the vicious attacks on the environment by the members of the congressional majority who even wanted to sell some of our national parks, and instead we've expanded more lands we're protecting. We are moving forward and growing the economy while preserving our environment. We are moving in the right direction.

Just in the last couple of days, we've seen that our annual growth rate is about 3 percent, that business investment increased by almost 19 percent, the highest rate since the Kennedy administration. Incomes are rising nearly 5 percent, and in the face of that news and 10½ million jobs, yesterday my opponent said that we had the worst economy in 20 years. Well, 2 weeks ago he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. We've made up 80 years in 2 weeks. That's a good record. We need to do more of that. Way back in February, my distinguished opponent said what he knows is the truth when he said we actually had the best economy in 30 years. We are moving in the right direction, and we need to do more.

As I stand here in this wonderful State, I know that one of the things most people in Arizona have felt over the years, consistently, is that we don't need a big, bureaucratic Government in Washington telling us what to do and that we do need fiscal responsibility. But I ask you to look at the record on this.

Our administration has lowered the size of the Federal Government by nearly 250,000; it is now as small as it was when John Kennedy was President. We have eliminated more Government regulations, more Government pro-

grams, we have privatized more Government operations in 3½ years than my Republican predecessors did in 12 years. Our budget would be in surplus today if it weren't for the debt they ran up in the 12 years before I took office. We are moving in the right direction.

The issue here today is not big Government or small Government. It is, what do we have to do together to give each other the tools to build strong lives, strong families, strong communities, and a strong nation? There are those who honestly believe that we shouldn't do much together, that you're better off, your fiber will be greater if you're just told, "You're on your own." And then there are those of us who believe that it does take a village to raise a child, to build families, to make our streets safe. There are those who believe they can say, "There's that great, big future out there; there is a rushing river you have to cross; there's a big valley you have to get down through; there's a huge mountain you have to get across; I hope you make it. Good luck." And then there are those of us who say that future out there is for all of us, and it'll be better for all of us if we just go on and build a bridge big enough, wide enough, and strong enough for all of us to walk across together. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

On this Halloween day, we can make a lot of jokes, and I was thrilled to see all the people along the roadway already in their Halloween costumes and their masks on. But one serious thing I'd like to say about Halloween—Hillary and I always loved the fact that our daughter loved Halloween, always wanted her own costume every Halloween, still likes to go out trick-or-treating. But one of the things that I think is important on Halloween is we remember that we want Halloween to be "fright night," but "safe night" for our families and our children. And we ought to think about today what I think is the critical thing for American families, which is, how can we make our families safe, how can we give them a clean environment, and how can we make it possible for parents to succeed economically while they raise their children responsibly?

Everywhere I go in America, people say to me, "I'm having problems doing the right thing by my kids and working." The average working family is spending more hours a week at work today than 25 years ago. So today I want to just take a minute to ask you what you think would build strong families, and would we be better off saying, "You're on your own," or "Here's what we can do together to give you the tools to build a stronger family life."

I supported the Family and Medical Leave Act. Now, my opponent led the opposition to it and tried to kill it with a filibuster in the Senate because he honestly believed—he honestly believed that it would be bad for the economy. But now we know. After 3 years, 12 million people have taken advantage of the family leave law to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs when a baby is born or a family member is sick. We have 10½ million new jobs, record numbers of new small businesses. This economy is churning along. We're moving in the right direction. You help the economy if you help parents take care of their children. They do better at work, and they feel better.

And I'd like to see the family leave law expanded a little bit so parents can go see their children's teachers twice a year and take them to the doctor without losing their jobs. I believe when parents earn overtime, they ought to have the option to take that overtime in pay, or if their parents or their children or their spouses are sick, I think they ought to be able to take that overtime in time with their families. That's the choice of the people who earn it. It'll make stronger families. But you have to decide.

I believe we value families when we have welfare reform that is good to children but tough in work requirements, that requires teen mothers to live at home or in a supervised setting and stay in school to draw benefits, and requires able-bodied people to go to work but gives them the child care and the jobs there to do the work and succeed at home and at work, just the way we want for everybody else in this society.

And I believe we value families when we open the doors of college education to all Americans. My fellow Americans, in the 12 years before I became President—and this is no one in particular's fault, but many of you will know this—the only basic thing in a family's budget that increased at a higher inflation rate than health care was the cost of a college education. We have worked hard through AmeriCorps to give 70,000 more young people a chance to work their way through college by serving in their communities. Some of you are here today. Thank you, and God bless you. We reformed

the student loan program to give 10 million students lower cost loans and the right to repay those loans as a percentage of their income so they would never go bankrupt trying to repay their college loans after they got out.

But I want to do more. I believe we should make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today by giving people a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their taxes for the typical cost of a community college if they go there and make their grades, and I think we can do it. I believe we strengthen our families if we give a $10,000-a-year tax deduction for the costs of any college tuition at any level for people of any age, and I intend to do it.

I do not believe we will strengthen our economy or our families or our future by doing what my opponent has advocated: cutting the student loan program and abolishing the Department of Education and entering the 21st century as the only country in the world with no one to speak for the education of our children at the President's Cabinet. I will not do that. I will improve education in America, working with you and our teachers for all Americans.

I believe we strengthen families when we take steps to protect our young children from gangs and guns and drugs and tobacco. I worked hard for the crime bill that Commissioner Bratton talked about. A lot of people in Arizona and my home State of Arkansas and other places voted against people who supported the crime bill because they said we were trying to take their guns away. Well, now we know. It's been 2 years. Not a single hunter or sportsperson in Arizona or Arkansas has lost a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns because of the Brady bill. We were right, and they were wrong. They were wrong.

We are in the midst of putting these 100,000 police on the street. We've funded about half of them. My opponent led the fight against the 100,000 police, then passed a budget that abolished them. Then when I vetoed the budget, they shut the Government down, trying to force us to stop putting police on the street. I couldn't believe it. But I'll tell you one thing, we're going to keep doing it because it's making our communities safer.

I believe we strengthen families by supporting the safe and drug-free schools program and doubling the number of people who are in it and getting that message out to our young children, when they're young enough to listen, that drugs can kill you. They're wrong. They're not just illegal; they're wrong and they can kill you. Turn around; don't do it. I believe that's making a difference, and I think our opponents were wrong when they tried to cut the safe and drug-free schools program in half and deprive 23 million children of the chance to get that message. And I'm going to keep on going until we turn that around, and I want you to help me do it.

I believe we were right to take on the big tobacco interests and say you have to stop selling and marketing tobacco to children in this country; it is wrong. Even though we have taken that action officially, it's being challenged in court. My opponent is opposed to it. We may not get that fight won unless you make the right decision on election day. I think it would be folly—3,000 young children in America begin smoking cigarettes every day; 1,000 of them will die sooner because of it. It is wrong. We should stay on the course we're on, and I ask you for your help to protect our families and our future.

I believe that we support stronger families when we do things which support grassroots community action. I have worked hard to help to mobilize another one million volunteers in citizen action groups to work with police officers to get rid of gangs and guns and drugs on the streets. I want to recognize a person here with me who is sitting with me, Delia Gonzalez, the first president of the Escalante Neighborhood Association here in Tempe, for the work that she and others have done. I want one million more people doing that work, and we will get it in the next 4 years if we do it.

Folks, you have to decide. You have to decide if our families will be strengthened if we do what I want to do, which is to balance the budget but to do it in a way that continues to invest in education, in the environment, in research, in technology, in protecting Medicare while reforming it, and saying we are not going to take away the guarantee of health care from our poorest children, from families with disabilities, from seniors in nursing homes. We're not going to repeal the standards of quality care. We're going to go forward. That's what I want to do, not adopt some risky tax scheme that will blow a hole in the deficit.

I believe we should stay the course in bringing the crime rate down. I believe we should

get tougher on dangerous gangs. I believe we can do more if we finish the work of giving our children something to say yes to instead of just saying no to them. We have to give them a future that is worthy of their dreams, their aspirations, and their potential, and I want you to help me do it. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide whether we strengthen our families by giving our children world-class education, whether we mobilize a million volunteers, including college students all over America, to make sure every young person can read a book independently by the third grade. I want you to know, just before the Congress went home, I signed a bill that created 200,000 more work-study positions. I want 100,000 of them to go to people who say, "I want every 8-year-old to be able to pick up a book and say 'I can read this all by myself.'" Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

Will you help us connect every classroom and library in America to the Internet and the World Wide Web, the information superhighway? Will you help us open the doors of college education to all? [*Applause*] I say again, the issue for Arizona, the issue for America is this: We stand on the threshold of a new century, on the threshold of a very different time. All of you know that we are undergoing dramatic changes in the way we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. We are becoming an increasingly global society. We are working in different ways. When I became President, only 3 million Americans made their living by working at home. Today, 12 million do. In 4 years, 30 million will. That's just one example.

We are pushing back the frontiers of learning as never before. When I became President, AIDS was still thought to be a death sentence. The life expectancy of people with HIV and AIDS has more than doubled in the last 4 years, thanks to medical research and faster movement of drugs. We have now, for the first time ever, medical treatment for strokes. We've identified two of the genes that cause breast cancer, and we may be able to eliminate it entirely. For the first time ever, laboratory animals with their spines completely severed have regained movement in their lower limbs through nerve transplants to the spine from other parts of their bodies. We are building a supercomputer in cooperation with IBM that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on a handheld calculator in 30,000 years. We are moving into a very different future. And what you have to decide is whether you have the courage to say, "I believe that our best days are still ahead, if we have opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and an American community in which we all have a part to play and a place at the table."

You have to decide whether we're going to go into the future by saying, "You're on your own," or whether we're going to build a bridge. And you have to decide whether you're really willing to say, "Whether you're Hispanic or African-American or Asian-American or Native American or Polish or Irish or whatever, it doesn't matter. If you believe in the Declaration of Independence, in the Bill of Rights, in the Constitution, if you're willing to show up tomorrow and work or study and do your job as a citizen, we don't need to know anything else about you. You are part of our America, and we're going forward." Will you help me in Arizona to build that bridge? Will you be there on Tuesday? Will you talk to your friends? [*Applause*]

God bless you. Let's do it. Your best days are ahead. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:23 a.m. on the lawn at Grady Gammage Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Jeff Goodman, who sang the national anthem; Vice Mayor Joe Lewis of Tempe; Arizona State University football player Juan Roque; Rose Mofford, former Governor of Arizona; Representative Ed Pastor and his wife, Verma; Steve Owens, candidate for Arizona's Sixth Congressional District; and Michael Petchel, president, Phoenix Law Enforcement Officers Association.

Remarks in Las Vegas, Nevada
October 31, 1996

The President. Thank you. I think the first thing I should say is, happy birthday, Nevada. I am so glad to be here today, so delighted to see all of you here in not only large numbers but with genuine enthusiasm. You should feel good about your country and good about our future.

I want to thank the Green Valley High School Band for playing the national anthem, thank you; the Las Vegas Academy of International Studies, Performing Visual Arts, thank you. I want to thank the saxophonists who played here earlier from the musicians union and the mariachi band.

Thank you, Madam Mayor. Thank you, County Commission Vice Chair Paul Christianson. You arranged a beautiful day for us here today. I'd also like to say a special word of appreciation to a person who is not here with us today, the county commission chair, Yvonne Atkinson-Gates. We're thinking about her, and we miss her. Senator Dina Titus, Assembly Leader Richard Perkins. Thank you, Gladys Knight, for coming and speaking. Thank you, Andre Agassi, for coming. Thank you. Thank you, Attorney General Frankie Sue Del Papa. And thank you, my good friend Harry Reid.

Ladies and gentlemen, I owe a lot to a lot of people. I'm on the verge of finishing the last campaign I'll ever be in unless I run for the school board someday. And I want to say that every time I come here to Las Vegas, I think of my wonderful mother who loved this community so much and loved to come here. And I wish she were here with me still for this election. I want to thank the mayor for always being so kind to her. And I want to say a special word of thanks, too, to Governor Bob Miller for being there with me in good times and bad—always there, always supporting us, always standing up for what was right and standing up for Nevada.

And I want to tell you that something I have said in the Oval Office of the White House many times—I'd like to say here in public: I believe in Washington, DC, the most underappreciated public servant in the United States Senate is Harry Reid of Nevada. He is a remarkable, remarkable Senator. You should be very proud of him. You should be very proud of him. You know, because he's a gentleman and he's low-key and he just says what he has to say in a town where hot air and hot rhetoric and divisive actions take precedent, very often the people who really make a difference are not appreciated. Harry Reid should be appreciated here, and every day he's more appreciated back there in Washington.

And thank you, Nell Justice, for having the courage to get up here and give a speech in front of all these people and for embodying, to me, what my job, this campaign, and our common destiny is all about. We are about to choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. I believe more strongly than I can say that the greatest days of this country lie before us; that if we make the right decisions, if we do what we have always done in the past at critical times, if we meet our challenges and do it in a way that enables us to live more closely toward our values, our young people here will live in the age of greatest possibility the world has ever known.

We are dramatically changing the way we work and live, the way we relate to each other and the rest of the world. A lot of these changes are very good, but some of them pose very stiff challenges to families. I'll give you one example of the changes that are going on.

When I became President there were about 3 million people working in their homes and making a living. The other day I was in Atlanta at a rally, and I was introduced by a young woman. She and her husband were from Georgia. They were living in New York. They both had jobs there. He got a job in Atlanta; they moved back to Atlanta. She's still working for her company in New York, in Atlanta, because of the computer. There were 3 million people doing that in 1992. There are 12 million people doing that in 1996. There will be 30 million people doing that in the year 2000. That is just one example.

The frontiers of knowledge are being pushed back dramatically. The life expectancy for people with HIV and AIDS is more than twice what it was just 4 years ago. We have uncovered—

we have discovered, medical researchers, the first real treatment for stroke victims that offers promise. Two of the genes which cause breast cancer were just uncovered. And I allocated another $30 million to that research just a week ago. It is really within our reach not only to cure but prevent that disease in the future.

For the first time, a few weeks ago a laboratory animal with its spine completely severed had movement in its lower limbs because of nerve transplants to the spine from other parts of the body. These are unbelievable things. We just signed a contract, the United States Government did, with IBM to build jointly a supercomputer over the next couple of years that will do as many calculations in one second as you can do at home on your calculator in 30,000 years.

This world is changing. And America is faced with the question of what to do about the changes. When I ran for President 4 years ago, I had a vision of what I wanted our country to be like in the 21st century. And I'm so glad there are so many young people here today because that will be your century. For me, it's pretty straightforward. I want every child in America, without regard to race or gender or where you start out in life, to have the same chance to live up to your God-given abilities and the same chance to live out your dreams that I and the members of my generation had. You deserve it, and I am determined to see that you get it.

I want our great country to continue to be the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I know that makes me do things from time to time that aren't especially popular, whether it's trying to stop the bloody war in Bosnia or kick the dictators out in Haiti or stand up for the cause of peace in Northern Ireland or try to deal with the problems of our neighbors to the south in Mexico. But America is stronger today than it was 4 years ago. No Russian missiles are pointed at our children today, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, and we're moving in the right direction there.

And I want our country to be coming together around our basic values. I want us to be able to celebrate, laugh about, cherish our diversity, and say, we're bound together by our belief in the values that have made America great, but otherwise we don't discriminate against anybody. We want to go forward in an American community in which everybody has a place and a role to play.

Five days before this election, I want you to be upbeat about America, optimistic about your future, and determined to make the choice that will guarantee that that vision can be made real in your lives and the lives of your friends and neighbors. That is the choice.

For me, it is best expressed in this idea of a bridge to the 21st century. I believe that there's a real difference here between Senator Dole and me, between Senator Coffin and Congressman Ensign. And I believe it's an honest difference. I don't like all this harsh rhetoric and personal attacks and attempts to convince people that your opponent is no good. I don't think there is very much to that.

I'm about to end my last campaign. I can tell you this: I've been working at this for over 20 years now. Most of the people I've met in both parties, from all points on the political spectrum, have loved our country, have wanted what was best for it, worked hard and were honest, contrary to the image that is often portrayed. There are honest differences here, and you should be exuberant that you have a choice to make between honest differences.

I don't believe that we should go into this—I know that there will be more individual choices than ever before. I know people can do things on their computers and will be able to do more. Pretty soon you can do all your shopping by computers. People won't even have to go out the door if they don't want to. I know that there will be more opportunities for us to do things as individuals. But I still believe that our country will only be great if we are determined to build a bridge to the future that we're all going to be able to walk across together, if we give everybody the tools to make the most of his or her own life. That's what I believe.

And that's the choice. Would we be better off being told, "You're on your own, and we hope you do well," or as a person I'm reasonably close to once said, do we believe it takes a village to raise a child, to build a future, to build a country? That is the choice.

That was the choice we faced starkly about a year ago when Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich and Congressman Ensign voted for a budget that would have cut education for the first time in modern history, would have reduced the number of children in Head Start,

eliminated the AmeriCorps national service program, cut college loans, terribly, terribly, terribly weakened the ability of the United States to protect our environment and to continue to enhance it.

It would have repealed for the first time in 30 years our guarantee of health care to elderly people in nursing homes, to the very standards of care we have in nursing homes. It would repeal the guarantee of care to our poorest children and the middle class families who have family members with disabilities who can maintain a middle class lifestyle because we try to provide decent health care. It would have done all that. It would have allowed employers to raid their employees' pension funds and actually raise taxes on the hardest pressed working families in America. And I vetoed it because I thought it was wrong.

And they thought it was so right for America, they shut the Government down. And they thought that we were such Government lovers, because that's the picture postcard cutout that's always made of us, that all of us would just sort of cave in and let them have their way. And I told them I'd a lot rather see the American people hurt for 3 weeks than for 30 years; no, thank you, we weren't going to have that budget.

But I don't believe that these people didn't believe what they were doing. I think they believed what they were doing was right. But I think they were wrong. And that's what you have to decide. Are we going to build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Are we going to go forward together or be told we're on our own? These are big, big decisions.

Now, 4 years ago when the people in Nevada voted for Al Gore and Bill Clinton, you took us on faith. You don't have to do that anymore. There is a record. And our friends have to face the fact that there is a record. We do have 10½ million more jobs than we had 4 years ago. We do have incomes rising for the first time in a decade, about $1,600 over the last 2 years for the typical family. We do have the largest drop in child poverty in 20 years, the largest drop in income inequality among working people in 27 years, the lowest rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages combined in 27 years. Those are facts. That's where we are. We're going in the right direction.

We do have a 15-year high in homeownership. We do have 4 years now of declining crime rates, which is why every major law enforcement organization in America has endorsed the Clinton/Gore ticket for reelection, because we have proved we can lower the crime rate.

We do have 4 years of declining welfare rolls, 1.9 million fewer people on the welfare rolls. We do have cleaner air, safer drinking water, higher standards for food safety. We do have vast new protections for our natural resources: the biggest national park network ever created south of Alaska in the Mojave Desert in California; 1.7 million acres of wilderness in southern Utah, the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. We're cleaning up the Florida Everglades. We're moving this country forward, and we have proved, yes, you can grow the economy and preserve the environment at the same time. We have proved that.

Ten million people benefited from the increase in the minimum wage. Twelve million people took a little time off when a baby was born or a family member was sick without losing their jobs because of family leave. Twenty-five million Americans may be able to keep their health insurance now because we passed a law that says you cannot have your health insurance jerked from you because you changed jobs or someone in your family has been sick.

America is a better place because I signed a law that says mothers and their newborn babies can't be kicked out of the hospital in 24 hours, too. We're a better place because we're trying to provide more insurance coverage for mental health problems that so many of our families face. We're a better place because finally, after so long, way too long, we're giving health care and disability benefits to Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange whose children have spina bifida as a result of it. We're a better place because we're doing these things together. We're a better place because child support collections are up 50 percent, $4 billion a year in the last 4 years. This is a better place.

So I say to you, my fellow Americans, you don't just totally have to take it on faith anymore. There is a record. The evidence is there. And the question now is, what are we going to do for the future? I know it's Halloween, you know. And I understand why on Halloween people like to scare other people. But yesterday—with new evidence our economy is growing at about 3 percent a year, better than any other industrial country; we've got a 5 percent in-

crease in personal income after inflation this year; we've got the highest rate of business investment since John Kennedy was President—and we've done the things I've described, as they said, having the smallest Federal Government since President Kennedy, and we abolished more Government programs, more Government regulations and privatized more Government operations than the Republicans did in the 12 years they ran before our administration. So I understand all that.

So along comes my opponent yesterday and says we have the worst economy in 20 years. Do you believe that?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Is this the worst economy in Las Vegas in 20 years?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. If you think it is, you ought to vote for him. But now, the interesting thing is, this being Halloween, is that 2 weeks ago he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. I made up 80 years in just 2 weeks. I think you ought to feel good. Now, back in February, Senator Dole, in a more candid and open and accurate moment, said we had the best economy in 30 years—the best economy. That's when he was right.

That doesn't mean we don't have more to do. And one of the things that I worry about all the time is—you know, life is about more than economics. Most of us work so that we'll have the wherewithal to live in the way we want to live, to raise our children well, to enjoy our lives, to find some personal fulfillment, to have good lives. And on Halloween, even though it's supposed to be "fright night," I always think that what I really want is a safer Halloween for all of our children and stronger families and safer neighborhoods.

So I say to you, I want you to feel good about America, and I want you to make this choice based on these two big ideas, because we still have more work to do. If we want to strengthen our families, we have to help parents succeed at home and at work. I was for the family leave law; he was against it. We had an honest difference of opinion. He said it would hurt the economy, but we've had 3 years of record starts of new small businesses and over 10 million jobs. You know who was right and who was wrong. The evidence is there.

And I think we ought to extend family leave. I think people ought to be able to go see their children's teachers twice a year and go to the doctor's appointment with them without losing their jobs.

There is nothing more important than helping parents succeed at home and at work. If the parents of America have to choose between their children or their job, we are in trouble, whichever choice they have to make. Their most important job is raising our children, but we have to have a strong economy. If we have a strong economy at the expense of raising our children, what are we working for anyway? We have got to work to create conditions in which everybody believes, "I can do my work, and I can still be a good parent." There is no more important agenda for America.

We have to help parents pass their values along to their children, and they should be reinforced. That's why I fought for more educational television. That's why I fought for a V-chip in new TV's and a rating system so you can control what young children see. Every study shows that too much violence too young numbs children to the meaning of violence and undermines their ability to see other people with dignity and respect. We have to deal with that.

That's why we fought for the safe and drug-free schools program, and we got more than double the number of children who now see D.A.R.E. officers and others in their schools saying, "Don't do drugs. They will kill you. They will ruin your lives. You deserve a better chance." We were right to fight for that. That's why I fought to stop the big tobacco companies from advertising and marketing cigarettes to children illegally. It was wrong.

Now, in every single one of those instances, Senator Dole disagreed with me. That doesn't make him a bad person, but I think I'm right, and I think he was wrong about that. And you have to decide who you think is right.

I believe we've got to keep our streets safe. I know it was unpopular in Nevada when we passed the crime bill and the Brady bill. I know a lot of people in the rural parts of this State were told, "There they go again, those crazy Democrats and that awful President. They're going to take guns away from hunters and sports people." Well, you know something? I grew up in a State where more than half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both. I was shooting a .22 at old tin cans when I was 12. But we don't need assault weapons on

our street. They're designed to kill people. They're designed to kill people.

And that's just like a lot of this stuff. That's what they said 2 years ago, but now we know. We've got a record. Not a single Nevada sportsman has lost a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers didn't get handguns because of the Brady bill.

We're putting more police on our streets—this is unbelievable—if we keep going until we get all 100,000 police on the street, instead of 4 years of declining crime we'll have 8 years of declining crime. We might actually be able to feel safe again in every community in this country.

Here again my opponent voted against 100,000 police. Senator Coffin's opponent voted to eliminate it, even in the evidence—in the face of the evidence that the crime rate was coming down, they voted to stop doing it. I don't understand it. But that's one reason, when I was in Arizona this morning before I came here, that Bill Bratton, the former commissioner of police in New York City and Boston—and in New York City, because of community policing, because they put more police on the street, they brought the crime rate down 39 percent and the murder rate down 50 percent—and he endorsed Bill Clinton and Al Gore because he knows we ought to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street. And I want you to help us do it.

I believe, as strongly as I can say, that we need to do these things block by block, community by community. We have to work together to make the American dream work. That's why I wanted someone like Nell Justice to introduce me, someone who has taken responsibility for her children, someone who's active in her community.

I don't believe that the President for a moment can take full credit for any of the achievements that I've talked to you about. But it is the job of the President to do those things which we should do together as a country. And it is the job of the President to imagine the future and to try to lead the country into a better, brighter future in a way that is consistent with our values.

What we have here in America today is an old-fashioned partnership. We're out working today to mobilize another million volunteers to work with police officers in their neighborhoods because we know community citizen groups can drive the crime rate down. I've asked a million volunteers a year to join with us to make sure every 8-year-old can read independently by the third grade. These are things we have to do together.

But how we do it, what we do in Washington determines whether you can do it here. So you have to decide, do we want to balance the budget as I want to and still protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, technology? Or do we want to do what they want to do, which is to promise you a big tax cut that will blow a hole in the deficit, actually raise taxes on 9 million working people and will require bigger cuts in the environment, in education, in Medicare and Medicaid than the ones I vetoed? There's a big difference here. It's just an honest difference of opinion. I say balance the budget, protect our values, invest in our future.

Do we want to keep reforming health care step by step? We've made a good start. My balanced budget plan—which cannot be funded by them—my balanced budget plan will help families that are between jobs keep their health insurance for 6 months, add another million children to the rolls of those with health insurance, provide free mammograms to women on Medicare. And for the over 1½ million families that are courageously out there caring for a loved one with Alzheimer's, it will give them some respite care. That is hard duty, and that's important, and we can do it. I think we ought to do it. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And let me say this, especially to the young people: The two biggest differences, the two biggest choices you have to make—the first is about education. I am telling you, I would not be here today, no way in the world would I be here today—I was born to a widowed mother in a little town in Arkansas; she married my stepfather, who did not have a high school diploma—if it hadn't been for my family drumming into me the importance of education and for the opportunities I was given, I wouldn't be here today. I know every politician stands up, loves to give speeches about self-reliance. Well, the woman who introduced me is self-reliant. But we all need a hand, too.

Every politician would like you to believe that he or she was born in a log cabin they built by themselves. [*Laughter*] But that's just not true, folks. Educational opportunity is the gift we give not only to our children but to our-

selves, to give us a country that can be free and strong and that can grow and go forward together. And we have a lot still to do. Here's how we're going to teach every 8-year-old to read, and 40 percent of them can't do it. We're going to mobilize 30,000 AmeriCorps volunteers and reading specialists to go across this country and get a million others.

One of the things that we did this year I'm very proud of is to allocate 200,000 more work-study slots to college students in the years ahead than we've had. And I want 100,000 of those—100,000, half of them, to be given to college students who say, "If you'll give me work-study money, I'll go teach an 8-year-old to read." And I want you to help me do that.

I want us to hook up every classroom and library in every school in America to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web. I want every child for the first time in the history of this country, whether in a poor district, a remote rural district, a middle class or a wealthy one, every child for the first time to have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize education in America.

And I want to open the doors of college education to every single American. I want you to help me make community college, at least 2 years of education after high school, as universal as a high school diploma is today. And it will be easy to do. It will be easy to do. Just let people deduct dollar for dollar from their tax bill the cost of the typical community college tuition. I want to let people save in an IRA and withdraw from it without any tax penalty if the money's used for education or health care or homebuying. And I believe we should give families a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, undergraduate, graduate, at any school, for people of any age. And I can pay for it.

Now, they believe that—their education agenda is to abolish the Department of Education.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. You think about this: Two cents on the dollar at the Department of Education goes to administration—or bureaucracy, if you want to use the disparaging term; 98 cents of it goes to help educate our children. What would it say to the world if America, the greatest democracy in the world, were to start the 21st century with no one at the President's Cabinet to speak up for the education of our children? I say, no. Let's build a bridge to the 21st century with the best education system in the world.

Finally—this may be the most important thing of all—I have spent so much time, heartbreaking time, as your President dealing with the difficulties of other countries who are consumed by racial, religious, ethnic, and tribal hatreds: in Bosnia, people killing one another's children because they were Muslims or Croats or Serbs, even though biologically they are literally indistinguishable; in Northern Ireland, violence continuing, people fighting over battles they fought 3 and 600 years ago—I can say that, they're my people, but it's crazy—the kids over there just want to get on with their lives; in the Middle East, the Holy Land for the three great monotheistic religions of the world, people still unable to lay down their hatreds of one another, rooted in religious differences so old.

All over the world—in Rwanda we sent American forces to be with the French to save hundreds of thousands of lives when the Tutsis and the Hutus were killing each other, and neither one of them had enough money to get along on, neither one of them could provide for their children. And instead of working together to build a prosperous future, they preferred to slaughter one another.

That is why I was so upset when hatred of the Federal Government led to the tragedy of Oklahoma City. That is why, when the churches were being burned, the synagogues defaced, the Muslim centers being defaced, I said, that is not my America. We must stand against it strong and hard.

When the First Lady and our daughter and I went to open the Olympics for the United States in Atlanta, it was one of the great moments of the last 4 years for us, and I was filled with pride as I looked at those people from 197 different national groups walking around the Olympic Stadium and thinking, you know, we've got folks from all those places here in America; we've got people from everywhere here.

So I say to you, this is important, too. We cannot say, you're on your own. We have to say that if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to show up for work or school tomorrow and be a good citizen, we need to know nothing else about you. You are part of our America. We're going to build a bridge to-

gether. We're going to walk across it together. And our best days are still ahead.

Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*] Will you be there and vote? [*Applause*] If you've voted already, will you bring someone else? [*Applause*] You can go in the courthouse and do it right now. Be there, and we'll have a great celebration for America Tuesday night.

Thank you. God bless you. And bear down. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the Clark County Government Center. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Jan Laverty Jones of Las Vegas; State Senator Dina Titus; entertainer Gladys Knight; tennis player Andre Agassi; Nell Justice, who introduced the President; and State Senator Bob Coffin, candidate for Nevada's First Congressional District.

Remarks in Oakland, California
October 31, 1996

The President. Let's hear it for Sherman Spears; give him another hand. [*Applause*]

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you, thank you very much. Well, happy Halloween, Oakland. Mr. Mayor, thank you for making me feel at home again. Senator Boxer, Senator Feinstein, Congressman Dellums, how fortunate the people of California are to have you pleading their cause and pushing their futures in Washington, DC. Thank you for your friendship, your support, and your leadership.

I want to thank the House Jacks for the national anthem and their music. They did a great job. I want to say how glad I am to be here with all the people on the podium, including Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis, Congressman Tom Lantos. My Chief of Staff from California, Leon Panetta, is here with me. I want to thank the young people here who are in the neighborhood watch from the Oakland Home Alert; thank you. And I want to thank these young folks who made this bridge to the 21st century for me. Didn't they do a great job? [*Applause*]

I want to echo what has already been said and ask you to help Ellen Tauscher go to the United States Congress. We need her there. She looks like a congresswoman—[*laughter*]—but, more importantly, she'll vote like a congresswoman from California, advancing the interests of all Americans. And I hope you will help her.

You know, folks, I know this is Halloween and we've got a few masks on out there; we've even got a television camera over here masquerading as Freddy Krueger. [*Laughter*] But I want to ask you tonight to sort of take off the mask for a minute. I want to begin by thanking all the young people in this audience who have come tonight, for more than anything else this election is about your tomorrows. It's about what kind of country we're going to be in the 21st century.

And I want to ask you all to do something tonight for me when you go home. Before you go to sleep, whatever your age is, just see if you can answer this question for yourself: "What would I like my country to look like when we cross that bridge into the 21st century in 4 years? What would I like my country to look like when I have children, like Sherman does? What would I like that to be?"

And I think you will find a good answer. And I want to tell you what my answer is. I believe in a country where everybody, without regard to race, gender, or whatever else, no matter where they start in life, has a chance to live out their dreams. I believe in a country—I believe in a country where America leads the world for people in freedom and prosperity. And I believe in a country where we celebrate our diversity instead of being divided by it, where we're one great, strong community.

So when you choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century, you have to ask yourself this question. There is a huge difference here. There's a huge difference in these choices for Congress. And it's not fundamentally about party, it's about what you want America to be like. They say you'd be better off on your own. I say—as a friend of mine said, someone I'm reasonably

close to—it does take a village to raise our children and build our future. They say, "There is a future out there, and it sure will be exciting if you can get there, and I wish you luck." I say, we'll all get there if we build a bridge big enough and strong enough to walk across together.

Now, 4 years ago the people of California gave me the chance to serve as President and gave Al Gore the chance to serve as Vice President, and basically you took me on faith. Tonight you don't have to do that anymore. We know which approach works. There's an old saying where I come from: If you find a turtle on a fencepost, the chances are it did not get there by accident. [*Laughter*]

We do have 10½ million more jobs than we had 4 years ago. California's economy has turned around and is going in the right direction compared to 4 years ago. We do have 4 years of declining crime rates, the lowest crime rate in the whole country in 10 years and in California in 25 years. There are nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare than there were 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction.

Ten million more people got an increase in the minimum wage. There's been a 50 percent increase in child support collections. Twenty-five million people now have a chance to keep their health insurance because we passed a law that says you can't lose it if you change jobs or someone in your family gets sick. We also passed a bill that says that insurance companies can't kick mothers and their newborn babies out of a hospital in 24 hours anymore.

We know that if we work to expand opportunity, increase responsibility, and build our American community we're going to be better off. Now, let me say—I'd be the very first to say, even 5 days before an election, I do not deserve credit, solely, for all the good things that have happened in America. We did this together. And I just want us to keep on working together. I don't want to see us divided and going back and forgetting about our obligations to one another.

I'm trying to get another million people to join in these neighborhood watches like these young folks, because I know if you have police on the street and partners in the neighborhood working together, you can prevent crime and save children, not just catch criminals. And you'll drive the crime rate down.

I'm trying to get a million more people—a million more—to go out there and teach our young children to read as reading tutors, so that every 8-year-old can read a book on his or her own by the year 2000. I'm trying to mobilize volunteers all across this country to help us hook up every classroom and library in the United States to the Internet, so that all our kids will finally have access to the same knowledge at the same time. We've got to do this together.

I'm trying to work with the cities and the private sector to create another million jobs to move people from welfare to work. You can't tell people they have to go to work unless you also have work for them to go to.

We've got to do this together. And your big decision here is: bridge to the future, or bridge to the past; doing it together, or you're on your own. I want the young people here especially to think about this. With all my heart, I believe the best days of this country are still before us. With all my heart, I believe that the people who are growing up now and will come of age in the 21st century will have more opportunities to live out their dreams than ever before, if we do the right things.

But there are new threats, new challenges out there, challenges to our security in the form of terrorism and biological and chemical weapons and ethnic and regional hatreds all over the world that could flare up. There are new challenges here at home. We've got to get the drugs and the gangs and the guns off the street and give people something to say yes to and a future to build. We have to make it possible for everybody to benefit from this new high-tech global economy, not just the ones that are going to make it anyway if we don't do anything. And we're going to be better off, all of us, if all of us have a chance—not a guarantee but a chance—to make it. That's what this whole election's about.

Now, since this is Halloween but I asked you to take off the mask, I'm going to take off a mask or two myself tonight. Yesterday we found out that the economy is growing at about 3 percent a year. Incomes were up 5 percent a year after inflation, after being stagnant for 10 years. People are actually getting paid for the work they're doing again. And my opponent said that we had the worst economy in 20 years.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. I've got news for him. The worst economy California had in 20 years was when I got elected President. It's better now.

Now—but it's not all bad because yesterday he said we had the worst economy in 20 years, but just 2 weeks ago he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. [*Laughter*] Now, I think you ought to vote for a guy who can make up 80 years in 2 weeks. I've done a pretty good job.

But you have to decide who's right. Let me tell you, I don't approve—I'll say right now, I do not approve, even when we do it, even sometimes when I have lapsed into it—do not approve of all this attempt that people in politics make today to convince people that their opponents are no good, they're bad people, they're corrupt, you know. It's not true; that's not right.

After the Vice President and I and Mr. Panetta spent 55 hours negotiating the budget with Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich and the leaders of the Democratic Party, Mr. Armey, on their side, we were alone in the White House one day, just the three of us. And I looked at them and I said, "You know, I've enjoyed being with these people, and I've learned a lot. They're just different from us." And I do not mean it in any hateful way. They really believe things that are different from what I believe. And if every American understood that, every American would show up, they would show up Tuesday, and they would cast their votes, and we would all chart our course to the 21st century. I'll just give you a few examples.

The family and medical leave law has helped 12 million people to take a little time off from work when their babies are born or when their family members are sick. They led the fight against it, because they said it would hurt the economy, we were interfering with the economy. My attitude is, the most important job anybody's got is raising their kids. If we had more people doing the job, we'd be in less trouble than we are in. And almost all families are having some trouble raising their kids and doing their jobs. Even well-to-do people often find terrible conflicts between the demands of their work and the demands of children, so you know how much harder it is for people that are just struggling to get by. And we have to fashion a world in the 21st century, we have to use the technology, we have to use our ingenuity, we have to use all our creativity, to help people succeed in raising their kids and doing their work.

Nobody here is doing any more important work than Sherman is, trying to save our kids. But his first job now is to save his own child and give his own child a good future. We all have to succeed at both. So I think we were right. I want to expand the family leave law and say people ought to be able to go see their children's teacher twice a year and take them to the doctor without losing their job. I think that's right. I think when people work overtime, if they've got a problem at home they ought to have the option to take their overtime in pay or time at home dealing with their sick spouses or their children.

That's what I believe, because we have to find ways for people to succeed at home and at work. It's a big challenge in the 21st century. They disagree. You have to choose. Should we build a bridge together, or would it be better if you were on your own? I know the answer to that. And I think you do, too.

I'll give you another example. When I was for the Brady bill, they led the fight against it. When I supported Senator Feinstein in her finest hour in banning those assault weapons, they led the fight against it. When I said, "I've been talking to all these police officers and they say we cannot jail our way out of this crisis; we've got to prevent crime and give our kids something to say yes to, and we need to put police back on the streets in the neighborhoods, building trust in partnership with people again. That's why I want 100,000 police," they led the fight against it. They really believed it was a mistake. And now we know it's bringing the crime rate down, and they're still trying to get rid of it. I don't think they're bad people, but I sure think they're wrong. And I hope you do, too.

Their idea of balancing the budget included cuts in Head Start, cuts in college loans, abolishing the Department of Education.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. My idea of balancing the budget has given us the smallest Federal Government in 30 years. We, the Democrats—Ron Dellums, Barbara Boxer, Dianne Feinstein—we, the Democrats—you should know this—have eliminated more unnecessary programs, more pages of Government regulations, we have privatized more Government operations than the Republicans did in 12 years. But we still think we should balance the budget and invest in edu-

cation and the environment and protect Medicare and Medicaid.

My idea is to teach every 8-year-old to read, to let every 12-year-old log in on the Internet, and open the doors of college to everybody in America that wants to go and will work for it. My idea of a tax cut is to give families tax cuts for raising their kids and education and health care and buying a home; to let people deduct dollar for dollar the cost of a typical community college tuition so we can make 2 years of college as universal as a high school diploma is today in just 4 years.

My idea is to let you save in an individual retirement account and withdraw from it tax-free if you use the money for education or health care or homebuying. And I think we ought to give you a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of any college tuition at any institution of higher education in America. That's what I believe.

But I don't believe—I don't believe in coming to you at election time and telling you I can have a huge tax cut that will blow a hole in the deficit, raise interest rates, send California's economy back into a tailspin and require bigger cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment than I vetoed before when they shut the Government down. I just don't agree with that. And I think you agree with me and America does.

But we're different. They believe every time you really protect the environment it hurts the economy. So they said, "We're going to cut environmental enforcement by a third; we're going to paralyze the ability of the Government to do new things to protect our air and water."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. They wanted to abolish the principle that the polluters should pay for their pollution and make the taxpayers pay for all of it.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. There are 10 million children still living within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump. My idea is clean them up and let our kids grow up next to parks, not poison. That's just different. We have proved—we have proved that you can protect the environment and grow the economy. Their idea is to just cut whatever needs to be cut because nearly any Government spending is worse than nearly any private. My idea is let's define together what things we have to do as a people.

And let me just give you some examples of some things I think we have to do as a people. Yesterday, last night, I was in Denver and I gave a little speech like I am tonight, and then I did what I'll do tonight, I went around the crowd and shook hands with people just like this. And just standing there in the crowd, the following things happened to me—just literally walking down the crowd.

Number one, I met a man and he said, "My wife and I just adopted a child. And because of the family leave law, my wife's getting to know our baby at home and we're making that baby a part of our family, and she didn't lose her job."

And then I met a man who said that he got the first research grant under a new policy that I started when we lifted the ban on fetal tissue research that looked into Parkinson's. And this professor just had fire in his eyes, and he said, "We're going to cure that, we're going to whip Parkinson's, we're going to make people free of that because of what we're doing in research."

And then I met a young man who said he'd given up all hope, but he listened to what I was saying and he believed he could make something of himself again. And he got a student loan and he was going back, after being a dropout, to study microbiology. And he was going to get a degree and help to build our bridge to the future.

And then I met three ladies who had a little sign that said, "Thank you for allocating $30 million more to breast cancer research." They were breast cancer survivors and determined to see us whip that disease.

And then I met a young woman who was a police officer in a community near Denver, who said her community had just gotten five more police officers and she felt safer on the streets and she was going to make the people of her community safer. And that happened in about 10 minutes.

See, I think that's what this election is all about. That's what I think. Oh, you know what all the issues are. But the bottom line is, are we better off when we do these things together?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Or would you just like to go your own way?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. That's what the big decision is here, don't make any mistake about it. That's

what this bridge to the future is all about. And I want you to think about that when you decide how you're going to vote and whether you're going to vote and what you can still say to others between now and Tuesday.

You know, this is my last campaign unless I run for the school board someday. [*Laughter*] And I'm thinking about what we're going to be like in the 21st century, what we're going to be like when our children are our age, whether we can give the great genius of America for continuous improvement and advancement and moving closer to our ideals on to our children. And I know we can. We've just scratched the surface.

We now know that there are two genes that cause breast cancer. And if we can figure out how they do it, we'll be able to cure virtually all cases and maybe even prevent all cases. We now know how to move drugs and mix drugs in a way that has more than doubled the life expectancy for people with HIV and AIDS in only 4 years. We know how to do that. We now know that for the first time in history laboratory animals with their spines completely severed have shown movement in their lower limbs because of nerve transplants from other parts of the body to their spines. If we can do that for people, we can revolutionize life in America for so many of our fellow citizens who deserve a better chance.

We now know that all this money that we have spent for satellites in the sky to look at the planets beyond and to find out what's going on here on Earth—they have to see real well to do that. We now know we can do that and use that technology to look at our bodies and maybe find all kinds of problems way before they get out of hand. We know that.

We're about to build a computer, the U.S. Government and IBM, that can do more calculations in a second than you can go home tonight and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. You get the point.

The Internet, which a lot of you are on, was started as a Government research project. The American winners of the Nobel prizes in chemistry and physics got research money from the Government to explore the mysteries. We know now how fast we're going. Four years ago only physicists knew about the Internet. Today my cat has a home page. [*Laughter*] Four years ago there were only 3 million Americans working at home making their living. Today there are 12 million. Four years from now there will be 30 million. That will change everything for all of us in ways that will be some good and some challenge.

And you have to decide. And if you want to know why I have spent so much time on this, it's because I believe that we've got an opportunity that our country has never had before. We're going through this period of change in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. And if we do it right, it will be the most remarkable experience in democracy ever—ever.

Now, look around this sea of people tonight, all the way back there, and I want to make my last point. One of the great moments for our family in the Presidency was when Hillary and Chelsea and I got to go to open the Olympics, to represent you and all of our country men and women at the opening of the Olympics. And I was filled with pride as I looked at those delegations from 197 different nations and nationalities walking around the Olympic stadium. And I thought to myself, we are the only country in the world that has people from nearly every one of those places in our country.

And when I get up and I go to work on trying to keep people from killing each other in Bosnia, or trying to resolve the problems of the Middle East, or trying to resolve the problems in Northern Ireland; when I sent our troops to Rwanda with the French to stop the starvation of hundreds of thousands of people, I think to myself how sad it is that all over the world there's still so many people who have to define themselves in terms of what they aren't, who have to say, "Well, whatever's wrong with me, at least I've got somebody I can look down on here; I've got somebody I can kick around; I've got somebody I can feel is subhuman."

It's just a terrible, heartbreaking thing to see. And I go around the world and I say all these things, you know, and make all these arguments, and what all these arguments amount to is I'm trying to get people to let it go. It's what Sherman had to do, he had to let it go. He said he could never get revenge. Folks, I'll tell you something, nobody gets even in this world. Only God can get even and help us get even. Nobody gets even.

And there's a certain amount of injustice that everyone endures. I read something the other day where Mark Twain—he was a pretty smart

fellow—said, "Every dog needs a few fleas in his life; keeps him from worrying so much about being a dog." [*Laughter*]

Now, I want an America where we all have a chance and where we respect each other. We don't have to agree with what we do; we don't have to agree with some of the choices we make. But we need a country where everybody's got a chance and where everybody is respected.

My problem with this 209—I know it's maybe popular and maybe not—but let me tell you what I know.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Let me tell you what I know. I'm old enough to remember in my home State when I could go into county courthouses and look at the square, and the restrooms were divided between "white" and "colored." I'm old enough to remember when people had to buy a poll tax to vote. I'm old enough to know that if my skin were a different color, I could not have been born to a widowed mother in a tiny town in Arkansas, who married my stepfather who did not have a high school diploma, and become President. But I believe there will come a time when all of you could become President or do anything else you want to do.

And I know that all these affirmative action programs haven't been perfect. I've actually gotten rid of some myself; we've raised the standards on others. I've never been for quotas; I've never been for anybody unqualified getting anything they were not qualified for. But I am for giving people a chance to prove that they are qualified.

Let me give you an example. I admire General Powell for coming out here and taking on his own party and being candid enough to talk about how many African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and female military officers there are who got there because they had the right kind of affirmative action; not because they were unqualified, because they got a chance—somebody made an extra effort to give them a chance to prove they were qualified. I admire that.

I read an article the other day in a magazine about my appointments to the Federal bench. And they pointed out how I had appointed a higher percentage of women and minorities than any other President, but they also had the highest rating from the American Bar Association since the ratings have been used. We gave people a chance to prove they were qualified and then to serve. And I think we ought to keep doing that. I believe that. If somebody can show us where we're wrong on this or that or the other policy, we ought to be willing to change it. If some policy or program can't be defended, we ought to be willing to get rid of it. But we ought not to give up the idea that we're not where we need to be yet. But we're going in the right direction. That's what I believe. And I hope you do, too.

The other thing I believe is, we've got to get to the point in this country where we can let some of this stuff go and say, "You know, if you believe in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, if you show up for work every day or you show up for school every day and you do what you're supposed to do and you're doing the best you can, we don't need to know anything else about you. The rest of that shouldn't concern us. You're part of our America. And we'll go in hands with you, and we'll go on into the future together."

That's why I was so against those church burnings and why I hate it when a synagogue or a mosque is defaced in the United States and why it is wrong for people to manifest their Government hatred by blowing up buildings like the tragedy in Oklahoma City. We cannot afford that. We've got too much to live for, too much to work for. No country in the world is as fortunate as the United States, if we build a bridge to the 21st century together.

Now, will you help me do that? [*Applause*] And will you show up Tuesday? And will you talk to your friends and neighbors? [*Applause*]

Thank you, California. You were there for me. I've been there for you. I need you one more time on Tuesday. Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7 p.m. in Jack London Square. In his remarks he referred to Sherman Spears, director, Teens on Target; Mayor Elihu Mason Harris of Oakland; Ellen Tauscher, candidate for California's 10th Congressional District; and Gen. Colin Powell, USA (Ret.), former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks in Santa Barbara, California
November 1, 1996

The President. Good morning. Thank you very much. Thank you. Can it really be November? [*Laughter*] Thank you so much, Mayor Miller, County Superintendent Naomi Schwartz, President MacDougall, Senator O'Connell. And an alumna of this school, your State Superintendent of Schools, Delaine Eastin, thank you for being here.

I am delighted to be back here. As all of you know, I think, our family came here on a little vacation after the '92 election. I hope this will bring us good luck in the next 4 days. I'm glad to be here.

I want to thank Walter Capps for running again for Congress after 1994. As some of you may know, I have more than a passing interest in this race because his daughter, Laura, works for us at the White House. And if there were a popularity contest among White House employees, she would probably win it. The apple doesn't fall far from the tree. I know from her that he should be elected, quite apart from everything he has done. Let me say, Walter Capps lost a very close race in 1994, about 1,000 votes. It would have been easy to walk away from a disappointment like that, but he came back. He had a serious accident. It would have been easy to walk away and say, "Well, someone else should take up this battle," but he came back. That's the kind of commitment and courage and fortitude this country needs in the United States Congress.

And last year, when his opponent joined the Gingrich-Dole revolution——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——and voted for an almost unbelievably destructive budget for America, one that would have cut environmental enforcement drastically, made it more difficult for us to take further actions to protect our environment, the first cut in education in modern history, including student loans and Head Start——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——repealed the guarantee of health care we had provided for 30 years to poor children; to middle class families with members with disabilities to allow them to care for their family members, let them live at home, and maintain their middle class lifestyles; to our seniors in nursing homes, even to repeal the very standards of care we impose to protect people in nursing homes.

When that happened and I vetoed it, they shut the Government down. And they said, "You have to accept everything in our budget, or we will just keep shutting the Government down." And the people who led the way were those first-year Members of Congress, like Mr. Capps' opponent. They said, "We want everything." I said, "Well, there's a provision in this budget which would allow corporation managers to raid their workers' pension funds. Don't we have any memory? Look what happened in the eighties to the pension funds." In 1994, finally I got through the last Congress a bill to protect the pensions of 40 million working Americans. I said, "Are we going to go right back around and do this all over again?" "Yes, shut the Government down."

I said, "Well, there's a provision in this bill, while it gives me a tax cut at my income level—which I don't need—until we balance the budget, this bill would actually raise taxes on 8 million of the hardest working Americans, people working for very modest wages—trying to raise their taxes? You're going to take away their present tax credits and raise their taxes? Can we take that out?" "No, shut the Government down."

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now there's an attempt to develop a little short-term amnesia among the electorate as we get closer to the elections: "Please forget that; forget that." [*Laughter*]

You have a big choice to make in this race. Walter Capps is a good man, a brave man. He shares your values; he shares your dreams. I hope you'll send him back to Congress.

Ladies and gentlemen, in just 4 days we will elect the last President of the 20th century and we will choose the first President of the 21st century. As Walter Capps said, I do believe we're at one of those magic moments between hope and history, when we have the opportunity to both have unprecedented prosperity and discovery and adventure and move closer to the values and the ideals which we all say we believe

in. But it depends upon what vision we choose. And it depends on what strategy we choose.

There are so many young people here in the audience, and I thank you for being here, because this is about you. And I want to ask you to do something tonight. Before you turn in when you go home, take just a couple of minutes and see if you can ask yourself and answer this question: What would I like my country to look like when we cross that great bridge into the 21st century? What would I like my country to be like when my children are my age?

I know what I want. I want the American dream alive for every person who's willing to work for it. I want America to keep being the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the entire world, even if we have to make some controversial decisions to help end wars like Bosnia or throw dictators out of Haiti or continue to move forward in other areas. I know I've been criticized for some of the things I've tried to do, but I know that there are no Russian missiles pointed at the children of America for the first time since the dawn of the cold war. And I want an America that is coming together instead of being torn apart. All around the world people are being divided by race, by religion, by ethnicity, by tribe, killing each other and each other's children because they cannot get along. Look in this crowd today. In this crowd we say, you can be an American; it doesn't matter who you are, where you're from, anything else about you. You've just got to believe in our values, obey the law, and do a good job.

Now, we have followed a simple strategy: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community that includes all. Four years ago, the people of California, in very difficult conditions, took that strategy on faith. Today there is a record. You don't have to take our word for it when you see the differences in our vision, that we want to build a bridge to the 21st century; they want to build a bridge to the past. They want to say, you're on your own; we want to say, to use the words of my best friend and someone I'm reasonably close to, it does take a village to raise a child and to build a future.

Now we know which side is right. Over the last 4 years, incomes have been rising, jobs have been coming in, the average family income has gone up $1,600 after inflation in the last 2 years alone. We've had the largest drop in child poverty in 20 years; the largest drop in inequality among working people in 27 years; the lowest rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages in 27 years; the highest rates of homeownership in 15 years; record rates of new businesses formed every year, including new businesses owned by women and minorities. We are moving in the right direction.

The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row and, in the Nation as a whole, is at a 10-year low. The welfare rolls have been reduced by 1.9 million. Child support collections are up 50 percent, $4 billion a year for deserving children all across America. We are moving in the right direction.

In the closing days of the last Congress, we raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. We said to 25 million people—25 million people—you can't have your health insurance taken away from you anymore just because you changed jobs or someone in your family has been sick. We said that insurance companies can no longer force hospitals to kick mothers and newborn babies out of the hospitals in 24 hours.

We gave more help to small businesses, every one in the country, making them eligible for tax cuts if they invest more in their businesses. We helped people get health insurance if they self-insure by giving them greater tax benefits for doing that. We helped people to take out pensions and to carry with them from job to job if they work for small businesses. We're moving in the right direction.

We gave families who will adopt a child—and there are so many out there who need adoption—a $5,000 tax credit. We are moving this country in the right direction. And we had the biggest increase in Pell Grants in 20 years and added 200,000 work-study positions to the Federal Government's efforts to help people go to college.

Just a few days ago, we learned that our annual growth is about 3 percent; that real incomes are rising at about 5 percent, which is a very healthy rate after 20 years of virtual stagnation; that we have the highest rates of new investment in our country, almost 19 percent, since President Kennedy was President.

We have protected the air, the water, the land. We set aside in the Mojave Desert the biggest natural reserves south of Alaska in the history of America with three national parks,

converted the Presidio to a national park, set aside 1.7 million acres in southern Utah in the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, moved to save Yellowstone Park from a gold mine, and helped to protect the environment. And we stopped our friends on the other side when they tried to lift the ban on offshore drilling.

Now, during this whole campaign, a lot of interesting things have happened. I told someone yesterday and the day before, my opponent, Senator Dole, said that we had the worst economy in America in 20 years, but just 2 weeks before that he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. [*Laughter*] So I think he made the case for reelection; not everyone can make up 80 years in 2 weeks.

Now, the truth is, back in February he admitted we had the best economy in America in 30 years. And you know California, while we've still got a long way to go, is way better off than it was 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction.

And today we got some more good news. Unemployment held steady at 5.2 percent in the country, 210,000 new jobs in October. That makes 10.7 million new jobs in America since I took the oath of office. We are moving in the right direction.

It is time for my opponent and those on the other side to stop all this doom-and-gloom talk about America. In spite of what he wants you to think, when it comes to the economy, the sky is not falling. The sky is the limit, and we're going after it.

But this election should be about what else we have to do to build our common bridge to the 21st century. And I'd like to ask you all to sort of ride along with me for a moment and let me discuss an issue that hasn't been discussed enough in this campaign, and that is whether we will reform our system of politics by finally passing meaningful campaign finance reform legislation.

When I ran for President 4 years ago, I said I wanted to give our Government back to the people. I wanted a Government to represent the national interests, not narrow interests, a Government that would stand up for ordinary Americans. And I have worked hard to do that. When I became President, I barred top officials from ever representing foreign Governments when they leave our service. I barred top officials from lobbying their own agencies for 5 years after leaving office. The days of the revolving door, when top trade negotiators left to work for the very countries they were negotiating against, are over.

We passed the most sweeping lobby reform legislation in 50 years. From now on, professional lobbyists must disclose for whom they work, what they are spending, and what bills they are trying to pass or kill—for the first time ever. I challenged the Congress to ban gifts from lobbyists, and they did that.

We passed a line item veto so Presidents can strip special-interest pork in general legislation. We passed the motor-voter law, which has enabled millions of people to register more easily and will add millions to the voting rolls next Tuesday. We passed the Congressional Accountability Act and then the White House accountability act to apply to Congress and the White House the same laws that we pass and impose on everyone else in America.

All these actions will serve to make Washington work better for you. But there is still more to do, and special interests still have too much say. We have clearly one more big job to do: curbing the power that special interests have in our elections. Everybody knows the problems of campaign money today. There is too much of it. It takes too much time to raise. And it raises too many questions.

The parties are engaged in an escalating arms race. In the past 2 years—listen to this—in the past 2 years, the Democratic Party and its House and Senate campaign committees have raised $241 million. The Republican Party and its Senate and House campaign committees have raised $399 million. Raising that much money strains the political system. We have played by the rules, but I know and you know we need to change the rules.

I proposed a tough campaign finance bill when I came into office, but the Congress would not pass it. The Republicans have been reluctant to give up their access to big money. Led by my opponent, they filibustered the bill I proposed to death. In fact, campaign finance reform has come before the Congress six Congresses in a row, and my opponent filibustered it five times. He blocked the last one right before he left office.

In 1995, I met with Speaker Gingrich at a townhall meeting in New Hampshire. And when we were there a citizen asked us if we would create a bipartisan commission to come up with

a campaign finance reform proposal that we would then try to pass. We both agreed. I thought it offered a real chance for bipartisanship and action. And frankly, I was excited about it. I even appointed two distinguished citizens, John Gardner and Doris Kearns Goodwin, to help get it started. But the Republicans walked away. My opponent now says he would support such a commission. But when we had a real chance to succeed, he wouldn't help us start it.

Now we have a chance—we had a chance to take bipartisan politics—or partisan politics out of this issue this year as well. I supported a strong bipartisan bill introduced by one of my opponent's strongest supporters, Senator John McCain, and Senator Fred Thompson and Democratic Senator Russ Feingold from Wisconsin. They've got a good approach. It's based on principles I advocated back in 1992. We should curb the power of special interests by restricting political action committees and dramatically reducing the amount they can give to candidates. We should ban contributions from lobbyists to those who lobby. That's what I believe. We should end the big money contributions to political parties known today as soft money. We should ban corporations and unions from directly giving to parties to help Federal candidates they can no longer help directly. And for the first time ever, we should restrict the virtually unlimited amount of money individuals can now give to parties. We should set voluntary spending limits for candidates. And we should give free TV time so that all candidates who observe the voluntary limits—but only those who observe the voluntary limits—can talk directly to voters.

And parenthetically, I might say we made a beginning on that approach this year, and I would like to thank those networks which offered Senator Dole and me the opportunity to speak directly to the voters at various times in 90-second or 2-minute messages. I thought that was a very good public service. It's the beginning of seeing how we might do it on a sustained, regular, disciplined basis, because we have to have access to the voters and if you have to purchase it all, it is extremely expensive. So the voluntary spending limits and the free time must work together.

This is a good approach. It was endorsed by Common Cause and every other major reform group. It was bipartisan. It was tough. It was real reform. But my opponent opposed it. He refused to bring it to the floor for a vote. And after he left Congress to run for President, the Republican leaders finally allowed the legislation to come to a vote, and then they killed it.

There is one more issue that reform must deal with. Today it is legal for both parties to receive contributions from corporations that are completely owned by foreign corporations or interests and from individuals who live in the United States legally but are not citizens. Many of them have lived here many years and have employees and interests in this country. The Democratic Party has raised money this way, and so has the Republican Party. In fact, the Republican Party has raised much more money in this way than the Democrats, but that's not the point. It's time to end this practice as well.

Now, McCain-Feingold would end all corporate contributions, so it would take care of that part of the problem. But we should also end contributions to either party from individuals who are not citizens. There are many immigrants who play an important role in our country, and all of you in California know I have done my best to defend legal immigration and the rich contribution it makes to the United States of America. But if the essence of a democracy is its citizens decide, and only citizens can vote, then I believe only citizens should be able to contribute. That is not anti-immigrant, it is simply stating the fact: Those who vote should finance the elections that they vote in.

There is no more excuse for waiting. I tried to form a commission, but now is not the time for a commission. This is a time for action. Once again, I call upon the Congress to enact real reform. Delay will only help those who don't want to change at all. When McCain and Feingold introduce their bill next year, I will introduce it with them. Real reform will mean a Government that is more representative, not less. And I ask you, every one of you, to help us to pass real, meaningful campaign finance reform in Washington. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

Now, let me say one other thing. We should also understand that in a recent case the Supreme Court has made it impossible to enforce some of the strictest limits. And this bill will not solve all of our problems. Even as it establishes limits, it will still allow, because of the Supreme Court's decisions, a millionaire or a

billionaire to spend endless sums running for office. It may be that further measures are needed. But in the meantime, that's not an excuse to do what we can. We must act, and we must act now.

Let me also say to you that your vote will decide a lot of things in this election. It's far bigger than President Clinton or Senator Dole, even bigger than Congressman Capps or Congresswoman Seastrand. This election is really about how we are going to proceed into the 21st century as a people. Your vote will decide, for example, whether we keep the economy growing by balancing the budget while protecting our investments in education, the environment, and research and technology and Medicare and Medicaid or whether we adopt an even more radical version of the budget I vetoed that will blow a hole in the deficit, raise taxes on 9 million people, and require bigger cuts than the ones that I vetoed last time.

Your vote will decide what we do about helping families to balance the demands of work and childrearing, the biggest challenge many families face. I'm proud of the fact that we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act and let 12 million people take some time off from work when a baby was born or someone in their family was sick.

Now, this is an honest difference between the two parties. My opponent led the opposition to it, said this year it was still a mistake. Well, we have some evidence now. Twelve million times it's been used, and during that time we've had record new business formation and 10.7 million new jobs. The reason is, America is stronger economically with happy, productive people in the workplace who aren't worried sick about their children at home. That's why.

I'd like to see us expand family leave. I think people ought to be able to take a little time off from work to go see their children's teachers twice a year or take their kids to regular doctor's appointments. I believe people who earn overtime and have problems in the family, a sick spouse, a sick child, a sick parent—I think people who earn overtime ought to have the right to decide whether to take the overtime in money or time with the family. We'll be a stronger country with a stronger economy when people feel better about fulfilling their responsibilities to their family members. And I want you to help me do that. Walter Capps will. Will you help us? [*Applause*]

We passed the beginning of health care reform, but our balanced budget would help people who are between jobs keep health insurance for their families for 6 months. It would add another million people to the ranks of insured—children. It would work with States to add another 2 million working families to the ranks of insured. There are still too many people without insurance. It would give free mammograms to women on Medicare. It would give help for respite care for the over 1½ million families that are struggling nobly and bravely and humanely to care for a family member with Alzheimer's. Our budget pays for it; theirs doesn't. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

We passed the V-chip for new television sets, got a TV rating system voluntarily developed by the entertainment industry, secured an agreement for 3 more hours of educational television, doubled the amount of funds going into the safe and drug-free schools program, and for the first time ever took action to stop the big tobacco companies from advertising and marketing tobacco to children.

Now, on the V-chip, on the safe and drug-free schools program which has helped so many children to stay away from drugs and trouble, and on the tobacco issue, my opponent disagrees. All these things can still be reversed. I think we need them as building blocks in our bridge. Will you help me keep them and do them into the 21st century? [*Applause*]

We passed the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, a bill to put 100,000 police on the streets, "three strikes and you're out." Our opponents, Senator Dole and the Speaker, they led the fight against that crime bill. And now they don't understand why every major law enforcement organization, for the first time ever, has endorsed the Clinton/Gore ticket for reelection.

We know how to lower the crime rate. We've fought for the 100,000 police; Senator Dole led the fight against it. When they won the Congress, they voted to abolish the program, even though the crime rate was going down. Then they tried to cut the program. We've only funded half of those police officers, and I'd like to finish the job, but you have to help me. Will you do it? [*Applause*] They actually tried to repeal the assault weapons ban, and Walter Capps' opponent voted to do that.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, you know, 2 years ago, frankly, they were just paying a debt 2 years

ago. That's why a lot of them won. They went out in a lot of these rural districts in places like my home State, where half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both, and they said, "There they go again. They're going to take your guns away. That's what the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban mean."

Well, 2 years later, those same people who voted that way know the truth. Not a single hunter or sportsperson in America has lost a legitimate weapon, but over 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers can't get a handgun because of the Brady bill. And we just extended the Brady bill so that now people who've beat up their spouses and their children can't get it either. And now that we have fought off the attempt to repeal the assault weapons ban, we ought to make sure they don't come back with that. And we ought to ban bullets that are designed for one purpose only, to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers. They are wrong, and we ought to get rid of them. Will you help us finish this job? [*Applause*]

We moved a million nine hundred thousand people from welfare to work and passed historic welfare reform legislation that says we will guarantee to poor people, and to the children especially, health care, nutrition, and more child care than ever when people move from welfare to work. But able-bodied people must move within 2 years from welfare to work. But the law doesn't do anything. You can't require people to go to work unless there are jobs for them to take. I have a plan to create another million jobs to help move people from welfare to work. Will you help us implement that plan? [*Applause*]

There is much more to do on the environment. A lot of these plans for these national parks and other preserves are just beginning. We have to finish the job. We cleaned up more toxic waste sites in 3 years than they did in 12. But we still have 10 million kids living within 4 miles of toxic sites. We'll clean up the 500 worst ones. We want to be able to say in the 21st century, all our children can grow up next to parks, not poison. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And most important of all, your vote will decide—as the president said here when we started—whether we put ourselves squarely on the line for giving every single American access to world-class education. I am proud of the fact that we have increased Head Start; passed the national service program; given schools all over California and the rest of the country opportunities to try new and exciting ways to achieve excellence, like the charter movement; that we passed a new college loan program which lowers the cost of college loans and gives young people a chance to repay them as a percentage of their income so people can never be bankrupted by borrowing the money to go to college. I'm proud of the increase in the Pell grants and 200,000 more work-study positions. But it is just a beginning. There is more we need to do. And I need your help.

Forty percent of our 8-year-olds still cannot read independently by the third grade. Part of it is we're having a new wave of immigration. A lot of those children's first language is not English. But that will be cold comfort for them if they move through school unable to continue to learn. I have a proposal to mobilize AmeriCorps volunteers and 30,000 other reading specialists to go around the country and get a million volunteers to teach our children to read. And I want 100,000 of those 200,000 new work-study slots to go to young college students who say, "I'll go. I'll teach young people to read." Will you help us do that? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

Schools all over America are bursting at the seams with the largest number of children in history. We have the first plan ever to help school districts to build new facilities and repair old ones so our kids have decent learning environments. We have a plan to hook up every classroom and every library in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. Will you help us do it? [*Applause*]

We do want to say, in 4 years we can make at least 2 years of higher education as universal as a college diploma is today, simply by saying you can deduct from your taxes, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition if you go and make your grades and you're a good citizen. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*] I want to let families save in an IRA for their retirement but withdraw tax-free if the money's being used for education, health care, or first-time homebuying. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*] And I believe we should give families a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition at any level for Americans of any age. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*] Now, that will build a bridge to the 21st century.

And finally let me say, as you look around this vast sea of people today, I ask you to think again of how we are going to do this and whether we are going to practice the politics of division—what some gleefully call wedge issues—or are we going to say, "We want to go forward together"?

Think about how sad it is that in the Holy Land, the home of the world's three great monotheistic religions, people still cannot lay down their hatred of one another. Think how sad it is that in the home of my ancestors, Ireland, full of young, brilliant people bursting at the seams for new opportunity in Northern Ireland, people still cannot lay down their religious differences and their arguments about incidents that occurred centuries ago. Think about how sad it is that in Bosnia, people who are biologically indistinguishable killed one another's children with reckless abandon. Or in Rwanda, Burundi, the Hutus and the Tutsis—both of them with no money, really, to speak of to further their dreams and help their children—instead of cooperating, slaughter each other at record rates.

In America we must fight against that. That's why we had to stand against what happened at Oklahoma City. That's why we had to stand against the church burnings and the defacement of synagogues and mosques and Islamic centers. And that's why we have to stand together for a different future.

If you want all these things I talked about, in the end it will to some extent be an affair of the American heart. We must be willing to say, I tell you again, that in this country all we need to know about you is whether you embrace our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our Declaration of Independence; whether you are willing to show up for work or school tomorrow; whether you are willing to give your neighbors the elbow room to pursue their personal lives and their freedom; whether you are willing to treat people, even those with whom you dramatically disagree, with genuine respect if they are law-abiding, hard-working citizens. And we ought to say, if you're that way, we don't need to know anything else about you. You're part of our America, and we're going to build a bridge together to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:44 a.m. at Santa Barbara City College. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Harriet Miller of Santa Barbara; Naomi Schwartz, superintendent, Santa Barbara County schools; Peter MacDougall, president, Santa Barbara City College; State Senator Jack O'Connell; Delaine Eastin, State superintendent of schools; and Walter Capps, candidate for California's 22d Congressional District.

Remarks in El Paso, Texas
November 1, 1996

Thank you. Hello, El Paso! Can you hear us in the back? Can you hear us behind the press back there? I always wanted to come back to El Paso. Congressman Coleman asked me to come back to El Paso before he left office. He didn't tell me if I came back the whole town would come out to see me, but I'm glad to see you. Thank you.

Thank you, Ron Coleman, for the great service you have rendered to this district, to Texas, and to your country. We'll miss you. Thank you, Governor Briscoe, for your speech, your work, the power of your example, your faith, and your energy. I too believe, like you, if we all show up on Tuesday, the result will be good and we will win and move this country forward into the right direction.

Thank you, Judge Mattox, Texas Democratic Chair Bill White, LULAC President Beline Robles. Ambassador Talles is here somewhere. Where are you, sir? Raise your hand. Hello, it's good to see you. Thank you for being here. State Senator-nominee Eliot Shapleigh; thank you, Victor Morales, for your long, courageous effort to prove that an ordinary American citizen's voice can still be heard in the 1990's. Thank you. Give him a hand. [*Applause*]

Thank you, Silvestre Reyes, first, for the boots; I'll wear them, both pairs, with great pride and great memories of this day. Thank

you for your career in the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Thank you for proving that America can protect its borders and still be an honorable nation of immigrants. Thank you, Silvestre Reyes.

I want to thank all the bands that came out today: Hanks High School, Bowie High School, Austin High School, Parkland, Riverside, Socorro, Del Valle. I thank the dance groups, the mariachis, La Differentia, the Shiloh Baptist Church, all those who performed before I came. It sounds like you had half the fun before I showed up.

I am so glad to be here. We are about to elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. I especially am glad to see so many young people here today, for this election is about your future. We are not just ending a century and beginning a new one. You all know that in every place in America we are changing the way we work and live, the way we relate to each other and to the rest of the world.

This is a time full of promise and hope and a time full of challenge. This is an election of enormous moment, one with great consequences and, thankfully, one with clear choices: Will we build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past? Do you believe, along with our friends on the other side, that we're all on our own, or do you believe, as the person closest to me once said, it does take a village to raise our children and build our future, and we have to do it together?

That is the choice. Four years ago, I came to Texas and all across the country, along with the Vice President, to say that we wanted to create an America in the 21st century where every person, without regard to race or religion or gender or background or where you start out in life, would have a chance to live up to their God-given abilities if they were responsible enough to work for it; that we wanted an America involved with the world, leading the world for peace and freedom and prosperity; and we wanted an America where all of us, regardless of our backgrounds, have a place at the table and a part in America's community; that we're going to be growing together, not growing apart, as we move into the 21st century.

Four years ago, the American people took us on faith. But now there is a record, and the record is clear. Compared to 4 years ago, we have 10.7 million new jobs in America; homeownership is at a 15-year high; unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages together at a 27-year low. We had the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years. We are moving in the right direction, and we need to keep on going all the way to the 21st century.

In our country the crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row and is at its lowest level in 10 years. The welfare rolls have been reduced by nearly 2 million. Child support is up by 50 percent, $4 billion a year. We have improved college loans, lowering the costs and making the repayments easier. We have more children in Head Start. We just added 200,000 work-study positions so more children can go on to college and pay their way through. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans. We made 25 million Americans eligible to keep their health insurance because now it's illegal to take it away when you change jobs or just because someone in your family gets sick. We have stopped the practice of insurance companies all across this country in kicking mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after only 24 hours. We are moving in the right direction.

It is interesting to me that my opponent says that the country is in terrible shape. Let me ask you this, folks. If a Republican had been President and had reduced the size of the Federal Government to its smallest size since President Kennedy, eliminated more regulations and programs than his 2 predecessors in 12 years, reduced the deficit in all 4 years of his term for the first time in the 20th century, and helped to create an economy in which there were 10.7 million new jobs, do you really believe they would be saying that the sky is falling? The sky is not falling; the sky is the limit for America if we keep on going the way we're going.

I ask each of you to do what you can between now and Tuesday to reach all your friends, to talk to them about the consequences and the choice. We have so much more to do. We must decide, are we going to follow the path that I have laid out and balance the budget while protecting Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment for our seniors, for families with members with disabilities, for our children and their future, to prove that we can preserve our natural heritage? Are we going to keep going forward together or adopt that risky tax scheme that would blow a hole in the deficit, weaken the Texas economy, require bigger cuts

than the ones I vetoed last year when they shut the Government down? I think you want to keep America going in the right direction. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

We must decide whether we're going to meet perhaps the biggest challenge of this new age for ordinary families. Everywhere I go, people of all income groups, even well-to-do people with children, tell me that they're spending more hours at work than ever before and they're concerned about whether they can also be good parents. I hear it everywhere. We have worked hard for the family and medical leave law, and 12 million people took a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick, without losing their jobs. I think we did the right thing. They believe we did the wrong thing. You have to decide.

I believe our country is better off when people are happy at work because they know their children are doing well at home and in school. I want to expand family leave so that people can go see their children's teachers twice a year. I think that would make us a stronger country. I want to say that people ought to be able to take just a little time off from work to take their parents or their children to regular doctor's appointments. I want to say that we ought to give more parents help to raise their children. That's why we've doubled funding for the safe and drug-free schools program, so we'd have those D.A.R.E. officers and others in our schools telling our kids that drugs are dangerous, they're illegal, they can kill you. Let's start. They tried to cut that program in half. I think we were right, and they were wrong.

That's why we have worked to stop the tobacco companies from advertising and selling tobacco illegally to our young children, because 3,000 a day start smoking, and 1,000 will die sooner because of it. It is wrong. They disagree with me. I think I'm right. You have to decide. I want to see it through to make every child's future as healthy as possible. Will you help us? [*Applause*]

You already heard what Congressman Coleman said. When we passed the crime bill in 1994 to put 100,000 police on our streets, to give our young children something to say yes to and constructive activities, to say that when people commit three serious crimes in a row they ought not to ever be paroled, to say that we were going to have a program to promote efforts to prevent violence against women and children, to pass the Brady bill, to pass the assault weapons ban, those friends on the other side in the other party, they led the fight against it. My opponent led the fight against it.

They told everybody—they went all over Texas telling people, "The Democrats have lost their mind; that President is going to come take your gun away." Now, I grew up in a State where half the people have a hunting or a fishing license or both. And I saw people in my own State wondering if they were telling the truth. And they won a lot of elections in 1994 with that line—a lot—maybe why they have the House now. They may have made Mr. Gingrich the Speaker of the House telling people we're going to take their guns away. But you know, we've had 2 years now, and now we know the truth. In all the State of Texas, as vast and wide as it is, not a single law-abiding hunter or sports person has lost a weapon. But over 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers did not get handguns because of the Brady bill. And now people who beat up their children and their spouses can't get them either. And I think we were right. You have to decide.

We've got the crime rate coming down for 4 years in a row, the lowest crime rate in 10 years. But you and I know there's still too much violence in our country. We have to do more. We have only funded half of those police officers. We have only done part of what we're trying to do with our children in the schools. But they keep trying to stop us from putting 100,000 police on the street. You have to decide.

There's a reason why the Vice President and I were the first team in our party ever to get the endorsement of every major law enforcement group in the entire United States, because we are for the safety of our children. We think every street, every school, every neighborhood should be safe. I think we're right and they're wrong, and I want you to decide and help us build a safe bridge to the 21st century.

There are many other issues I would like to talk about. But when I look at this group today I know that they are important to you. I have a plan to move a million people from welfare to work. We passed a welfare reform law that says people who are able-bodied have to go to work within 2 years. But if they're going to go to work, there have to be jobs there. I have a plan to create them. I want you to help me create those jobs. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

For 4 years, I have asked the Congress to reform the laws of campaign finance. Today again I called for a bipartisan approach to reduce the influence of special interests in politics and give more ordinary citizens like Victor Morales a fighting chance to be heard by the people and elected by the people. Will you help us pass campaign finance reform? [*Applause*]

But most important of all is whether we are committed to giving our people a world-class education, not just some children but all children and all adults who need it. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

I have offered the American people a proposal to mobilize one million volunteers to go all across America to work with parents and teachers to make sure that by the year 2000 every single 8-year-old in America can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help us do it? [*Applause*]

I've asked 100,000 of the new work-study programs for college students be dedicated to young people who will go into our schools and help our children learn to read. Will the young people in this audience pledge to help us do this? Will you help us teach our children to read? [*Applause*]

I want to hook up every classroom and every library and every school in El Paso and every other community in America to the information superhighway, to the Internet, to the World Wide Web, to make sure that these children, for the very first time in the history of America, will all be able to get the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize learning in America. Will you help me do that by the year 2000? [*Applause*]

And finally, will you help us open the doors of college education to all Americans? [*Applause*] Let me tell you, folks, there is no clearer example than learning of what we should be doing together and why our approach is right and theirs is wrong. We are pushing the frontiers of knowledge as never before. In the last 4 years, we discovered two genes that cause breast cancer. It is a matter of time before we're able to detect it early enough to save the life of every woman who is afflicted by it. In the last few months, for the first time ever, laboratory animals with their spines completely severed have recovered movement in their legs because of nerve transplants; it's just a matter of time until we can do that for people. And America should lead the way with learning, and you should support it.

But it's not just the scientists, it's everyone. We all need that. I want to open the doors of college education to all Americans by doing three things. Number one, in 4 years we ought to make a community college degree, at least 2 years after high school, as universal as a high school diploma is today. And here's how we're going to do it. I want to let people simply deduct from their taxes, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition. It will help everyone get what they need. I want to let you save in a retirement account but withdraw from it without any penalty if you use the money for a college education or for homebuying or health care costs. And I want every family in this country to be able to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any kind of college tuition. Let's open the doors to all Americans. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*] Will you help us in the back? [*Applause*] Will you help us? [*Applause*]

My fellow Americans, in these political campaigns, very often the closer you get to the election, the hotter the words get. And there has developed a tendency in the last few years for people to try to say that they don't just disagree with their opponents but their opponents are no good, there's something wrong with them. I personally believe that's a bad development in America. Most of the people, I believe, in this country, of both parties, love our country and only want the best for it. I don't have to say that I dislike the people I'm running against to say I disagree with them honorably.

But let me tell you, to me this election is about big, big things. The world is changing. I can't take credit for that. I can't take credit for all the good things that have happened in America. But I do say, we have gone now in the right direction, and together we are making it better. And that's the big question before us today.

Just in the last couple of days, I was in Denver, Colorado, at a rally like this—although it was considerably smaller. At the end of the day, I went through the crowd shaking hands as I always do, and let me tell you what I found: I found a young woman who had been a victim of domestic violence, who thanked me for the efforts we were now making with our hotline to help people like her out. I found three women together who had been victimized by

breast cancer, who knew that we had broken new ground in medical research. I found a young man who had dropped out but had gone back to college because we've changed the college loan program to make it more affordable. I found a young woman who was a law enforcement officer, thanking me because we have put five more police officers in her community and she felt safer on the beat and thought their children would be safer because of it. Everywhere I go I find this. I found a man who thanked me because he and his wife had just adopted a child and they were able to take a little time off to get used to that baby because of the family and medical leave law.

This is what elections are about: How will we change the face of America for the better? How will we make America better? The only thing that matters is what our country will look like when we go into the 21st century.

Now, you look around this vast crowd today—I say to you again, we must do this together. So much of the time I have spent as your President in dealing with the problems of the world has been involved with people who hate each other because they are of different religions or races or tribes or ethnic groups. I have seen the people of Bosnia, who are biologically indistinguishable, actually prepared to kill each other and their children. In Ireland, where my people come from, there are still Protestants and Catholics fighting over things that happened hundreds of years ago while the children long for peace and a better future. In Africa today we see again hundreds of thousands of people dislodged because of tribal hatreds that are senseless. None of them have enough to do what they need to do for their children as it is. If they would simply join hands, they could make a bigger, brighter future for everyone, instead of shrinking the future for everyone. I see it everywhere.

But America has been different, and America must be different. That's why when people started expressing their hatred of the Federal Government, I stood up for the Federal employees and reminded people they're our friends and neighbors; they're people like Silvestre. They're our neighbors and friends. That's why we stood up to the church burnings and to the people who would deface the mosques and the Muslim centers. We are all in this, and I say you know this instinctively because of where you live and who you are and what your experience is. El Paso, this is, as much as anything else, an election of the heart.

And so I say, I want you all to be there. I want you all to be there because you must know the fundamental truth of America: Our best days are still ahead if we do the right things.

I want to build a bridge big enough and wide enough for every single one of us to walk across together. Will you help me do it? [*Applause*] Will you help me? [*Applause*] Will you do it for your children? [*Applause*] Will you do it for our future? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:05 p.m. at El Paso International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Dolph Briscoe, former Governor of Texas; Charles (Chuck) Mattox, El Paso County judge; Raymond Talles, former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica; Texas senatorial candidate Victor Morales; and Silvestre Reyes, candidate for Texas' 16th Congressional District.

Remarks in Las Cruces, New Mexico
November 1, 1996

The President. Thank you. *Yo amo a* Las Cruces. Hello! Ladies and gentlemen, it is wonderful to be back in Las Cruces again after an absence of many years. I don't know how long it's been since a President has been here, but the others didn't know what they were missing. I am glad to be here.

I want to thank the Aggie Pride Band for playing for me. Thank you. I thank those who have joined me here on the stage. Senator Bingaman, thank you for your leadership for New Mexico and for America, especially in breaking down the barriers to developing America's high technology and creating jobs for all

these young people that are getting an education here. Thank you, Bill Richardson, for helping me to lead the fight against what Speaker Gingrich and the Congressman from this district tried to do to the Federal budget, to the American people, and to our future, and for leading the cause of world peace. Thank you.

I thank Governor Bruce and Alice King. I thank Senator Mary Jane Garcia. She did get me to promise to come here, and I did not want to incur her wrath. [*Laughter*] So I'm glad to be here. Senate candidate Art Trujillo, New Mexico college Democratic president Julie Ward—didn't she do a great job? Give her another hand; give her a hand. She was great. [*Applause*] You know, even if you've got a lot of self-confidence, it's hard to stand up in front of 35,000 people or however many we have—maybe more way back there in the back. I can't see; I hope you can hear us. But Julie Ward did this school proud and the young people of America proud. Give her another hand; she was great. [*Applause*]

I thank Mayor Ruben Smith for welcoming me here, and your attorney general, Tom Udall; State Corporations Commissioner Eric Serna; Democratic chair Earl Potter; and all the others who are up here. And President Orenduff, thank you for making me feel so welcome here. I was glad to be coming before I saw you; I'm ecstatic now. This is an amazing story. I want to say to all of you——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. I want to say to all of you, we are about to vote in the last Presidential election of the 20th century, for the first President of the 21st century. All of you know that we are living through a period of enormous change in how we work and live, how we relate to each other and the rest of the world, how we're becoming more diverse, how people will have more possibilities than ever before, how we have more challenges that are different. All these changes are coming. The real question is, how are we responding?

I have worked hard for 4 years to create America's best future for all of you in the 21st century, to create a country in which everybody—Latino, African-American, Irish-American, Polish-American, Asian-American, you name it—all Americans who are willing to work for it can live out their dreams, an America still standing fast for freedom and peace and security and prosperity all over the world, an America in which we are building an American community of all our people together. And we are better off than we were 4 years ago because we've been pursuing that course.

There is a very different vision being presented in all honesty and candor by my opponent and the leaders of the other party. I believe we have to build a bridge to the future big enough and strong enough for us to all walk across together. He said he wanted to reach back and build a bridge to the past.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. They believe there's something inherently oppressive about the American people deciding to do things together that we can't do on our own. And they think you're better off being told you're on your own. I believe the First Lady was right when she wrote it takes a village to raise our children and build our future. That's what I believe.

Audience members. Hillary! Hillary! Hillary!

The President. But you have to decide. Four years ago, I came to New Mexico and the people voted for the Vice President, Al Gore, and me and gave us a chance to serve. Four years ago, you took me on faith and the word of my friends in New Mexico, including many who are on this stage. Now there is a record, and we know the difference. We have a record. My opponent has a record. The leaders of his party in Congress have a record. We know what has happened in our country when our policies have been put into effect. We know that they said my economic program would wreck the economy and increase the deficit. But we've reduced the deficit in all 4 years of a President's term for the first time in the 20th century. Incomes are up after 10 years of stagnation; homeownership at a 15-year high; the deficit at a 15-year low; the combined rates of unemployment, inflation, and home mortgages at a 27-year low; child poverty, the biggest drop in 20 years; and 10.7 million new jobs. Our approach is right, and theirs is not. The evidence shows it. There is evidence.

When I offered the American people a tough crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street and take drugs and gangs and guns off the street, the other guys, they said the 100,000 police would never happen, it would do no good, and all I wanted to do was to take away weapons from sportsmen and women. Well, they got a lot of votes saying that, but that was 2

years ago. Now we know. We've had 4 years of declining crime rates, the lowest crime rate in America in a decade. Not a single sportsman or woman has lost a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers couldn't get handguns because of the Brady bill, or assault weapons. It was the right thing to do.

Now, there are a lot of other good things that have happened: almost 2 million fewer people on the welfare rolls; child support collections up 50 percent, $4 billion a year. That is what we have tried to do. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million Americans. Twenty-five million Americans have been told now you can't have your health insurance just taken away from you because you changed jobs or someone in your family gets sick. We passed a bill that said that no more can mothers and their newborns be kicked out of the hospital after 24 hours by the insurance companies. We passed legislation to help small-business people take out pensions and afford health care. We gave a $5,000 tax credit to families that will adopt a child that needs a home, and I hope more people do as a result of it. We're moving this country in the right direction.

Now, there's something else I had to do in the last 4 years—really, in the last year—that Jeff Bingaman and Bill Richardson had to help me with. When our friends in the other party won the Congress, they got to try to put their vision into effect. Their vision was a budget which cut Medicare 3 times more than the trustees said was necessary to stabilize it and ran the risk of creating a system in which the oldest, the poorest, and the sickest of our seniors were left behind. Their budget would have ended a 30-year guarantee that we as Americans have made to the poorest children, to our seniors in nursing homes, to families who have family members with disabilities that we'll help them with health care. Their budget contained the first cut in education in modern history, cutting everything from Head Start to student loans and Pell grants.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Their budget would have paralyzed our ability to protect the environment and to continue to advance the cause of environmental protection while growing the economy. And to boot, they raised taxes on 8 million of our hardest pressed working people and authorized corporations to raid their workers' pension funds after we should have learned in the eighties that we shouldn't raid our pension funds, we should protect them. That's what I've worked to do.

That was their budget. And I vetoed it, and they shut the Government down with no thought to the consequences. And they said, "Oh, the Democrats will cave." And I said, "I'd a lot rather see the American people inconvenienced for 3 or 4 weeks than hurt for 30 or 40 years. We will not cave. This is wrong."

Now, you have another decision to make. And you have to decide what you believe because you have in this district a Member of Congress who voted right down the lines on those issues with the Speaker of the House. They even voted to repeal the commitment to put 100,000 police on the street. It was unbelievable. They voted to repeal the national standards to guarantee quality health care in our nursing homes.

Now, I don't think you have to believe that the people who did this are bad people. I think they honestly believe that there's nearly nothing we should do together; you're better off on your own. But you do have an alternative, someone who believes that we ought to go forward together, Shirley Baca. And I hope you'll help her go to Congress.

Now, here we are at the end of this election, and we found out today that we got another 200,000 jobs this month. That brings it to 10.7 million new jobs since I took office. Any my opponent says we've got the worst economy in 20 years.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now—don't boo. Just 2 weeks ago, he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. So he's made an argument for my reelection. After all, how many people can make up 80 years in 2 weeks? I appreciate that. I appreciate that.

The truth is he was right earlier this year when he said we had the best economy in 30 years. But we all know that there is more to do. We all know that we're not exactly where we ought to be if we're going into the 21st century with everybody having an opportunity to make the most of their own lives, with all citizens acting responsibly, with America coming together closer and closer as an American community.

Your vote will decide the direction of this country. In a matter of enormous consequence, you have a clear choice between people who honestly believe in what they are advocating.

You have to decide whether they're right to offer a big election year tax cut that would blow a hole in the deficit, require even bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed last year, and raise taxes again on 8 million hard-pressed working people, or whether you like my plan to balance the budget, invest in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, and give families targeted tax cuts we can afford.

You have to decide. You have to decide whether Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich were right when they opposed the family and medical leave law as an unwarranted burden on business, or whether I was right to say I think the most important challenge most families have to meet is how they can do their jobs and then do their number one job at home in raising their children. I believe, in a world where more and more parents are working, where the American people are spending more hours at work today than they were 25 years ago, there is nothing more important than giving people the security of knowing that they can succeed at their most important job—raising their kids—and still do well at work.

Now you have some evidence. We passed the family and medical leave law over their opposition. And 3½ years later, over 12 million Americans have used it when a baby was born or a family member was sick. We've had record numbers of new small businesses, record numbers of new businesses owned by women and minorities, and 10.7 million new jobs, a faster job growth rate than under any administration of the other party since the 1920's. We were right. We were right.

And I believe we ought to expand the family and medical leave law to say people can have a little time off from work to go see their children's teachers twice a year and take them to doctor's appointments. I believe we ought to strengthen our families by continuing to improve health care. In their budget plan, because they blow a hole in the deficit and require bigger cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, they can't do anything to deal with the remaining challenges of health care. Under our plan we will add another million children to the ranks of the insured—I might say, something terribly important because Hispanic families' children are the most likely not to have insurance for health care even though they are working. It's important to put more children in the ranks of health insured, and I intend to do it.

Our plan will help families when they're between jobs to keep their health insurance for 6 months. Our plan will provide free mammograms to women on Medicare. Our plan will provide respite care to help those 1.7 million families who are struggling honorably and lovingly to care for a family member with Alzheimer's. Our plan will do that, balance the budget, and pay for targeted tax cuts. I hope you'll help us pass our plan on Tuesday.

There are many other things your vote will decide on Tuesday: whether we continue and finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street; whether we continue to try to protect our children from the dangers of guns and gangs and drugs and tobacco by supporting the safe and drug-free schools act, by supporting the 100,000 police, by supporting the first administration ever to say we have got to stop the tobacco companies from marketing and selling cigarettes to children illegally. You will decide.

You will decide whether we continue to move people from welfare to work, not only by passing the law which I signed which requires able-bodied people to move from a welfare check to a paycheck in 2 years but which acknowledges that you cannot require people to take work if the work isn't there. We've got to create those jobs for the people to have. We have a strategy to do it; you will decide.

You will decide whether at long last and after 4 years of effort we will finally pass meaningful campaign finance reform to reduce the influence of huge financial interests in political campaigns that cost too much and undermine the confidence of the American people. You will decide.

You will decide whether we continue to make the water clearer, the food purer, the air cleaner, whether we continue to preserve our most precious natural resources or whether we say, as they do, every time you protect the environment you hurt the economy. We have proved with cleaner air, safer food, safer drinking water, protecting our natural heritage that we can grow the economy while preserving the environment. And in the 21st century the only way you'll be able to grow the economy over the long run is to preserve the natural heritage of the United States of America. But you must decide.

Most of all you must decide whether you believe we are going to give the same access to world-class education to all of our children. You must decide. I am very, very proud of this administration's work in education, expanding

Head Start, raising standards, promoting reform, passing national service, lowering the cost of college loans and improving their repayment, increasing Pell grants by the largest amount in 20 years, adding 200,000 new work-study grants. I'm proud of that, but there is more to do.

You will decide. You will decide whether we're going to teach every 8-year-old in the country to read by the third grade by the 21st century; 40 percent of them can't now. I want to mobilize a million volunteers, including 100,000 of those 200,000 new students who will get work-study money to go to college. Will you help me teach the 8-year-olds in New Mexico to read? [*Applause*]

You will decide—you will decide whether we hook up every classroom and library and every school in America to the information superhighway, to guarantee that for the first time in history—whether children live in the poorest rural areas, in the poorest inner cities, in the suburban or big city school district; whether they're rich, middle class, or poor; whether they're Hispanic, white, Native American, African-American, or you-name-it—for the first time, we've got a chance to make sure every child in America in every classroom gets the same information in the same way in the same time at a world-class level. We can do it. It will revolutionize education. You will decide.

You will decide—you will decide whether for the first time we truly open the doors of college to every American. I want to do three things. Number one, I want to make at least 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today. And we can do it. We can do it simply by saying people can deduct dollar for dollar from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition for 2 years. I want to give families the opportunity to save in retirement accounts and withdraw from them with no tax penalty if the money is used for health care, homebuying, or sending a child to college. And something that will affect virtually all of you—I want families to be able to deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition at any college in the country, undergraduate or graduate, for people of any age.

But you must decide. You must decide. And more than anything else, you have to decide how we're going to get there. They say, "There's a tough world out there, but there's a lot of opportunity. So if you can go down in the valley, cross the rushing river, and climb the mountain, I wish you well." I say we'll all be better off if we roll up our sleeves and build a bridge to the 21st century big enough, wide enough, and strong enough for all of us to walk across together. Will you help? [*Applause*] Will you be there Tuesday? [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. Let's go get it. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:40 p.m. at New Mexico State University. In his remarks, he referred to Bruce King, former Governor of Arizona, and his wife, Alice; State Senator Mary Jane Garcia; Julie Ward, president, New Mexico State Young Democrats; J. Michael Orenduff, president, New Mexico State University; and Elizabeth Shirley Baca, candidate for New Mexico's Second Congressional District.

The President's Radio Address
November 2, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk about something I believe is particularly important to our Nation as we prepare to vote on Tuesday. Many people treat elections as opportunities to divide us. But I believe this election can unite us to go forward together. When we come together to find common ground, we are stronger as a nation and there is no challenge we can't meet.

Just over 5 years ago, I announced my candidacy for President. It was a time of deep and widespread frustration in America. Unemployment was high. The deficit was out of control. New jobs were scarce. Our values seemed under assault from every direction. And to many it seemed our problems were unsolvable: Rising crime would overwhelm us; broken families trapped on welfare would never break free from

the cycle of dependence; fear and hatred would force a permanent wedge between Americans of different backgrounds and beliefs. Washington, caught up in blame games and tangled in politics, was unable or unwilling to act. I believed it was time to stop asking who's to blame and start asking, what are we going to do about it?

I had a simple strategy: Reject old labels, false debates, and divisive politics. Instead, strengthen America's basic bargain: opportunity for all Americans, responsibility from all Americans, and a stronger community of all Americans. That's how Vice President Gore and I have tried to approach everything we've done for the last 4 years.

When it came to the budget, the old politics of division demanded a choice between balancing the budget and living up to the obligations we owe to one another and to our future. We said, that's no choice; we have to do both. We have to balance the budget to keep our economy growing strong, and we have to protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment.

We've cut the deficit for 4 years in a row by 63 percent, to its lowest level in 15 years. But we protected the health of our parents and grandparents, we invested in the education of our children, and we protected our environment for future generations. Together America has created 10.7 million new jobs and 4½ million new homeowners. Unemployment is at 5.2 percent, and the average family income has risen $1,600 in just 2 years.

Now we have to finish the job and balance the budget while we continue to protect our values. My balanced budget plan eliminates the deficit by 2002, while protecting our values by strengthening Medicare and Medicaid, expanding our investments in education, protecting our environment.

When it came to fighting crime, the old politics of division demanded a choice between more police and tough penalties, or effective prevention and fewer guns on the street. We said we need more police and tougher penalties, but we also need effective prevention and fewer guns on the street. So we're putting 100,000 new police officers on the street. We passed "three strikes and you're out" and the death penalty for drug kingpins and cop killers. We banned assault weapons, passed the Brady bill, and fought for safe and drug-free schools.

Two weeks ago, the FBI reported that crime had dropped 4 years in a row to a 10-year low. Now we have more to do to keep crime dropping for 4 more years. We have to finish putting 100,000 police on the street, target violent gangs, ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers.

When it came to welfare reform, the old politics of division demanded a choice between strict time limits and work requirements, on the one hand, and child care and creating jobs for people to move, on the other hand. We said, we need time limits and work requirements because welfare is supposed to be a second chance, not a way of life. But we also need to work together to create jobs, because if we expect work we have to make sure people have a chance to work.

Well, today there are nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare than there were the day I took office. In August, I signed historic welfare reform legislation that would change the welfare system forever. Now we have a responsibility to make the most of this opportunity to lift millions of families from welfare to work. And I have a plan to move a million more people from welfare to work over the next 4 years.

When it came to our American community, the old politics of division was at its worst. Instead of bringing people together around common values, the old politics of division tried to drive wedges between us, to take advantage of our fears. We must never let that happen again.

Unfortunately, here at the end of the election, some people are tempted to take advantage of these issues for political advantage. I say to them, we've seen the results of this before. The politics of division yields only division and gridlock. The search for common ground yields solutions and progress and a future worthy of our past.

So whether you belong to the party of Lincoln, the party of Jefferson, whether you're independent or unaffiliated, remember that most of all you belong to the community of America. We are all in this together. We will rise or fall together. So let us build a bridge together, wide enough and strong enough to carry all of us into the bright future that is America in the 21st century.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:40 p.m. on November 1 at Las Cruces International Airport in Las Cruces, NM, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 2.

Remarks in San Antonio, Texas
November 2, 1996

The President. Thank you. Good morning, San Antonio!

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, I'm glad to see you here in large numbers. I'm glad to see you here in high spirits. I'm glad to see so many young people here, for this election is about you. My heart is full of gratitude today.

Thank you, Congressman Henry Gonzalez, for what you said and for so many years of exemplary leadership. Thank you, Congressman Kika de la Garza, Congressman Frank Tejeda. Thank you, Governor Dolph Briscoe, for being here and for all the help that you have given to us. Thank you, Texas Democratic Chair Bill White. To Senator Carlos Truan and the other members of the legislature here; my longtime friend Wilhelmina Delco. To our congressional candidate, Charlie Jones and—[*applause*]—a little there. And thank you, Victor Morales, for your long, courageous struggle.

Thank you, Linda Chavez-Thompson, for coming home, the first woman ever elected to national office at the AFL–CIO. Thank you, Secretary Federico Pena, for your great job at the Department of Transportation, for coming here to be with us. Thank you, Ann Richards. And I want to thank whoever organized the program so I didn't have to speak right behind her. [*Laughter*] Thank you, my old friend Garry Mauro, for being there for me for over 20 years now. And I want to thank some of the other folks who have come here to be with us today, and I'd like to ask them to stand: Jimmy Smits, Esai Morales, Johnny Canales, Jeff Valdez, Liz Torres, and Tommy Lee Jones. Thank you all for being here. Thank you.

I thank the Texas Victory Democrats for the work you have done and the work you will do between now and Tuesday. And again let me say, as Hillary has already said, a profound word of thanks to Henry Cisneros for the work he has done for America these last 4 years. I'm delighted to see his parents here, and I'm glad Mary Alice came. And I want the people of San Antonio to know you would have been so proud every day of them for the last 4 years. I go places all over America, far from San Antonio; mayors, people who build housing, people who work in law enforcement come up to me and spontaneously say, Henry Cisneros is the finest Secretary of HUD we have ever had in the history of the United States. Everywhere they say it.

I was in Miami the other day, and a man said to me, "There are hundreds of people who are no longer homeless. You could walk down streets at night that used to be littered with people spending the night. They aren't there anymore because we had a dream and an idea and Secretary Cisneros supported us and we took the homeless people off the street."

I was in the another part of the country the other day, and people said, "We were absolutely overwhelmed with substandard public housing infested with gangs and guns and drugs. And Secretary Cisneros helped us to tear it down, get rid of it, and build new housing for people to live in dignity and raise their children in an environment in which anyone could be proud of."

Ladies and gentlemen, I did want to come and stand in front of the Alamo on the last weekend of the last campaign of my entire life. I wanted to come here because I have such vivid memories of this place. Twenty-four years ago, I remember, in October, Congressman Gonzalez and I, when I was a very young man, on a Saturday morning like this, after we'd had a dinner at the Menger Hotel, got Congressman Hale Boggs up in the morning, and he got on a plane and flew to Alaska, to his death. There was something in your local paper about it.

I have vivid memories of all the times I have ever been here. I remember in 1992 when I came here, and then along toward the end of

the campaign, some of my friends from Texas put about $200 worth of that mango ice cream on my plane, and we all ate it until we couldn't walk. I got a little to take with me today, too. [*Laughter*]

I remember so many things. But this place, the Alamo, has always symbolized to me the transformation of Texas, the transformation of America, and the best hope for our future. The Alamo is not just a place of great personal courage, it is a place of great standoff in the beginning between two nations and two peoples. And the story of the Alamo over the last 160 years and the story of San Antonio is the story of the reconciliation and friendships between two great nations and two great peoples here in Texas and throughout the United States. It is a great, great story.

We represent people who believe that by working together and helping each other we can all do better. Franklin Roosevelt, as Henry reminded me this morning, built your wonderful Riverwalk during the Great Depression. Lyndon Johnson did teach in Cotulla, not very far from here, where he learned what it was like to be poor and Mexican-American.

We have always come out of a tradition that believed that if we worked together to give each other the tools—not a guarantee but a chance—to make the most of our own lives, this country could move closer to its ideals and we would all be better off than if we just said, "You're on your own." When we come together and search for common ground we are always, always stronger as a nation. There is nothing we can't do.

Now, in 3 days before this election, I really believe more than anything else what is left is not about the evidence, it's about the attitude. It's not so much about the mind as it is about the heart. You know, 4 years ago, Al Gore and I asked you to take a chance on us when we said, "We're going to change the direction of this country. We're sick of the politics of division in Washington. We want to create more opportunity for everybody, demand more responsibility from everybody, and create an American community of everybody, where everybody's got a role to play and a place at the table." You just took a chance; you didn't know. But now we have a record.

Four years ago, we had high unemployment, widespread frustration, rising crime, increasing family breakdown, rising welfare rolls, fears, hatred, and people had given up on being able to do anything about any of our problems. I was determined to start a new direction for this country, to stop pointing fingers and say, "Here's my hand. I don't care whether you're a Democrat or Republican or what you are. If you will work with me to make this country a better place, I'll work with you, but we've got to take along everybody. We've got to give every single person a chance."

Now, you didn't know; you just took a chance. But look at the evidence. We have 10.7 million new jobs in America; 5.2 percent unemployment; rising incomes for the first time in a decade. The deficit has gone down in all 4 years for the first time in the 20th century, down 63 percent. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. We have nearly 2 million fewer people on welfare. Child support collections are up 50 percent across the country. The crime rate has gone down for 4 years in a row; it's at a 10-year low all across America. We raised the minimum wage for 10 million people. We've protected people from losing their health insurance if they've been sick or somebody in their family has been sick or they changed jobs. We said hospitals can't kick mothers and newborn babies out of the hospital after only 24 hours anymore. Twelve million people took advantage of the family and medical leave law and got to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick without losing their jobs. This country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction.

Let me ask you something—this is an affair of the mind and the heart. When it was published yesterday that we had 210,000 new jobs in America, my opponent said we've got the worst economy in 20 years. [*Laughter*] I tell you what, I'll take that bet. I ask every person in Texas who believes it is the worst economy in 20 years to vote for Senator Dole, and every person who knows better to vote for me. I'll gladly take the results of the election in Texas.

Now, just 2 weeks ago, my opponent said that we had the worst economy in 100 years. [*Laughter*] So I think he's campaigning for me now. I mean, after all, who else could make up 80 years in 2 weeks? I think we're doing pretty well.

All this is not a matter of the evidence. What do you think the Republicans would be saying if they had a President who had presided over

an administration that had cut the deficit by 63 percent, that had the highest job growth rate of any Republican administration in 70 years, that had the lowest average unemployment in 20 years, the lowest average inflation in 30 years, the biggest decline in income inequality among working people in 27 years, the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation since Lyndon Johnson was President 28 years ago? If they had a record like that, what do you think they'd be saying? They'd be saying, "It is morning in America." [*Laughter*] They'd be saying that the President can virtually levitate. [*Laughter*]

Why? Why are they doing what they're doing? Why is the election in doubt? Why aren't we ahead in Texas in the polls? It is an affair of the heart. It is because we have practiced the politics of division for so long, we have tried to turn our opponents into aliens. We have been told, "Oh, those Democrats, they don't really believe in work and being tough on crime and all that." This is an affair of the heart.

And I tell you, this country does well when we find common ground, when we build bridges together, when we acknowledge it takes a village. And when we say we're on our own and our opponents are our enemies and they're no good and we need to be divided from one another, we always pay the price. Look at the history of the Alamo in the last 160 years. Does anyone doubt it is better now that we are joined together with our friends in Mexico and together with each other than it was 160 years ago?

And so I ask you to get people to think differently and feel differently about this. Look at the budget choices. You bet I did veto their budget; it was bad for America. It would have divided us. And when they shut the Government down, I thought about the Alamo. They said, "Oh, the President will cave; he won't be able to stand having the Government close." We had this economy rocking along. We were number one in automobile production for the first time since the seventies. And they were threatening to default on our debt and wreck the economy. They said, "Oh, he'll blink." And I said, "You know, I'd a lot rather see the American people hurt for 2 or 3 weeks or 2 or 3 months than 20 or 30 years; shut her down. I'm not going to buy your budget; I'm not going to let you do it; it is wrong."

But you have to understand. What they believe the old politics of division is, "We've got to have a tax cut, and so it's unfortunate but we'll just cut education and paralyze environmental protection and take away Medicaid's guarantee of health care to people with disabilities and poor children and wreck the Medicare program, because we've got to have this other thing; it's either/or."

I believe we can find common ground, we can balance the budget, have a targeted tax cut for people who really need it for education, for childrearing, for homebuying, for health care, and still protect education, the environment, Medicare, and Medicaid. That's common ground.

Now, the old politics of division used welfare as a whipping boy, you know, "Everybody on welfare is lazy; nobody wants to work." And then people on the other side said, "Oh, no, no, they're good people; we've got to take care of their children." I said, "Why do we have to choose between beating up on a system that doesn't work and protecting children? Why can't we do both?" We have moved almost 2 million people from welfare to work. I signed a bill that protects health care and food and gives more for child care and then says we've got to create jobs for people who are able-bodied to change the welfare check to a paycheck. And I've got a plan to put another million jobs into the cities to create those jobs and then require people to take them. That's the new politics of common ground.

The old politics of division on law and order was all, you know, "Talk tough. Don't do anything, but talk tough. Get tough on criminals." And then the opponents would say, "All they care about is being nice to people and trying to keep people out of trouble in the first place." I said, "Well, that's the dumbest thing I ever heard of. Why shouldn't we try to keep our kids out of the trouble in the first place and still do things that will be tough on serious criminals?"

So we passed the crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street, to take assault weapons off the street, to tell fugitives and felons and stalkers they couldn't buy handguns and protect the rights of people who were hunters and sportsmen to have them, and to give our children something to say yes to in prevention programs and to support safe and drug-free schools. Why was it punishment or prevention? Why was it division? Why, if you wanted to help kids stay out of trouble, were you soft on crime? We proved you could do both. You know what?

We got 4 years of declining crime, the only Democratic ticket in history to be endorsed by every major law enforcement organization in the country because common ground is better than division and it works. It works.

The biggest problem I see with this, as we go into the future, is that nearly every family I know, even people with very good incomes, has faced some conflict between their responsibilities as parents and their responsibility at work. Everywhere I go in this country people talk to me about it. I believe we have to create an America where you can succeed at home and work.

This is a good example. When I was trying to pass the family leave law and Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich were leading the fight against it, they said I was interfering in the economy; I would hurt the economy; I would burden the economy; we would undermine our recovery. We've got a higher rate of job growth than any Republican administration in 70 years, record numbers of new small businesses, and we've protected 12 million families. I think we ought to help people succeed at home and at work. That's the new politics of common ground.

I think we've done the right thing to help families with this new requirement of more educational television and a television rating system. I think we've done the right thing to try to fight against Republican cuts in the safe and drug-free schools program. We need more people out there telling kids that drugs are wrong, illegal, and can kill you, not fewer people. We don't need fewer people. And we did the right thing to be the first administration in history to stand up to the tobacco lobby and say, "You can't advertise and sell cigarettes illegally to children anymore. You're killing them." It was the right thing to do.

I believe we are doing the right thing whenever we work together. You know, they honestly believe on the other side that you can't grow the economy while protecting the environment. That's what they really believe. I'm not telling you they're bad people; they believe that. I know; I've talked to enough of them. They honestly believe it.

But look at the record. We've taken tons—millions of tons of chemicals out of the air in the last 4 years. We have improved our drinking water. We have raised standards for our food. We've cleaned up lots of toxic waste dumps. We've protected more natural heritage. And the economy is growing faster because we can grow faster if we have sensible, proper environmental protection and public health. That's the right way to do that.

I want you to just look around today. I'm telling you, that's what this is all about. If I were a Republican President—after all the rhetoric they've used—with a declining deficit, a growing economy, a declining crime rate, declining welfare rolls, no Russian missiles pointed at our kids, by the way, and a stronger America with a stronger military, they'd be saying it's morning in America. But they love to practice the politics of division.

Look at the Alamo, folks. Think of Bosnia. Think of Northern Ireland. Think of the Middle East. Think of all those tribal wars now going on in Africa. Think of your own history. The great thing about this country is that in our best moments, we say, "Our differences don't matter as much as our shared values. And everybody who believes in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence is part of our America. If you show up for work, if you show up for school, you do what you're supposed to do, we don't need to know anything else about you. You are part of our America." That is what I believe.

So I want you to go out between now and Tuesday and say, "Listen, this country is moving in the right direction. The President has good plans for the future, but most important, we have got to build a bridge to the future that is wide enough and strong enough for all of us to walk across, and we've got to do it together. That is the question. We must be together. Build common ground, reject division, and build that bridge with us."

Thank you, San Antonio. God bless you. And be there Tuesday.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:12 a.m. at the Alamo. In his remarks, he referred to Dolph Briscoe and Ann Richards, former Texas Governors; Carlos Truan, Texas State senator; Wilhelmina Delco, former Texas State representative; Charles Jones, candidate for Texas' 23d Congressional District; Victor Morales, Texas senatorial candidate; Garry Mauro, Texas land commissioner; Secretary of Housing and Urban Develop-

ment Henry Cisneros' wife, Mary Alice; and entertainers Jimmy Smits, Esai Morales, Johnny Canales, Jeff Valdez, Liz Torres, and Tommy Lee Jones.

Remarks in Little Rock, Arkansas
November 2, 1996

The President. Thank you. Ladies and gentlemen, first of all, let me say it's good to be home, and thank you for coming out to say hello. I want to thank the Parkview High School Band, the Central High School Band, the Little Rock Community Choir. I want to thank all of those who are up here on the platform with me. I don't have everybody's name up here; I don't know if I can remember without eyes in the back of my head. I never needed eyes in the back of my head until I moved to Washington. [*Laughter*]

I'm glad to be here today. I have just come from a great rally in front of the Alamo in San Antonio. And we were in El Paso, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California on the day before that. I'm on my way back across the country, from here to New Orleans and then on to Florida. But I wanted to stop here just to be with you once before this election to say a special word of thanks to my good friend David Pryor for his lifetime of service to our State, to Congressman Ray Thornton for his lifetime of service and to wish him well on his new service on the Supreme Court. Thank you, Ray.

I thank my good friend Dale Bumpers. Folks, I don't know what I'd have done in the last 4 years if it hadn't been for Dale and David up there keeping me sane in the tough times, standing up for you and for what was right, and never being intimidated by some of the most overbearing and destructive tactics I have ever seen coming from the other side.

I want to thank Sharon Priest and Lottie Shackelford and Julia Peck Mobley and Gus Wingfield, Charlie Daniels, Mayor Dailey, Mayor Hays, Judge Villines. Thank you, Charlie Cole Chaffin, for running for lieutenant governor, and good luck to you. You were terrific. Bynum Gibson, my longtime friend Jimmy Lee Fisher, who was the coordinator of my campaign in the First Congressional District in 1978. We've been together a long time. Thank you, Jimmy Lee.

I read an article in the paper today, our morning paper here, saying that if the past was any precedent, it might be a mixed blessing for Winston Bryant and Vic Snyder and Marion Berry and Ann Henry for me to be coming down here today, because Arkansas people didn't really like for the President to tell them how to vote. Well, I couldn't tell you how to vote when I was Governor; I don't know how I'm going to start now. [*Laughter*] It never occurred to me to tell you how to vote. I will say this: Since he asked me for it, I'm going to give Vic Snyder my vote on Tuesday. I'll be here, and I'll be proud to vote for him. And I'll be proud to vote for Winston Bryant, and I wish I could vote for Marion and Ann.

Let me say to all of you, you ought to vote for yourselves, your children, and your future on Tuesday. But you need to understand that while all four of these people are friends of mine and I have worked with them and I know them very well, what you really should be voting on is what you want our country and this State to look like when we start that new century just 4 years from now.

We're about to have a Presidential election for the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. And the stakes could hardly be greater. We're actually very fortunate because not only are the consequences large but the choice is so clear.

I really don't like a lot of what's happened in politics in the last several years. I don't like the fact that, especially when you get down toward the end and people get desperate, they think the only thing to do is to try to convince you that their opponent is no good. The truth is, since you all started me out 22 years ago, it has been my experience that most people who do the public's work are honest people, they work hard and they do what they think is right, virtually all the time—in both parties.

That's been my experience. And what I want to talk to you about today is that there are honest differences here. You know, I worked with Representative Hutchinson when he was in the State legislature; I liked him. We had a cordial relationship. Hillary and I send our prayers out to Tim and his wife for the welfare of their son. I know all of us feel that way, without regard to party. We ought to get away from this idea that we have to demonize our opponents in order to clarify our differences.

This is—and I appreciate what Winston said about that, you know. But don't worry about me. Every time I get down I remember—when they start picking at me I remember what Mark Twain said about a dog. Mark Twain said, "Every dog ought to have a few fleas"—[*laughter*]—"keeps him from worrying so much about being a dog." [*Laughter*] Some days I feel I have more fleas than I wish I did, but don't worry about that.

Here's what the issue is, and you saw it in that budget fight we had when they shut the Government down and I vetoed the budget. This is about two different ways of looking at how we are as a people and how we're getting to the future. They believe that we're better off being on our own. And if we do good things together, that's fine. But it ought to basically be a question of letting everybody just go out there and do the best they can.

I believe that we do better when we help each other to have the tools to make the most of our own lives. Every politician I ever knew would try to give a speech every now and then trying to convince you that he or she was born in a log cabin that they built themselves. [*Laughter*] But the truth is there's not a one of us standing here today who'd be here if it weren't for the help of some other people. And I believe America is better when we work together to give everybody the tools to live up to the fullest of their God-given ability to keep our country a strong force for peace and freedom and prosperity and to give us a chance to live together in one community. That's what I believe. And that's the difference.

That's why the real issue is, should we say we're on our own, or should we build a bridge to the future we can all walk across together? That is the issue. That's the issue in all these Congress races. That's the issue in this Senate race. That is the issue.

I think they believed what they were doing when they passed that budget. I think they thought it was a good thing to give people like me a tax cut even though I didn't need it and cut Medicare and Medicaid. Let me just say, those words may not mean much to people. What they tried to do was to end the standards for nursing home care that David Pryor spent his entire life working for. They thought that was an inappropriate thing for us to be doing together, saying that there's some things that every senior citizen in every nursing home in every place in America ought to know that they can get if the Government is paying, through the taxpayers' money, to put them in a nursing home. I think David Pryor was right and they were wrong.

They wanted to take away the guarantee that we had given for 30 years to middle class families who have family members with disabilities so they can care for them, they can live at home, they can work, and they can have a decent life. They wanted to forget about that guarantee. They wanted to take away the guarantee of health care we've given for poor women and their little infant babies. And I think it was wrong. They wanted to cut the student loan program, cut Head Start, paralyze our ability to protect the environment, clean air, and clean water. That's what they wanted to do, and I think they were wrong.

But you have to decide whether they're right or not. I read all this stuff in the press about how Arkansas is, you know, more Republican or more Democrat, both parties are worried, and all that kind of stuff. Let me tell you, when I went up there 5 years ago and one month from tomorrow, when I announced for President here in Little Rock—I got a quote here of what I said—I said I wanted to go to Washington to do a better job of the old-fashioned work of confronting the real problems of real people and pointing the way to a better future: more opportunity, more responsibility, a stronger community.

Well, 4 years ago, the rest of the country took me on faith. You were the only people that knew exactly what you were doing. [*Laughter*] The rest of them took a chance. The rest of them took a chance.

But when you think about which approach works, when you think about Ann Henry, who's been our friend forever—she and her husband, Morris, hosted Hillary and I—our wedding re-

ception in their home, and I've been wondering how many votes it was going to cost them in the election. [*Laughter*] But they did a great thing for us, and we'll never forget it. When I think about Marion Berry—I don't know how many times that Dale and David and I have been in Marion Berry's home for the coon supper at Gillette, but he's been with us all the time. He did a superb job at the Agriculture Department. When I think about Vic Snyder and all the votes that he cast in the Arkansas State Senate to give our children a better future and our State a stronger economy and make our environment stronger; when I think about Winston Bryant and the work that he did as secretary of state, as lieutenant governor, as attorney general—all the work we did together, all those years that we worked together, and I realize that they believe in the approach. And now you know whether it worked or not.

It's inconvenient for our friends in the Republican Party, but we do have 10.7 million more jobs than we did 4 years ago. It is inconvenient for them that this is a faster rate of job growth than under any Republican administration in 70 years. It's inconvenient. We have the lowest deficit of any great country in the world, the lowest it's been in America in 15 years; our average unemployment rate is the lowest it's been in 20 years; our average inflation rate is the lowest it's been in 30 years; we've had the biggest decline in income inequality among working people in 27 years; the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation together, the so-called misery index, in 27 years. This approach is working. That's why you ought to send him to Congress; it is the right thing for America. We need to keep going on this track.

We had 4 years of declining crime rates. The crime rate in America is at a 10-year low. There are 2 million fewer people, nearly, off welfare than there were 4 years ago. Child support collections in America are up 50 percent, $4 billion a year. This approach is working.

Now, it's interesting to me that right before this Congress had to go home and face the voters, they all of a sudden decided they like my agenda. So now they're home running on the fact that even though they opposed it, finally we did raise the minimum wage for 10 million people; we passed a health care reform bill that says you can't have your health care taken away from you just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family has been sick; said the insurance companies can't kick mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after a day.

Those were good things. It is a good thing. But that's what we should have been doing all along. And I'm telling you, this is not—and let me just say this: One thing it isn't, this race, it is not about conservative or liberal. The crime bill we passed had 100,000 police. It had the death penalty for drug kingpins and people that killed police officers. It has "three strikes and you're out." It also had, as you know, the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. And they made a lot of hay out of that in Arkansas.

Do you remember 2 years ago? Now, you know they were going around Arkansas saying, "Oh, that Clinton's gone crazy. He went to Washington; now he's going to take your gun away." Well, it's been 2 years, and now we know there's not a single hunter in Arkansas that's lost a weapon, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers didn't get handguns because of the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban—don't need to be on the street in Little Rock. They don't need to be here.

Now we know. So vote for yourselves, but this approach will work. There's still a lot of things we have to do. Your vote—don't be deluded here—there are huge consequences to your vote. What would America look like—Dale Bumpers is right—what would America look like if their budget had prevailed? If their budget had prevailed it would have been a clear message: "You're on your own; we're going to be more divided. Those of us that are well-positioned, we're going to do better. And those who aren't, well, they'll do worse and it's just tough."

Now, that's what would have happened. And when they shut the Government down, they thought that Dale and David and Ray and I, they thought we'd wilt. They thought that the Democrats would just be miserable not having the Government open every day. They were even willing to bring us to the point of default, the people in that Congress were, to wreck all the economic progress we'd made because they thought we'd wilt. And you know what I told them? "I'd a lot rather see the American people hurt for 20 or 30 days than for 20 or 30 years. You have at it; I'm not going to buy that budget. You can forget about it."

Now, you have to decide. But how you vote in these races will determine whether we do what I want to do, which is to balance the

budget and still protect Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment, or adopt their scheme of an even bigger tax cut which would still raise taxes on 9 million of the hardest pressed working people in America and blow a hole in the deficit and require bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed. You have to decide.

You have to decide whether we are going to continue to put 100,000 police on the street. This is an amazing thing—you ask the mayors that are here; this is amazing. First they tried not to put 100,000 police on the street. Then they tried to do away with it in their budget. Then they tried to cut it back a third time. And I stopped them every time. I'd like to have somebody up there in Washington who believes in law enforcement and would like to make our streets safer. If we have 4 more years of declining crime, we might have every neighborhood, every street, every school, and every child in this country safe again. And that's what I want. And that's what they want. And I hope you'll give us a chance to do it.

There's a lot more to do in health care. Our balanced budget plan has some things in health care reform that they'll never be able to do. But I turned it in, in a balanced budget plan: let families keep their health insurance for 6 months when they're between jobs, put another million children into the ranks of health-insured, free mammograms for women on Medicare, and a little help for respite care for the 1.7 million families who are courageously helping to care for family members with Alzheimer's disease. These are important things. They won't do it, and we will. If you want that done, you better vote for them. That's what's at stake here.

But let me say this: Of all the issues—and you know them well—the biggest issue before us involves these children here, and that's the question of education. What is their plan for education? Abolish the Department of Education. Do you really want that?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. Do you believe America can afford to be the only great country in the world to start the 21st century with no one even sitting at the President's Cabinet to speak for the children of America?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. That's their position. My position is hook every classroom in every rural school in Arkansas and every inner-city school up to that information superhighway and give those kids access to world-class education, open the doors of college education to all Americans.

You want to talk about a tax cut—the most important tax cut we could give is to let people deduct the cost of a typical community college tuition from their tax bill. That would open 2 more years of education to every American. Let people deduct $10,000 a year for college tuition at any college in America then every young person and every grownup who needs to go back to college could afford to go.

That is the choice. And you just have to decide. And I'm telling you, when you go in there on Tuesday, when you talk to your friends and neighbors and you go back home—there are people here from all over this State, from all of our congressional districts—you tell them that it's exactly what is on the line here. Are we going to do this together, or are we going to be driven apart?

You know, so much—when I left here I couldn't have known exactly what challenges would confront me as President, in terms of foreign policy especially. I'm grateful that the United States has been a force for peace. I'm grateful that we've been able to open new markets for American products and we're selling more American products than ever before. We're number one in auto production now for the first time since the 1970's. I'm glad we've been able to do these things.

But it's amazing how much time I have to spend with people around the world doing things that we try to teach our children not to do. People all over the world—you look at the Middle East or Bosnia or Haiti or Northern Ireland or all those tribal wars in Africa and all this. What is this about? People hating each other because they're of different religions, different races, different ethnic groups, and different tribes. Everything you try to teach your kids not to do—you know, treat everybody with respect and define yourself in terms of what you believe, not who you can look down on. There are people all over the world now who are literally consumed with hatred for other people because they're in different groups.

And if we get divided, that will happen more. That's why I spoke out so strongly against hating people who worked for the Federal Government after the tragedy in Oklahoma City. That's why when all these church burnings occurred, we got on it and we tried to stop it and we tried to get after it. And that's why I want you to

think about that, too. How long were we held back in this State because black people and white people couldn't get along? How long?

Audience members. Too long!

The President. How long will we be held back in the 21st century if we say, "We're not going to work together. I want mine; you get yours. There's the future; I hope you make it." Hillary was right, it does take a village to raise our kids and to build our future.

The world is changing in ways you can't imagine. Arkansas will change in ways you can't imagine. No one can fully perceive the implications. When I became President, 3 million people were making a living in their homes. Today, because of computers, 12 million people are making a living in their homes. Four years from now, 30 million people will be making a living in their homes.

In the last 4 years, we've found two genes that cause breast cancer, and if we're lucky, we may be able to find enough genetic information not only to cure breast cancer but to prevent it. We're using a lot of these satellite, sophisticated imaging technologies now to beam into bodies to see if we can find out what's wrong with people before any of their problems get out of hand. We just found out that we could make a laboratory animal with its spine severed have movement in its lower limbs by transferring the nerves from the legs to the spine. None of this has ever been done before. We're building a supercomputer, the Government is, with IBM that will do more calculations in one second than you can do on a handheld calculator in 30,000 years.

I'm telling you, the world is changing. And for us to go back to the old politics that the other side is preaching, trying to convince people that their opponents don't share American values, that they're aliens from outer space, that everything the Government ever did was wrong, is nuts.

We have to stand up for a bright future. The best days of this country are still ahead. But we'll only achieve them—we will only achieve those days if we define carefully what we should do together. But I'll say again, it's not about liberal and conservative. I want you to tell your friends and neighbors this when you go home: We have reduced the size of the Government to its smallest size since Kennedy was President, more than the last two Republican administrations did. We eliminated more Government regulations and more Government programs than the two Republican administrations did. We privatized more Government operations than the two Republican administrations did. This is not about liberal or conservative. We have run by far the most fiscally conservative Government, and we've done more to stand against crime. And we've stuck up for this country in having a strong foreign policy.

I think the record will stand on its own. This is not what that's about. This is about whether you're going to be diverted and divided, or whether we're going to find common ground and build that bridge to the 21st century together. You've got enough sense to figure out how to talk to your friends and neighbors about that between now and Tuesday. Don't let the people of Arkansas be diverted from the real issue. This country is better off and this State's better off than it was 4 years ago. It's going to be better off 4 years from now if we stay on the right track to build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m. on the tarmac at Central Aviation Services at Adams Field. In his remarks, he referred to Sharon Priest, Arkansas secretary of state; Lottie Shackelford, vice chair for women's advocacy, Democratic National Committee; Julia Peck Mobley, first vice chair, and Bynum Gibson, chair, Arkansas Democratic Party; Gus Wingfield, State auditor; Charlie Daniels, State land commissioner; Mayor Jim Dailey of Little Rock; Mayor Patrick Henry Hays of North Little Rock; Buddy Villines, Pulaski County judge; Jimmy Lee Fisher, State treasurer; Winston Bryant, Arkansas senatorial candidate; and Vic Snyder, Marion Berry, and Ann Henry, candidates for Arkansas' Second, First, and Third Congressional Districts, respectively.

Statement on the Tentative Agreement Between the United Auto Workers and General Motors

November 2, 1996

I congratulate and applaud the United Auto Workers and General Motors for putting in the intense effort and long hours that led to this tentative agreement. Their hard work and ultimate success are a tribute to our system of collective bargaining. They have proven once again that when labor and management work together, they make our businesses, our working families, and our economy stronger. I am very hopeful that the tentative agreement will be ratified and that the outstanding local issues will quickly be resolved so that everyone can get back to work.

Remarks in New Orleans, Louisiana

November 2, 1996

The President. Can you hear me in the back? [*Applause*] Wave your hands. Look back there. What a great crowd we have tonight. Thank you, New Orleans, for coming out. Thank you for your support. Thank you for the little song down here. Let's thank these fine young men who sang the national anthem again. They were great, the students who are here.

Reverend Morton, Mr. Mayor, thank you for making me feel so welcome here. Thank you for your exceptional leadership. Thank you for taking up for the children of New Orleans and trying to make them safer when the Sun goes down. I appreciate that.

My good friend Congressman Jefferson, thank you for being there with me in the dark days as well as the bright ones. Representative Cleo Fields, thank you for your service in the Congress, your support for me and Mary Landrieu and all of our other candidates. And thank you especially for going all over America to mobilize young people to vote to reelect Bill Clinton and Al Gore. Thank you, sir. My great friend John Breaux, to whom I owe so much—if you support John Breaux, as I think you do, you will elect Mary Landrieu just to keep a smile on John's face. I don't believe I could bear the thought of seeing what it's going to be like for John. [*Laughter*]

Ladies and gentlemen, I have come here tonight with a heart full of gratitude to all of you for giving me the chance to serve as President, for giving me the chance to do what has been done in the last 4 years, and to ask you to keep America on the right track to the 21st century and to help me build that bridge that we can all walk across together. Will you do that? [*Applause*]

It is hard to believe, on the banks of this great river that has seen so much history, that the United States is about to elect the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But we are. We are about to do something even more important, for in this election and the race for the Senate and other races all across America we are going to decide just how we're going into that 21st century: whether there will be a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past; whether there will be a bridge that we all walk across together, where we try to help each other make the most of our own lives, or whether we'll say, "You're on your own"; whether we will rise up as one people seeking common ground, or whether we will give in to the old politics of division that has bedeviled people of Louisiana and Arkansas and our whole region for too long in the past.

Now, that is what is really at issue here. We know what works. Four years ago, everyone except the people in my own home State and the Louisianians that lived near the border took me on faith. I said we would create more opportunity and insist on more responsibility, that we'd pull closer together in an American community, and everybody would have a place and a role to play. But you took me on faith. Now we know what works.

We have 10.7 million more jobs than we had 4 years ago. The deficit has gone down by 63 percent all 4 years for the first time in the 20th century. Our exports out of the Port of New Orleans and elsewhere are at an all-time high. More than half the new jobs are in high-wage categories. Wages are going up again for the first time in a very long time. We've had a 27-year—a 27-year—best combined rates of unemployment and inflation. You have to go all the way back to 1968—that's 28 years, isn't it? You weren't even born. That's the best it's been since you've been alive. We had the biggest drop in inequality among working people, more people sharing in the bounty of America in 28 years, the biggest drop in childhood poverty in 20 years, the lowest rate in poverty among our senior citizens ever recorded. We are moving in the right direction. We don't need a change; we need to bear down.

We have more children in Head Start. We've got a better college loan program that costs students less and gives them more opportunities to repay it as a percentage of their income, a 20-year high in Pell grant scholarships, the AmeriCorps program giving young people a chance to serve and earn money for college. We've got a 10-year low in the crime rate. We have 2 million fewer people on welfare and a 50 percent increase in child support payments. We are moving in the right direction right across the board. We need to bear down and do more.

Now, in the face of this my opponent would have you believe that the world is coming to an end. It was announced yesterday that we had—or the day before—we had 210,000 new jobs last month alone. And his response was, "This is the worst economy in 20 years." Now, wait a minute, it's not all bad. Just 2 weeks ago, he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. That's the best argument I've heard for my reelection. Who else do you know could make up 80 years in 2 weeks? We're moving in the right direction toward the 21st century. But we are moving in the right direction because we're doing a lot of things together—together.

I appreciate so many things that have been said tonight, but I come here to tell you that I am not solely responsible for the good economic news or the declining crime rates or the declining welfare rolls, but we have played a role. And that is the issue. So many of our friends on the other side, and especially people way on over there like Mary Landrieu's opponent, they don't believe there is much of anything we should do together. But I believe there are.

And the great thing about this election for you is that the choice is so clear and the consequences are so great. So you have to decide in the President's race and in the Senate race, do you want to balance the budget and have a targeted tax cut for education and childrearing and protect Medicare and Medicaid for folks with disabilities and poor children, our seniors in nursing homes? And do you want to protect our ability to have clean air and clean water and clean ground and a safe future? [*Applause*] And do you want to protect our investments in education and technology and our future? [*Applause*]

Well, then you just have one choice, because if you go the other way, you'll get a very different future: blowing a hole in the deficit, increasing interest rates, weakening the economy, bigger cuts than those that I vetoed.

Audience member. That's why we've got you! [*Laughter*]

The President. You're good. Keep going. [*Laughter*]

I think one of the most important things we have been able to do is to help more people, millions of people, fulfill their obligations to their children and to their workplace. When we passed the family and medical leave law, my opponent said it would hurt the economy. He said it was terrible. He tried to kill it. But we passed it.

Well, now we know; 3½ years later, 12 million families have taken a little time off for the birth of a baby or the illness of a family member, and they didn't lose their jobs. And what have we had: 10.7 million new jobs and record numbers of new small businesses. We were right. Their approach was wrong. We should help each other make the most of our own lives. We should help people succeed at home and at work. We ought to let people take some time off to go see the teachers of their children twice a year and take their kids to the doctor as well. When people earn overtime, if somebody in the family is sick, they ought to be able to decide whether to take the overtime in money or take it in time at home taking care of their families. We have to help people succeed at home and at work.

We ought to continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program so people will be in our schools telling our children early, before it's too late, that drugs are wrong, illegal, they can kill you. I support that. They tried to cut it in half, and they'll try again unless you have somebody like Mary Landrieu who believes our kids are entitled to be kept out of trouble in the first place and saved for a better, brighter future.

We are in the middle of a great national effort to try to stop the big tobacco companies from marketing and distributing tobacco illegally to our children. Three thousand kids start smoking every day illegally, and 1,000 will die sooner because of it. We are trying to stop it. That is not done yet. My opponent opposes that. The election will determine whether we see that through. We are supporting people like your mayor all over the country and working to support projects like the curfews and school uniform projects and anything else that will help keep our kids in a safer way.

We're trying to put 100,000 police on the street. We've only funded half of them. Our opponent opposed that. Then they abolished it in the budget that I vetoed. Then they tried to cut it again. Now, the crime rate is coming down every year in part because we have more people walking the streets in uniforms working with their neighbors, working with the kids, preventing crime from happening. Why in the wide world anybody would want to stop it is beyond me. I guess that's why every major law enforcement organization in America for the first time supported Bill Clinton and Al Gore for reelection. If you want to keep that going, support people like Mary Landrieu who believe we should have community policing and safer streets and futures for all of our children.

We want a future in which we grow the economy and clean the environment. We've taken millions of tons of chemicals out of our air, set aside unprecedented lands for national preservation, raised the standards of food safety, raised the standards for drinking water purity, and cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than they did in 12. But there's still 10 million kids in this country living within 4 miles of a toxic waste site, and if you'll help us, we'll clean up 500 more in the next 4 years so that we'll be living next to parks, not poison.

But your vote will decide, for they had a very different view. They wanted to change the law and say the polluters don't have to pay anymore for what they do; the taxpayers should pick up the whole tab—never mind that all the money wasn't there, we might never get around to cleaning up a lot of these dumps. You have to decide.

And there is no decision more important than the one you'll make with regard to the education of our children and our adults in the future. I'm glad there are so many young people here, because this election is about you. Now, what is their program? Well, when they had a chance, they cut Head Start and they cut student loans and they voted to eliminate the Department of Education. And when I vetoed their budget, they said they believed in it so much they shut the Government down. And they said, "Oh, John Breaux and Cleo Fields and Bill Jefferson and President Clinton, they just love the Government; they'd never let it get shut down"—all their rhetoric, you know. And you know what I told them? "I hate to see you shut this Government down; I hate to see you hurt the Federal employees; I hate to see you interrupt essential services. But I would far prefer to see the American people hurt for 20 or 30 days than to see them hurt for 20 or 30 years. I'm not going to sign this budget; it will not be the law of the land, because I don't believe families who happen to have family members who are living in wheelchairs should be denied Medicaid and the right to have a middle class lifestyle and because I don't believe we should cut college scholarships and loans."

What's our program for the future? What's our program for the future? I want to ask you to help me do this. Now, you think about the future. We are living in a time where the winds of change are not just blowing on the Mississippi, they're blowing everywhere in the world. We're having dramatic changes in the way we work and live and relate to the rest of the world. That's how New Orleans can increase exports 30 percent in one year. The world's not growing 30 percent economically in a year. New Orleans—the people who work here are taking the work of Americans and finding new opportunities exploding all over the world. When I became President, 3 million people were making a living by working at home every day. Today, 12 million are. By the year 2000, 30 million will be.

In the last 4 years, we've discovered two genes that lead to breast cancer. We may be

able not only to cure but to prevent breast cancer because of the research that we're doing there. In the past few months, for the first time, laboratory animals with their spines severed have had movement in their lower legs by nerve transplants to their spine from other parts of their bodies. We may be able to see people get up and walk that thought they'd never be able to do it again. We are literally bursting the frontiers of knowledge.

Their education program is to abolish the Department of Education——

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. ——and cut funding to our public schools. My education program: 200,000 more work-study places for young people in college; get a million volunteers, including 100,000 college students on work-study, to teach every young person in this country to read a book by the time that he or she is 8 years old; hook up every classroom in a Louisiana school, no matter how poor the district is, to the information superhighway so all our kids can get access to world-class learning for the first time in history; and open the doors of college education to all Americans. Will you help us do that? Will you help Mary Landrieu have a vote in the Senate to do that? [*Applause*]

Think of it, folks, in just 4 years, we can make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today simply by saying you can deduct, dollar for dollar, on your taxes the cost of a typical community college tuition; all you have to do is show up and make your grades and do your work. I want to give a $10,000 tax deduction per year for the cost of any college tuition after high school for people of any age. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

Now, again I say, you want to know what the differences are between the efforts I'm making and the efforts that Senator Dole is earnestly and honestly pursuing? I don't like all these personal attacks. I think it's just kind of a political deal. We just honestly disagree. The difference in my position and his, the difference in Mary Landrieu's and her opponent is that if you look at the family leave law; if you look at the 100,000 police on the street; if you look at the Brady bill, which kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers and now will keep people who beat up their spouses and their kids from getting handguns; if you look at our new college loan program; if you look at the targeted tax cuts for college, we believe that we're a better, stronger country when we work together to help each other have not a guarantee but the tools to make the most of their own lives. They believe you're better off on your own. You have to decide. Will you stand with us? Will you fight with us? Will you build that bridge to the 21st century with us? [*Applause*] We need you, Louisiana.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:08 p.m. at Woldenberg Park. In his remarks, he referred to vocal group As Yet; Bishop Paul Morton of St. Stephen's Full Gospel Baptist Church, who gave the invocation; Mayor Marc H. Morial of New Orleans; and Mary Landrieu, Louisiana senatorial candidate.

Remarks at Saint Paul's A.M.E. Church in Tampa, Florida

November 3, 1996

Thank you very much. I feel good today; do you? [*Applause*] Thank you, Reverend Washington; Presiding Elder Reverend Andrews; Governor Chiles; Congressman and Mrs. Gibbons; our fine congressional candidate, Jim Davis, welcome, sir. We're proud of you. To my other friends who have joined us in this church today, and to all of you, thank you for making us feel so welcome here in the house of the Lord.

I was sort of tired when I came in, and I got into the music, and then we started singing about the little shack by the railroad track—[*laughter*]—and I said a lot of us in this house of God have lived in a little shack by the railroad track. And we did have a good time. My grandfather used to joke with me that if we didn't have any better sense than to know we were poor, we could have a good time. [*Laughter*] And we're having a good time today.

I'm honored to be in this historic pulpit which has been graced by Martin Luther King, Thurgood Marshall, Adam Clayton Powell, Jackie Robinson. I am humbled to be here. And I would like to say, first and foremost, I thank you, all of you, for giving me the chance to serve as the President of the greatest country in human history for the last 4 years. Thank you. Thank you.

In just 2 days all of us together will go to the polls to select the last President of this unbelievable 20th century, the century of the civil rights movement, the century of two great World Wars and the Great Depression, the century of the cold war, a century of more bloodshed than any in history, but a century of remarkable progress as more and more people move toward the realization that all of us are created equal in the eyes of God, are entitled to live as equals in the eyes of God—the masters of our fate, save only in subjugation to our God.

And with a vast new century stretching before us, we know that the world is changing in ways we cannot fully understand. Just think about all the changes you have seen here in your community in the last 4 or 5 years. Think about the changes technology is bringing in the way we work and live and relate to one another and the rest of the world. Think about how much more involved in the rest of the world we are today than ever before.

We have a decision to make that goes way beyond the vote on Tuesday. And frankly, it goes way beyond Democrats and Republicans, way beyond even the choice for President. It goes far out into the future and deep into the human heart. We have to decide as a people how we're going to keep walking into that 21st century and whether we will say to each other, "You're on your own," or we're going to build a bridge together so that everyone has the tools to make the most of his or her own life. And we have to decide whether we're going to build that bridge on the shifting sands of division or on the strong rock of common ground. I believe I know what your decision would be.

I was so glad to hear that wonderful passage from John about the Pool of Bethesda. When I went to the Holy Land for the first time about 15 years ago, I was looking for the Pool of Bethesda because it's a great remembrance that when the angel whirled the waters and made it possible for people to go there and find healing power, Jesus thought the healing power ought to be given even to the one who could not even get to the pool. No one was left out. Even the one who could not even get to the pool was given the healing power of the Spirit. That is a lesson for us.

When people tell me, well, some people just aren't going to make it, I say that's true, but it ought to be their fault, not ours. It ought to be their fault, not ours. We can't give anybody a guarantee in life. Even the man crawling to the pool had to believe. His body wouldn't move, but his mind would. So I don't seek to give anybody a guarantee, but I think everybody ought to have a chance.

You know, after the events of the last week, when we are divided we defeat ourselves. How heartbreaking it is on this Lord's day that there is still no peace in the Holy Land. A year ago tomorrow, the Prime Minister of Israel was murdered by one of his own people because he sought to bring peace to the Holy Land. The place where the three great religions of the world that believe we are all created by one God, all of us and all of our differences are created by one God, claim as holy, they're still fighting over religion.

In Bosnia, a place where the ethnic groups are divided into three by accident of political and military history, not because they are biologically distinguishable, they're still fighting over their differences. Science has not gotten in the way of believing that they are inherently different. That's what they believe.

In Africa today, the Hutus and the Tutsis share poor lands—with poor children who desperately need the product of earnest, sustained, loving, cooperative labor—somehow find it more profitable to slaughter each other and make the land poorer.

Well, that's why when our Federal Government employees are singled out for hatred, when a horrible tragedy like Oklahoma City occurs, when a black or a white church is burned or a synagogue or a mosque is defaced in America, we must stand against that, because we know that we are all in this together, that we are going to rise or fall together, that we have a duty to help each other in our work, in our family, in our lives as citizens, a duty to live in a way that enables us to find common ground and a responsibility to give everyone else the opportunity to go over that bridge with us into tomorrow.

Now, President Lincoln once paraphrased Jesus' sermon in St. Matthew when he said, "The house divided against itself cannot stand." I didn't have time to go back and read it today, but I believe that the whole verse says "A city and a house divided against itself cannot stand"—not Tampa, not St. Petersburg, not Washington, DC, not the United States of America. Four years ago, when I asked for this job, I was worried because our people were divided and dispirited and as a result we were not doing together what we should have been doing to lift our economy or deal with the whole array of problems plaguing our society, involving so many of our children, of their futures.

Now, I know I am preaching to a choir today—[*laughter*]—but in the next 2 days we need the choir to preach. [*Laughter*] We will never be what we ought to be if we allow our country to be led by those who believe we are better off on our own and who seek to pursue that path by driving wedges between us and exploiting our fears and convincing us that our brothers and sisters of different races, different faiths, different walks of life are our inherent enemies. That is the prescription for disaster in the Holy Land, in Bosnia, in Africa, and in the United States. And we have only become greater at each stage along the way because every time we had to face the music we chose common ground over the shifting sands of division. And that is what we must do again in this season of our decision.

We have seen the results of the politics of division and gridlock, but now we have seen the results of the politics of opportunity and responsibility and the common ground we seek to build in our American community. We have more jobs, a lower deficit, higher growth, the highest rate of homeownership in 15 years, the highest rates of homeownership and small business ownership among African-Americans, other minorities, and women in the history of America. It turns out giving everybody a chance—not a guarantee but a chance—is good for the rest of us.

While all these big numbers were occurring, we've seen the biggest decline in inequality among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 20 years, the lowest rates of poverty ever recorded for senior citizens and African-Americans since the statistics have been kept. It is the right thing to do for all the rest of us to see that everybody has a chance, just as the man struggling for the pool at Bethesda was given his chance.

We are seeing the benefits of greater responsibility: The welfare rolls are down; the crime rate is at a 10-year low. We see in so many other areas—4 years of declining teenage pregnancy, the first drop in out-of-wedlock pregnancy in 20 years, community efforts building up all over the country, more and more people going in our schools to tell our children that drugs are wrong and illegal and can kill you, more and more citizen efforts working with the police to try to help keep the streets safer, more and more communities doing things to try to help our young people stay out of trouble like curfew policies or even school uniform policies and other things. These experiments going on in America, people working together to try to find ways to be responsible citizens—in every place it is done, we are better off.

We're seeing a deeper sense of community, trying to preserve our natural environment for our children and our grandchildren. I thank Governor Chiles for the work he has done on the Everglades. Every person in Florida, in the farthest northern corner of Florida has a stake in that. Every person in the farthest northwest corner of America has a stake in saving our common heritage.

We see it in so many other ways. We have been moved by the enormous upswelling of American conviction in the aftermath of Oklahoma City, the reaction to the church burnings being so negative. Our common sense, whenever it prevails to bring us together as a community, makes us stronger.

And I really believe we're on the verge of the most exciting period in human history. But we can't forget what brought us here, because it will take us home. So the trick for us is to find out with God's wisdom how to seize all these fabulous opportunities that are out there in a way that enables us to move closer to our values.

It is really true that none of us live by bread alone. I don't know any serious person who's lived long enough who believes that with all the bread in the world you can be really happy. [*Laughter*] On the other hand, it's important not to be too self-righteous. I always say one of my rules of politics is whenever you hear a person standing on a corner screaming, "This is not a money problem," sure as the world

he's talking about somebody else's problem, not his. [*Laughter*]

So we need to be a little humble about this. But we have work to do. If you think about what our children can do, if we could put every child in America, from the poorest inner cities to the most remote rural areas, in a classroom with a computer that was hooked up to the entire information superhighway, then for the first time ever every child in America would have access to the same learning in the same way at the same time. That would revolutionize what our children could do, all of our children.

If we could put a million citizens with 100,000 more police and walk the blocks together, we could have not 4 years but 8 years of declining crime and all of our children could feel safe on their streets and in their schools and in their neighborhoods. We can reclaim our streets. Four years ago millions of people did not believe we could ever do anything about rising crime. Now we have no excuse. We know we can bring it down for 4 years, but we know we have to have about 4 more years before it will be tolerable to live in still a lot of our places. But we can make our streets safe again, we know that. But we'll have to do that together. And we can do that in the future.

We know that we're breaking down the frontiers of ignorance in so many ways that will help us to cure cancer, that will help us to find ways to grow our economy while we improve our environment, that will help us to find ways to create jobs for people who have never been able to get them before. But we have work to do. I signed a law that says that everybody on welfare who's able-bodied will keep getting health care and food and child care if they go to work, but if they're able-bodied, they've got to trade the welfare check for a paycheck in 2 years. That's the law. But now we have figured out something we haven't really been able to figure out for a long time, which is how to give jobs to people. You can't tell people they have to go to work unless there's work for them to find. So we've got work to do.

We know we've got work to do in building our American family. We know there's still too many kids who don't think drugs will kill them. We know that 3,000 children start smoking every day and a thousand will die sooner as a result, even though it's illegal. We know that even though we have removed a lot of assault weapons from our streets and made it harder for criminals to get guns, there's still too many completely innocent children being killed. We know that even though we have demonstrated in our administration that you can have diversity and excellence—in my appointments to the Cabinet, to the Federal bench, and throughout the country—there are still too many people who are literally afraid to deal as equals with people who are different from them. We know that.

We know that there are still too many white people who wouldn't feel as comfortable as I do sitting in this church today. And that's wrong. They read the same Bible you do. They claim the same Saviour you do. They ought to feel at home here. We've got work to do. And you ought to feel at home in their churches.

So I say to you, we have work to do. Our best days are still ahead. But we must always marry our progress to the realization of our values. We have to take advantage of progress to move closer to living as we say we believe. We have work to do. And as we get closer and closer and closer to the election, the work passes from my hands to yours again. It's a very humbling thing for me, you know. If you ever doubt whether the people are the boss in the end in a democracy, run for office. [*Laughter*] Run for office. Even the President is a hired hand—[*laughter*]—trying to get a contract renewed. [*Laughter*] It's a humbling thing. There is a power in freedom that you cannot underestimate. We take it for granted.

You know, now, in the last few years, for the first time in all of human history, more people are living in democracies on the face of the Earth than dictatorships. It's the first time in all of human history, just in the last few years. Think how far your ancestors walked, think how many bled and died to give you the right to vote. And think what a blessing it is that you are anchored in what you believe and that you are not subject to the wild winds that often blow through the airwaves at election time.

I ask you to let me share this story as I close. In 1992, when I was seeking this office, I was in a church much like this in Cleveland one night. It was a warm night, and the church was without air conditioner—at least the air conditioner was unequal to the hot air all the public officials were spewing out. [*Laughter*] And we were packed in that church. And it was one of those meetings, you know, where everybody

there talked but three people, and they went home mad. [*Laughter*]

Everybody talked. We all got to talk. And the temperature rose, and people started wanting to get out. And the great pastor in that church stood up, who is a friend of mine, Reverend Otis Moss, one of America's great preachers; some of you may know him. And he started talking to the people about the simple act of voting. And he said, "You know, my father could not vote; the law did not allow him to vote. And finally, one day the law was changed, and he could vote. And he walked 7 miles to the polling place. But the people did not want my father to vote, and they said, 'Mr. Moss, you're at the wrong place.' So they sent him to another place, and he walked a couple of more miles. And they said, 'Mr. Moss, you're still at the wrong place.' And they sent him to another place, and he had to walk a couple of more miles. And when they got there, they said, 'Mr. Moss, the polls have closed.' "

And he said, "When my daughter was old enough to vote, I took her to the polling place, and we went together to two voting machines side-by-side. And I know you're not supposed to linger in the ballot booth. But I couldn't vote. I put my ear right next to that booth until I heard my daughter vote. We don't miss votes at our house," he said.

This is a day that the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. And let us remember that here on Earth, God's work must truly be our own. We have work to do. But if we do it and if we remember, like Jesus, even the man who could not reach the pool at Bethesda, we will all go forward on that bridge to the 21st century together.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 a.m. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. Leroy Washington, pastor, and Rev. Theodore Andrews, presiding elder of the church; Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida; Martha Gibbons, wife of Representative Sam Gibbons; and Jim Davis, candidate for Florida's 11th Congressional District.

Remarks in West Palm Beach, Florida

November 3, 1996

Thank you very much, West Palm Beach. Thank you for being here today. Thank you for being there Tuesday; thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, on this beautiful Florida Sunday, we are just 2 days from electing the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. I thank you all for being here, for your care, your concern, for your love for our country. I thank especially my great friend and former colleague when I was a Governor, Senator Bob Graham, who is one of the finest public officials in the United States Senate today, someone you can be very proud of. I appreciate his support. I thank him for that wonderful litany. I'd forgotten I'd done some of those things myself. [*Laughter*]

I thank my friend Lawton Chiles for his passionate devotion to the people of Florida and for his fighting instincts when he and Buddy MacKay were down for the count, in 1994, in a very difficult year. And everyone said they were gone. They said, "We're not gone, we're right here. We've done a good job, and we're going in the right direction. We believe the people of Florida will reelect us." And you did, and I thank you. For America and for Florida, I thank you. And I thank them.

I thank Buddy MacKay for being there for me from the beginning 5 years ago, Attorney General Bob Butterworth, Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson, Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford, my friends, good public servants. And thank you, Bob, for your insistence on our doing something about the tomato problem. I'm glad we were able to do it, and you deserve a lot of the credit for it. Thank you very much.

I thank the congressional candidates who are here today, Jim Stuber, Ken Cooper, and Robert Wexler. And I thank Congressman Peter Deutsch for the fine job he has done in the United States Congress.

Bob Graham talked about the budget that our friends on the other side passed. And they said that if I didn't cave in to it, that they would just close the Government. And then they

said, "You Democrats, you love the Government, you'll never let us close it down, and we'll put this budget right on you." And I said, "It's not me you're putting it on. I'm going to be all right. Most of my life is lived. It's the American people you're putting it on, and I'd rather have the American people inconvenienced by 30 days of Government shutdown than hurt for 30 years by that budget." And they stood by me, and I thank them, or we wouldn't have been able to do it.

I want to thank my good friend Jimmy Buffett for singing for me today. Wasn't he great? [*Applause*] Four years ago Jimmy Buffett came to Tampa and sang for us. I'm glad he's here today. I want to thank the Sun Coast High School Chargers Sonic Sound, the Santa Luces High School Marching Chiefs. Thank you for being here.

And Madam Mayor, let me thank you. I have said all over this country that we are in a period of profound change in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. Some of the issues that have been discussed today already illustrate that. I have tried to say to all my fellow Americans that, even more than normal, this is not a race of party. It is a race of country; it is a race about people. And Mayor, I'm honored to have the support of all the Republicans for Clinton and Gore around the country, and especially your support. Thank you very, very much. Thank you. I might say, if you pick up your Newsweek tomorrow, you will see that your mayor was named one of the 25 mayors to watch in the United States. And I'm going to be watching her; I think you will, too. Congratulations.

On this beautiful Sunday we should be grateful to be Americans and grateful for the privilege we're about to have. I can tell you this: As we get closer and closer to the election, it becomes more and more obvious that in this great democracy you count more than all of us in elected office. And those of us like me are simply coming to you, the boss, to get our contact renewed. It is now up to you to make these judgments.

Four years ago, amid a time of high unemployment and rising frustration, rising crime and welfare rolls and increasing division, I came to you and asked you to give Al Gore and Bill Clinton the chance to change the course of America, to go beyond the tired old political debates that had dominated Washington for too long, to go beyond insults to issues, beyond the politics of who's to blame to a politics of what are we going to do together to make our country a better place. I asked you to help me create more opportunity, demand more responsibility, and create an American community in which all of you have a place at the table and a role to play. I said then and I say again today that I believe the central role of our National Government is to give you the tools to make the most of your own lives and to create the conditions of security and freedom and opportunity that will make us all a better, stronger people. And I said that I thought that we ought to have a smaller Government, but it still ought to be strong enough to give you those tools and help you when you need it.

We have worked hard for 4 years now, and you don't have to take us on faith anymore; there is a record, a record that is good and strong. And that is the fundamental fact. We enter this election day with 10½—10.7 million more jobs; the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years; the highest rates of homeownership in 15 years; with America number one in exporting and number one in automobile production for the first time since 1979—your country is number one again; with record numbers of new small businesses in every single year of the last 4 years; with declining poverty rates among seniors and African-Americans; with declining inequality among all people who are working, the biggest drop in income inequality among working people in 27 years; nearly 2 million fewer people on the welfare rolls; a 50 percent increase in child support enforcement; 4 years of declining crime rates, crime at a 10-year low. Folks, we are better off than we were 4 years ago, and we are moving in the right direction.

Now, I can't help noting on this Sunday that on the day that it was announced we had 210,000 more jobs, my opponent said that our economy was in the worst shape in 20 years. Now, that's not all bad because just 2 weeks earlier, our opponent said we were in the worst shape we'd been in in 100 years. [*Laughter*] So he's making the case for my reelection. I mean, who else do you know who could move us 80 years in 2 weeks? We're doing all right.

But let's face it. There is more to be done. We still have work to do to build that bridge to the 21st century. We still have work to do to make sure every American, without regard

to race or religion or where they start in life, has a chance to live out his or her dreams. We still have work to do to make sure all of our citizens are acting responsibly. And we still have work to do to bring this country together as one community. I have tried to run this campaign in a way that would do that, to make this a campaign of issues and not insults. I thank Governor Chiles for what he said.

One of the more interesting aspects of the opposition's effort has been their obsession with my wife. [*Laughter*] Well, I'm obsessed with her too, but in a different way. And they think we're better off on our own. I think she was right when she said it takes a village to raise our children and build our future. And I want to say that Governor Chiles' announcement made two people in this audience especially happy: Hillary's mother and sister-in-law, my mother-in-law and sister-in-law who are here, Dorothy Rodham and Maria Arias Rodham. Thank you very much.

We have work to do. Your vote will decide what we're going to do on that great budget issue next time. Let's look at the record. The record is, this is not about liberal and conservative. Ask Senator Graham or Congressman Deutsch. Our administration has reduced the size of Government to its smallest size in 30 years, more than the previous two Republican administrations. We have eliminated more Government regulations than they did, eliminated more unnecessary programs than they did, privatized more Government operations than they did.

What we were not willing to do was to have a budget that in the name of balancing the budget actually shifted resources to a few who did not need it, away from those who did need it to protect the integrity of Medicare and Medicaid, our investments in education, the environment, technology, and the future of the people of Florida and the United States of America.

And so now you will have to decide. This is part of your work because your vote will decide whether we pass our balanced budget plan and keep on bringing interest rates down and growing the Florida and the American economy and have a targeted tax cut we can afford, targeted to childrearing, to education, to buying a first-time home, to dealing with medical costs, but to do all that in a way that protects the integrity of Medicare, of Medicaid's guarantees to poor children, to families with disabilities, to seniors in nursing homes; continues to invest in giving us a world-class education; and protects our environment so that we can pave the way for the 21st century. Your vote will decide.

Now, they shut the Government down twice. If they had succeeded and we had caved in, we would have 3 times the cuts in Medicare that the trustees said was necessary to bail out the trust fund, costing the average senior family $268 more a year in premiums and much more in out-of-pocket costs, in copays and deductibles that had nothing to do with saving Medicare. There's not a senior citizen in Florida that's not willing to do what it takes to preserve the integrity of this program. After all, American seniors have the highest life expectancy in the world and now the lowest poverty rate on record. But I would say, folks, that is a high-class problem. Isn't that what we should be working for? People who can live longer and live better. So let's reform it, but let's don't wreck it. Your vote will decide that.

Their budget, if they had succeeded, would have stopped our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street, even though it's helping the crime rate to go down. It would have abolished the Department of Education. It would have cut college aid to thousands, hundreds of thousands of students. It would have let polluters off the hook for cleaning up their own pollution. They tried to force those cuts by shutting the Government down. In this election you have to say, "You can shut the Government down, but you cannot shut down our future. We will not permit it."

So when you vote on Tuesday, you're not just choosing a President. Your vote will determine the budget, and the budget will determine a large measure of our common future—a future with strong Medicare for our parents or not; a future where all our children can go to college or not; a future with 100,000 more police on the street or not. With your help we can build a future in which all Americans have the tools and the chance—not a guarantee but a chance—to make the most of their own lives. That is your decision. Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Over the opposition of the leaders of the other party we passed the family and medical leave law. They said, "Oh, this will hurt the economy; this will be a terrible burden on the economy." We said the biggest problem working families have today is finding a way to meet

their obligations at work and do their most important job, which is to raise their own children with good values and a good future and a good life. And we believe you ought to be able to take a little time off when a baby is born or a family member is sick without losing your job. That's what we said.

Well, it was just a debate before. Now we know who's right; 12 million families have taken some time off under the family leave law; we have 10.7 million more jobs—the fastest job growth, faster than any Republican administration in 70 years—and record numbers of new small businesses. We ought to expand the family leave law so people can have a little time off to go see the teachers of their children twice a year and take their family members to the doctor.

We passed health care reform in the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, saying you can't lose your health insurance anymore just because someone in the family is sick or you change jobs. We passed a law that said mothers and newborn babies can't be kicked out of the hospital anymore after 24 hours.

Your vote will decide whether to embrace the balanced budget I have recommended, which gives free mammograms to women on Medicare, which gives help for respite care for the nearly 2 million American families caring lovingly and courageously for a family member with Alzheimer's, which adds another million children to the ranks of the health insured and helps working families keep their health insurance when they are between jobs for 6 months. Your vote will decide. Will you help me build that bridge? [*Applause*]

We've worked hard to protect our children. We've worked hard. We passed a law requiring new television sets to have a V-chip so parents could control what their young children see on television, because too much of it can be destructive for them. We have supported local school districts in things like school uniform policies, curfews, enforcement of their truancy laws. We've said if you drink and drive, you lose your license. And I'm asking every State to help me to deal with the serious problem of rising teen drug use by saying, if you want a driver's license, we want you to pass a drug test because we want to save our children from getting in trouble in the first place. We were the first administration ever to stand up to the problem that the tobacco companies cause when they market, advertise, deliver, and sell illegally tobacco to our young children. Three thousand kids a day start smoking; 1,000 will die sooner because of it. We have said no.

Now, on the V-chip, on the tobacco issue, we have been opposed by those from the other side. So your vote will decide. Will we stay with the V-chip? Will we stay with the fight to make our children tobacco-free? Will we stay with the safe and drug-free schools program when our opponents tried to cut it in half, when we need more people like those D.A.R.E. officers in our schools telling our kids these drugs can kill you, they're wrong, and they're dangerous? [*Applause*]

We passed the Brady bill, the assault weapons ban, the commitment to 100,000 police. Your vote will decide whether we finish the job of putting those 100,000 police on the street, whether we target violent teen gangs, whether we ban bullets whose only purpose is to pierce the bulletproof vests of police officers. Your vote will decide, and we need your help. Will you help us build that bridge? [*Applause*]

We have reduced the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million and passed a welfare reform bill that says we'll keep giving poor people health care and food and child care when they go to work, but able-bodied people will now have to turn a welfare check into a paycheck within 2 years. It is a good law. It is a good law, but your vote will decide whether it happens, because if you don't want to hurt the children and you do want people to work, there must be work for them to do. We have a strategy to create another million jobs to move people from welfare to work. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide whether we finish the job of saving the Everglades and whether we clean up 500 toxic waste sites where now 10 million American children are living within 4 miles of those toxic waste sites. Your votes will decide whether we continue to grow the economy while we preserve, indeed, improve our environment. Will you help us build a green environmental bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide whether we open the doors of college to all Americans, whether we let people deduct the cost of a typical community college education from their tax bill so we can make 2 years of college just as universal as a high school education is today. Your vote

will decide whether we give people a $10,000 tax deduction for the cost of any college tuition. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide whether we hook every classroom in Florida up to the information superhighway so that for the first time ever the poorest, the most middle class, and the wealthiest schools in America all give their children access to the same information in the same way in the same time.

Forty percent of our 8-year-olds still can't read independently, partly because we have so many children coming here whose first language is not English. That will be cold comfort to them when they get older and they can't learn. We got 200,000 more work-study slots out of this recent Congress and the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years for college students. I'm going to ask 100,000 of those college students to go in as volunteers as a part of a million-person corps to make sure by the year 2000 every 8-year-old can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help me build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

So you see, my fellow Americans, this is a very important election. It will shape the way we work and live. The frontiers of knowledge are being dramatically expanded. The possibilities for people are greater than ever before. We're growing closer together with the rest of the world in ways that can enrich us as never before.

This is an election about country and people, not about our party. It is true that I'm a Democrat by heritage, instinct, and conviction, and as proud of it today as I have ever been in my life. But over the course of our history, at various times either party has had the job of bringing the American people and moving us together into the future. Abraham Lincoln was a Republican, but he kept our country together and helped us to abolish the curse of slavery. Theodore Roosevelt was a Republican, but he knew it was wrong for children to work 70 hours a week in factories when they ought to be in school. And he knew it was wrong to squander our natural heritage, and he knew it was wrong to let monopolies destroy the free enterprise system. He kept us together and moved us forward.

But today it is the responsibility of our party because of the ideas we established, because of the campaign we have run, because of the record we have made, and because of the ideas of those on the other side. They honestly believe we're better off on our own. I believe we're better off building that bridge to the future together. And you have to decide.

Look around this crowd today. Look around this crowd today. We have people here of all racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Around the world today, people are fighting and killing each other because of their tribal, their racial, their religious, their ethnic differences. Every day we pick up the paper and see new heartbreak in Africa, hundreds of thousands of refugees driven from their homes, based on tribal fights between two tribes that cross into three nations—where people who don't have enough right now to get along with their children, instead of working together to give their children a better future, choose to kill each other and starve their children.

In Haiti, a dictatorship threatened the right of some of the poorest but best people in the world to live up to their own dreams. In Bosnia, where the people are literally biologically indistinguishable, they're in different so-called ethnic or religious groups by accident of history, people were willing to kill each other and their children. And in the Middle East, the Holy Land for the three great monotheistic religions of the world, one year ago tomorrow a great Prime Minister of Israel was murdered by someone in his own country who hated—hated the cause of peace more than he respected the human life of his nation's great leader.

In America we can beat that. The American people said no to hating the Federal Government after the awful tragedy of Oklahoma City. The American people said no to racial and religious hatred in the face of synagogues and Islamic centers being defaced and black churches being burned. We have said no, and we must say no on Tuesday to the proposition that we are all a bunch of isolated individuals. We are one nation, one community, going forward into the 21st century. Will you help us build that bridge? Will Florida be with us on Tuesday? [*Applause*]

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. at the West Palm Beach International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Lawton Chiles and Lt.

Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida; Jim Stuber, Kenneth Cooper, and Robert Wexler, candidates for Florida's 16th, 22d, and 19th Congressional Districts, respectively; and Mayor Nancy Graham of West Palm Beach.

Remarks in Union Township, New Jersey
November 3, 1996

The President. Wow! Thank you for coming out, standing in the cold, making me feel warm. Are you ready for a victory on Tuesday?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Are you ready to work until Tuesday for the victory?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Let me thank the Union High School Band for their music. Let me thank you for your music. Let me thank Christina Skleros—was she fabulous or what? [*Applause*] She did it for the Yankees, she's doing it for Torricelli.

Mayor Petti, thank you for welcoming us here. Governor Florio, Mayor Del Vecchio, Larry Lerner, thank you for running for Congress—thank you both. Congressman Payne, to all the other dignitaries who are here, let me thank you so much, all of you, for being here. I want to say a special word of thanks to my great friend Whoopi Goldberg for being there for us through this whole campaign. She has always been funny, and she has always been wise. But she is becoming wiser and funnier and more effective for her country, and I'm grateful.

Let me thank Senator Frank Lautenberg for his work, his support, and for standing for you. And let me say a special word of thanks to Bill Bradley. We've known each other a very long time now. I remember so well when he first ran for the Senate from New Jersey. I remember so many things about his distinguished career. He made a difference for New Jersey and a difference for America. He was what we want every public official to be. We wish you well, and we thank you, Bill Bradley. Godspeed; thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, I was trying to think what, if anything, I might say to all of you who are here, to the large number of undecided voters who remain, to the young people—I know we have people from Rutgers and Kean College here, and I thank you both for being here—what I might say about Bob Torricelli that would have any impact. After all, this decision is New Jersey's decision, and I am just another citizen when it comes to voting and not even a registered voter here.

But I know three things I would like you to know. You know, I think our politics, as I have said many times, has become too personally negative. I think that there is this overwhelming temptation that I see too much in politics to convince the voters that the other people are not only wrong, which is a legitimate thing, but bad folks. I am 2 days from the end of the last campaign I will ever run. I have been more blessed than any American in my lifetime. I have received honors from the American people that no person could rightly claim to deserve. I have done my best to make this a better country. But I have to tell you, in those 20-plus years I have learned that most of the people who run for office in both parties are good, honest, hard-working people who love our country, who love their families, and who want to do what is right.

I must say I have—I can't say I've enjoyed but I have been awestruck by the protean battle that Congressman Torricelli and Congressman Zimmer have waged. They remind me of some battles I saw earlier in my youth when I wasn't sure either team would walk off the field.

But there are three things I want you to know that I know about Bob Torricelli. Number one, he is a ferocious fighter for what he believes in, and he believes in New Jersey. And you need somebody who will do that.

Number two, I have spent a lot of time with him in quiet, private moments when there were no cameras, no reporters, no press, no contributors, nobody from New Jersey, no one to impress, nothing to say. He has an extraordinary mind. He has an extraordinary understanding of our country. He thinks about the future. You need someone in the Senate that has the capacity to be a truly great positive force for the

United States in the 21st century. Bob Torricelli could become a truly great United States Senator and a great positive force for our country and for New Jersey in the 21st century. I hope you'll give him a chance to do that.

But third and, for the moment, most important, it has fallen to Bob Torricelli and those of like mind and to Al Gore and to me to make the case for America's future that always has to be made at a time of great change. We're going through a huge change in the way we work and live and relate to one another and the rest of the world. I'm sure that you've seen changes here in Union Township in the way families live. I can just give you one little example: When I became President there were 3 million Americans making a living by working at home. Today, because of computer technology, there are 12 million. By the year 2000, there will be 20 million.

Let me give you another example. When I became President there was no known medical treatment for stroke. Medical research has developed one. Two of the genes that cause breast cancer have been discovered. We may be able to eventually cure all cases and to prevent many because of that. For the first time ever, laboratory animals with their spines completely severed have had movement in their lower legs because of nerve transplants from other parts of their bodies to the spine. We're about to build a supercomputer with IBM and the United States Government that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years.

When Hillary and Chelsea and I went to the Olympics to welcome all the teams from around the world, there were people from 197 different racial and ethnic groups there and national groups. The United States is the only great country in the world that has people in it from virtually all of those places.

This is a different world. It is new. It is exciting. It is full of new changes. And every time we go through a period like that, the great question is will we meet these challenges, will we seize these opportunities in a way that helps us to live more closely to those ideals we believe in and to grow as a country together as we go forward together.

Bob Torricelli will help us to do that. The approach we have taken will help us to do that. The great difference here in this election is between those who believe that we're better off on our own and those of us who believe we're better off when all of us work to give each other the tools we need to make the most of our own lives and to build a better future together.

I do believe, as the First Lady said, it takes a village to raise a child and build a country and build a future. I do believe that we're always going to be better off when we build a bridge together to the future that's big enough and wide enough for us all to walk across. But make no mistake about it, in this last Presidential election of the 20th century and the first election of the 21st century, the decision is more important than ordinarily it is, not because of any of us but because of the sheer dimensions of the change through which we are living. We must make the right decision.

This is not an election of party, it is an election of nation and people. The Republican Party at times past has fulfilled this historic role for us. That's what Abraham Lincoln did when he gave his life to save the Union and to end the abominable practice of slavery. That's what Theodore Roosevelt did when he said it's wrong for children to work 70 hours in factories every week; it's wrong for them not to be in school; it's wrong to destroy our natural heritage; it's wrong for monopolies to destroy the free enterprise system. He did that. But today it is our party, it is our administration, and it is Congressman Torricelli who represent the view that we must meet these challenges together and go forward together. And that is the central issue in this election. If you doubt it, I will give you just a few examples.

The environmental example is an easy one for me. We have to prove we can grow the economy and preserve, indeed, enhance the environment. It is wrong, what they tried to do in their budget, to let polluters off the hook. They should pay and we should help to close all these toxic waste dumps that are compromising our children's future. We should do this together, and they should assume their responsibility.

Look at law enforcement. Their budget would have abolished our commitment to put 100,000 police on the street, but we have had 4 years of declining crime and the lowest crime rate in 10 years in the United States. If we can have 4 more, it might actually be safe for everybody to walk on the streets and play in all the parks and be in all the neighborhoods, and we

could feel good about America's security again. We need to keep going in the direction we're going. We don't need to take a U-turn. You should stand with law enforcement and support our direction because it's right for America and it will make us a better place.

We need a growing economy to succeed and to do what is best for all of us. Four years ago you took me on faith in New Jersey when I said we could lower the deficit, still invest in an education, expand trade, and grow the economy. You took it on faith when I said, "This liberal-conservative debate doesn't make any sense. I'll shrink the size of Government, but I want us to be stronger, to grow together."

Now you know the evidence. We've got the smallest Federal Government since President Kennedy. We reduced more unnecessary programs and regulations than my two Republican predecessors. We privatized more Government operations than my two Republican predecessors, but we have a program that continues to invest in education, technology, and in our future. And we have 10.7 million new jobs to show for it, a 15-year high in homeownership, a 27-year low in the rates of unemployment and inflation combined.

This country is moving in the right direction. Help us keep it going. We don't need to take a U-turn. We need to balance the budget and have targeted tax cuts for what people really need and for the people who really need it, for education, childrearing, buying that first home, paying for health care. We don't need a big tax cut that they won't tell you how they can pay for, because it will blow a hole in the deficit, raise interest rates, and require bigger cuts in education, the environment, Medicare, and Medicaid than the ones I vetoed. So let's balance the budget, keep the economy growing, and secure the future of New Jersey's children. That's what's at stake in this election, and I want you to help us do it.

And finally, the biggest question of all, in a world that is changing like this, people will have to keep on learning for a lifetime. We have a program to give every child in America world-class educational opportunities, to open the doors of college to all, to hook up every classroom in America to the information superhighway so that every child in New Jersey without regard to income or race or region or national background can have access for the first time in the history of America to the same information in the same time in the same way. It will revolutionize education. Our plan is right, and their opposition to it is wrong. We need your help to build that bridge to the 21st century. We need your help.

We need your help to make sure that we allow families to deduct from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition so everybody can have at least 2 years of education after high school, of any age. We need your help to give people a deduction for the cost of college tuition, of any kind of college tuition, so all people can go to college. We need your help to do that. And we'll get it paid back.

We need your help to make sure every 8-year-old child in this country can read, too. I have challenged 100,000 young people to take work-study money that we just appropriated to give them, to use that money to help teach our 8-year-olds to read.

We can do these things, folks, but we can't do them if we take the philosophy embodied in the budget they signed—they passed that I vetoed. And then when I vetoed it, they shut the Government down, not once but twice, to try to force it on me. And they said, "They will never—the President will never allow the Government to be shut down." And I said I'd rather you be inconvenienced for 30 days than hurt for 30 years. I will never let that happen to America. You have to decide. You have to decide.

So on this brisk New Jersey evening—[*laughter*]—when you see the flags blowing in the breeze, those are the winds of change of the 21st century. The best days of this country are still ahead of us. The young people in this audience will have more opportunities to live out their dreams than any generation of Americans in history. We will have more opportunity to promote peace and freedom and prosperity for ourselves and the world than any generation of Americans in history.

But we must decide that we really believe down deep inside that there are things we must do together, and that we will all be better off if we give our people not a guarantee but a chance to become what God meant them to be and if we're willing to say, "We don't care anything else about you; if you believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights, if you're willing to get up and go to work or go to school or do whatever you're supposed to do tomorrow, we don't

care where you come from; we don't care whether you're rich or poor; we don't care what your racial or ethnic or religious background is; we don't need to know anything else about you. You are part of our America, and we are going to build an even greater future for the greatest country in all of human history."

Give us a chance on Tuesday. Give Bob Torricelli a chance on Tuesday. Give yourselves a chance on Tuesday. We need you, New Jersey. Be there.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:10 p.m. at the Union Township municipal building. In his remarks, he referred to 8-year-old Christina Skleros, who sang the national anthem; Mayor Jerome Petti of Union Township; Jim Florio, former Governor of New Jersey; Mayor David M. Del Vecchio of Lambertville, candidate for New Jersey's 12th Congressional District; Larry Lerner, candidate for New Jersey's 7th Congressional District; and comedienne Whoopi Goldberg.

Remarks in Springfield, Massachusetts
November 3, 1996

Thank you. Well, hello, Springfield! Thank you. Thank you for this wonderful, wonderful welcome. Thank you for being here in such large numbers—I can't even see the end of the crowd back there. Thank you for being here in such high spirits. I thank especially all the young people that are here tonight. This election is about you.

My fellow Americans, it's a great honor for me to be here in this State which has been so good to me and to our administration, a State which has given so much to our Nation. I have wanted to come here to this spot for a long time, and now that I see you here I don't know why it took me so long. I'm glad to be here.

Thank you, Mayor Albano, for making me feel so welcome. Thank you, Shannon O'Brien, for your remarks. Thank you, Congressman Kennedy, for warming up the crowd and for your support and your leadership. Thank you, Congressman Olver, and thank you, Congressman Neal. All three of these Members of Congress from Massachusetts stood up for America when the Government was shut down and the future of America was on the line and we were being asked to choose. We stood for your future and refused, refused to give in to the blackmail of this Congress, and they deserve your thanks forever. Thank you.

I want to thank all those who have performed here tonight: the West Springfield High School Band, the Pottenger School Children's Choir—they're here somewhere—and the Minutemen Marching Band. Thank you. I must say, this is the best sound effects I've ever seen. If I had another plane I'd just take them with me for the rest of the day.

I want to thank Senator Ted Kennedy for so many things. But you will never know what it was like these last 2 years, how close we came over and over again to having some people lose hard and give in, having some people give up on raising the minimum wage, having some people give up on finally saying that you can't lose your health insurance just because you changed jobs or somebody in your family's been sick, that we would give up on passing a law that says we're not going to let insurance companies kick women and newborn babies out of hospitals after 24 hours anymore. But Ted Kennedy never gave up. He never gave up, and he prevailed.

And thank you, John Kerry, for waging this long, courageous campaign many times against the odds, never giving up. Thank you for being a voice in Washington, for preserving our environment when it was out of fashion. Thank you for helping me to keep putting 100,000 police on the street when the Congress tried to stop us and we wanted a safe future for our children. Thank you for fighting a long and lonely battle for campaign finance reform. Long before it was popular you were there, and you will get everlasting credit when it becomes the law of the land next year. Thank you, John Kerry. And thank you for sponsoring our legislation to open the doors of college education to every single American. Thank you.

My fellow Americans, 4 years ago when Massachusetts gave me an enormous support and sent Al Gore and me to Washington to work for you, I had come to you and said we had to get our country moving, we had to change the politics of Washington, we had to stop the politics of insults and get to the politics of issues. We had to get away from the politics of division and embrace the politics of unity. We had to stop pointing our fingers at each other and ask what can we do together to get this country going in the right direction. You gave me the chance, and I came here to say thank you. Thank you for doing that.

Four years ago, amid a time of high unemployment, rising crime, rising frustration, and increasing division, you took a chance on me. You took me on faith, and you did not know. You've heard all these debates about where we stand and where they stand tonight. But there's one thing that hasn't been emphasized. We now have some evidence about which side is right. When I became President, the unemployment rate in Massachusetts was 7½ percent. Tonight it is 4.2 percent.

Incomes are rising for the first time in a decade. Inequality—inequality among people who are working has gone down by the largest amount in 27 years. We have the lowest rates of poverty among senior citizens ever recorded. We have 10.7 million new jobs, record new businesses, record new exports. The United States is number one in auto production again for the first time since the 1970's. We are moving in the right direction.

The crime rate has come down for 4 years in a row. We have the lowest crime rate in 10 years. The welfare rolls have dropped for 4 years in a row as nearly 2 million Americans have found their way to work and greater dignity. Child support collections are up 50 percent—$4 billion a year for the children of this country.

We have worked hard to change the course of America and bring America together. And we have been a force for peace and freedom in the world, from the Middle East to Bosnia to Northern Ireland. And there are no Russian missiles pointed at any American children tonight for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. We are moving in the right direction.

You know all the issues, but let me say to you that we are moving, at a time of great change, into a new world that we can't fully understand. We know that the frontiers of knowledge are being pushed back at a rapid rate. We know we are changing the way we work and live and relate to the rest of the world. When I became President, there were 3 million Americans working full-time and living at home and working at home. Today, 4 years later, there are 12 million Americans doing it. And 4 years from now, there will be 30 million Americans doing it.

When I became President, there was no known cure for stroke. Today, we have treatment for stroke because of medical research, for the first time ever. And two of the genes that cause breast cancer have been uncovered; we may be able to cure it. We are developing a supercomputer that will do more calculations in a second than you can go home tonight and do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. The world is changing, my fellow Americans, and we had better make the right decisions about how to respond to that change.

There is too much personal negative attack in politics and too little analysis of what the basis of our differences are. Every issue that Congressman Olver, Congressman Neal, Senator Kennedy, Senator Kerry, and Congressman Kennedy mentioned—every one can be distilled into this: I believe that there are some things that we must do together as a nation to help give each other the chance to make the most of our own lives—not a guarantee but a chance. They believe you're better off on your own. That's what their budget was all about. And now you have to decide.

If their budget were the law of the land tonight, we would have had reductions in Medicare, cuts 3 times as great as those that were necessary to preserve the Medicare Trust Fund. It would have cost our seniors, no matter how poor, $268 more a year, plus more in out-of-pocket costs over and above that. We would have had the first cuts in student loans and Head Start in modern history. We would have had the first cuts in the Medicaid guarantee of health care to poor children, to middle class families who have family members with disabilities. Even they would have repealed the standards of quality care for seniors in nursing homes. We would have paralyzed the ability of our Government to protect the environment. We would have, in short, divided our country.

But they believe that that was right because they believe we're better off on our own. And you have to decide. They shut the Government down, not once but twice, to force these cuts on the American people. And because these Members of Congress stood with me, they said, "Oh, you Democrats will cave in; you're miserable when the Government is shut down." I said, "This is not about Government; it's about people. I'd rather see the American people inconvenienced for 30 days than irreparably damaged for 30 years. We will not give in to your cuts and your approach."

So now you have to decide about tomorrow, for this election is about tomorrow. This is an election of enormous moment, with great consequences and clear choices. You should all be happy that the choices are as clear as they are. I am well aware that I am not solely responsible for the fact that we have 10.7 million more jobs. But we did our part. We cut the deficit by 63 percent. We invested in education. We expanded the ability of Americans to sell their products around the world. And we did other things to grow the economy. That's why we have those 10.7 million more jobs. We did it together. I want us to do more together. We're not better off on our own. It takes a village to raise a child and build a country and build a future.

So you have to decide whether we will continue our work to balance the budget and protect the medical programs that our seniors, our people with disabilities, our poorest children depend upon; continue to invest in education, in the environment, and technology; and target our tax cuts to people who need them for purposes that are needed, education and childrearing and buying a first home and dealing with a medical cost—or whether we will adopt their scheme, which will blow a hole in the deficit, require bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed, and send the economy of this State into a tailspin. Will you stand with us to build America's future and build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

You have to decide whether we were right to say people shouldn't lose their jobs if they have to take a little time off when a baby is born or a family member is sick and whether we shouldn't expand the family leave law to say people should be able to get a little time off to go visit their children's teachers and take their family members to the doctor. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

You have to decide whether we're going to clean up 500 more toxic waste sites. You have to decide whether we're going to really implement welfare reform in the right way. It's all very well to say people have to turn a welfare check into a paycheck. I'm for that, but I want the jobs to be there. You can't make people go to work unless there's a job. We have a plan to move a million people from welfare to work. Will you help us implement it and build that bridge? [*Applause*]

You have to decide whether we were right or they were when we passed the Brady bill and kept 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from getting handguns. And now people who beat up their spouses and their kids won't be able to get them either. You have to decide if we were right. You have to decide whether you want us to finish the job of putting 100,000 police on the street or let them take away the police that are still to be placed. Why in the world they want to do that I don't know, but they do. You have to decide.

And more than anything else, you have to decide where we're going in the issues that will affect whether we can grow together. We did pass health care reform, but our balanced budget plan would give insurance to families who are between jobs for 6 months, would insure another million children, would give free mammograms to women on Medicare, would give respite care to the nearly 2 million American families caring courageously for a family member with Alzheimer's—all paid for. You get it in our balanced budget plan. They cannot do it. You have to decide. Shouldn't we do more to bring the American people together and help our families to succeed at work and at home? [*Applause*]

And you have to decide, more than anything else, you have to decide—and this is not just a matter of this cheering crowd. Remember the changes I described in the beginning. Education will no longer be just the province of youth. It will be the work of a lifetime. It will become a part of everyone's work life. We will have to learn and learn and learn. And we must begin to create an education system for the 21st century that gives every American child and every American adult the finest educational opportunities in the world. We cannot do it with their approach. They want to abolish the Department of Education. I want to give you world-class

education, and you have to decide. You have to decide.

Thanks to Senator Kennedy and Senator Kerry and others, we got 200,000 more work-study positions for college students in this last budget. Here's what I want to do with half of those. And I want to ask you college students that have been cheering tonight, I want to ask you to help me. We have improved the student loan program. We've given 70,000 of our young people a chance to serve in AmeriCorps in their communities and earn their way to college. We have increased Pell grants by the largest amount in 20 years. But we must do more.

But we have to start with our young children. Do you know that 40 percent of the kids in this country can still not read a book on their own by the age of 8? It may be because we have so many people whose first language is not English. But that will be cold comfort to them as they move through school and fail to learn. I have a plan to mobilize a million volunteers to go into all the land to help parents and teachers teach our children to read. And I want 100,000 of those work-study slots to go to college students who will earn work-study by teaching children to read. Will you help do that? Will you be one of them? [*Applause*] By the year 2000, I want every 8-year-old in America to be able to pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help us do it? [*Applause*]

Will you help us hook up every classroom and every library and every school in Massachusetts, the smallest rural school, the poorest inner-city school to the information superhighway so that for the first time in the history of America, every single child—poor, rich, or middle class, urban, rural, or suburban—every child for the first time will have access to the same knowledge in the same way in the same time? We can revolutionize the education of our children. Will you help us do it? [*Applause*]

Will you help us open the doors of college to all by saying we will give Americans a dollar-for-dollar reduction on their tax bill for the cost of a typical community college tuition so every American of any age can have at least 2 more years of education as universal as high school is today in the next 4 years? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

Will you help us to give America's families a $10,000 tax deduction a year for the cost of college tuition at any institution of higher education, graduate or undergraduate, in the United States? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

And most important of all, remember now, you may have your mind made up, but not everybody does. These are the choices at stake. It's not Senator Kerry and his opponent, President Clinton and Bob Dole, Democrats versus Republicans. It has fallen to our party and our administration at this moment in history to represent the idea that America must always put forward at a time of great change. Whenever we go through changes, we have the option to be more divided or more united. Whenever we have gone through changes, we've had the option to try to make sure everyone could prosper so we could move closer to our ideals.

This is not about money. It's about using the resources of America to enable people to live up to their God-given capacities. And you must decide. The great idea is whether we are going to give each other the conditions and tools to give everybody a chance to make the most of their own lives, or whether we will say, "You're on your own." The great idea is whether we will say, "There's the 21st century out there, America's best days, the time of greatest possibility in human history. Yes, there's a big river to ford and a deep valley to go into and a high mountain to climb; I hope you get there." Or would you prefer our approach, where we all roll up our sleeves, without regard to race, religion, gender, you name it, and say, "If you will work hard and do your part, we will together build a bridge to the 21st century wide enough and strong enough to take us to America's best days." Will you do that? [*Applause*] Will you be there Tuesday? [*Applause*] Will you be there between now and Tuesday and bring your friends? [*Applause*]

God bless you. Thank you, Massachusetts. I'll see you Tuesday. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:17 p.m. at the Court Square. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael Albano of Springfield and Shannon O'Brien, former Massachusetts State representative and senator.

Remarks in Bangor, Maine
November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you. Thank you, Bangor. Thank you, Maine. Thank you, John Bapst High School Band. The Basin Street All Women Dixieland Band, thank you.

Ladies and gentlemen, here we are. I want to thank your mayor for welcoming me when I came here, my longtime friend Libby Mitchell for her work in our campaign. Thank you, Congressman John Baldacci, for being a great leader for Maine and a great Congressman for America. I can tell you that if everyone in Congress had the same attitude, values, and work habits as your Congressman does, we wouldn't have half the problems we've got in Washington, DC, today. And you should be very proud of him.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is the first rally of the last day of the last campaign I will ever run, and I am glad to start it here with you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Thank you. In the last few days I have been in much warmer weather—[*laughter*]—in Arizona and Nevada, southern California, El Paso, Las Cruces, New Mexico, San Antonio, Little Rock, New Orleans. I woke up this morning, believe it or not—or yesterday morning—in Tampa, Florida, and then I went to West Palm Beach and then I went to New Jersey and to Springfield, Massachusetts, and here we are.

I want you to know that I came here for three reasons. First, and in some ways most important, to say a simple thank you to the people of Maine for giving me a chance to serve as President, for taking a chance on me and giving me a chance to serve.

I owe so much to so many people here. And I would be remiss if I did not say a special word of thanks to my good friend Senator George Mitchell, who's not here tonight, because, as I'm sure all of you know, he played Senator Dole in our debates and he prepared me; he won every time. [*Laughter*] But because he prepared me so well, I think it worked out all right when the debates came along.

George Mitchell is now, as all of you know, working hard on the peace talks with Northern Ireland to try to continue the effort we have made to resolve the differences there between the Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants, between the loyalists and the unionists and the republics. We believe that we can see a peace in Ireland in our lifetime. And if it happens, everybody in Maine can take a lot of pride in knowing that George Mitchell played a pivotal, pivotal role. And I thank him for that.

The second reason I came here is because I wanted to stand one last time with my friend of many years, my former colleague as a Governor, a person I like, a person I admire, a person I earnestly hope you will elect to the United States Senate, Joe Brennan.

I got to thinking on the way up here that the people of Maine are as independent as the people of my home State of Arkansas are, and they're bound to think they have enough sense to choose their own Senator. And you don't need me to tell you how to vote. But I'll tell you this: I've known Joe Brennan for years and years. I've talked to him late at night when there were no cameras around, when there was no one to impress, no points to score, years ago when neither one of us could ever have foreseen that we might be standing here today. I know about his love for his children, his love for this State, his profound belief in education. I know how hard he has worked all of his life to uphold the highest standards in public service. I know and I can see it in his eyes tonight, bone weary from all this campaigning in this tight race, he still burns with a passion to serve you. And he will serve you well if you will give him a chance to do that.

And the third reason I came here tonight also relates to Joe, and that is to tell you that we're really very fortunate in this election we're going to have tomorrow, on Tuesday, because it's an election of enormous consequence with a very clear choice. And you really have to decide on the big choice. It's more important than the people involved and far more important than the political parties involved.

Once a generation or so, our country goes through such a period of profound change that we are powerless to stop the changes. And the only issue is whether we will respond to the changes in the appropriate way. Will we take advantage of this moment in history, to be able

to live in a way that will make us more prosperous, that will make us feel our lives have greater meaning because we'll be able to live more closely to the values we all say we believe in, that will enable us to move forward together?

You know, there are a lot of people here, I take it, from the University of Maine since you're not very far away. Let me just say to all of you, you know this, but the world you are about to enter is changing more rapidly in terms of the way people work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world than perhaps at any time certainly in modern history. It's been at least 100 years when we moved, basically, from farm to factory and from the country to the city, when America changed this much. And on top of that, we're not only moving to an economy suffused with technology in every way, we're becoming more and more involved in the rest of the world. And all of our patterns are being changed and a lot of challenges are out there.

I ran for President 4 years ago because I wanted to create opportunity for every American in this new world; because I wanted every American to be a responsible citizen in this new world and I didn't think we had to tolerate continually rising rates of crime and social division and family and community background, I thought we could do something about it; and because I wanted to see us come together instead of being divided as an American community. That is still the challenge today. That is the bridge I seek to build to the 21st century, one we can all walk across together.

But the great choice before you here tonight is very clear. It may be muddied up with the ads and the charges and all that, but I'm telling you, you can see from what has happened in Washington in the last 2 years, from the budget they passed that I vetoed that Governor Brennan's opponent supported, what the issue is. The issue is whether you believe that we're better off on our own or whether you believe we are better off if we work together to create the conditions and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives—not a guarantee but a chance to live up, every one of you, to your God-given potential. That's what I believe. That's what I believe.

And I just want to say a couple of things about it. First of all, it's not like you don't have any evidence. When I brought this approach to Washington and I said, "I'm tired of all that political rhetoric and all that name-calling and liberal-this, conservative-that, Democrat, Republican," I said, "I'm tired of pointing fingers. I want us to work together to make this country a better place. And I'll work with anybody who will work with me." And I couldn't get a single, solitary soul on the other side to help us with our economic plan. They said, "Oh, it will bring the economy down." Well, now we know. Four years later we have 10.7 million new jobs and we have the lowest average inflation in 30 years, the lowest average unemployment in 20 years, the biggest drop in income inequality in 27 years in America. We're moving in the right direction, folks. Our approach is right, and they were not when they didn't support it.

I said we can lower the crime rate if we put 100,000 police on our street. We don't have to tolerate the crime rate going up year-in and year-out. We can mobilize citizens to work with the police officers and work in neighborhoods block by block. We even arranged to get 50,000 phones out there, cell phones for neighborhood watch groups to work with these police. I said we can do this. And they ridiculed me. They said, "Oh, you'll never put those police on the street." They must have believed it because they tried to stop me from doing it two or 3 times. But now we know. We've had 4 years of declining crime, the lowest crime rate in America in 10 years. If we do it for 4 more years everybody in America might start to feel safe again, and that would be a good thing for the children of this country.

I said I believe we can move people from welfare to work and still be good to their children. And we have reduced the welfare rolls by nearly 2 million and increased child support collections by almost 50 percent, $4 billion a year, and given a tax credit for people who will adopt a child, which is a very good thing to do—$5,000. I hope more children will find homes as a result of it.

And all this was different. But every step of the way it was more partisan than it should have been because they said no. And then they won the Congress in 1994, and we saw what they wanted to do.

Do you believe you're better off on your own, and is it all right if we're apart? Or do you believe we should help each other and grow and go forward together? That's what that budget fight was all about.

They said they were even going to give people like me a big tax cut though I didn't need it. And they were going to pay for it by cutting Medicare by 3 times as much as had to be cut to preserve the Medicare program. They were going to withdraw, after 30 years, the guarantee of the Medicaid program of health care to the elderly in nursing homes. They were even going to get rid of the standards for care in our nursing homes. They were going to withdraw the guarantee of health care to middle class families who have family members with disabilities. They were going to cut education, college loans, and Head Start for the first time in modern history and paralyze our ability to protect the environment.

Now, they said a lot of nice things about it and a lot of bad things about us personally. But that's the fact. That's what they were going to do. They were even going to raise taxes on 8 million of the hardest pressed working people in this country and allow corporate executives to raid their workers' pension funds after all that horrible experience we had in the 1980's. We certainly have learned that we have to protect pension funds. I've worked hard to do that.

And I said no. And then they cut the—shut the Government down. And I said no. So, they shut the Government down again. But because John Baldacci and others stood with me, they were not able to impose that budget on the American people. They said, "Oh, you can't bear to shut the Government down." And I said, "Shut the Government down. I'd rather see us inconvenienced for 30 days than damaged for 30 years." I'm glad we did that. But now you get to decide—you get to decide whether you believe that we'd be better off in Maine and Arkansas and other places in the country being cut loose or whether you think we ought to do some things together.

But let me tell you what this is not. This is not about liberal and conservative. Our administration has the most fiscally conservative record in modern history. We're the first administration to reduce the deficit in all 4 years of our term in the 20th century. It is now 63 percent lower than it was when we took office. Our Government is the smallest it's been since President Kennedy came here to campaign. Our record in abolishing regulations and unnecessary programs and privatizing programs exceeds that of my two Republican predecessors. It's not about conservative or liberal, it's about whether we have an obligation to do some things together.

So you get to decide what we should do together. That's what this election for the Senate is about. Joe Brennan is a friend of mine and he's a good man and he'll serve you well. And I hope he gets elected. But the real reason you ought to vote for him is because it's better for you, your children, your future, the future of Maine, and the future of the United States of America. And you get to decide.

On the budget you've got a clear choice: You can follow our plan with 4 years of evidence and go on and balance the budget, give targeted tax cuts for education, childrearing, health care, and homebuying, and protect Medicare and Medicaid, education, and the environment or you can have this big old tax scheme which sounds good but actually raises taxes on 9 million hard-working people, requires bigger cuts in education than the ones I vetoed, and will blow a hole in the deficit and weaken our economy, but it'll cut us all loose. I say let's go forward together, build that bridge, and balance that budget. Will you help Joe Brennan and me to do that? [*Applause*] Will you do that? Come on, I can't hear you. [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide if we continue our efforts to help our families succeed at home and at work. I have been from corner to corner in this country, and everywhere I go—talking to families of all income levels—I find that the biggest challenge so many people face is how to fulfill their responsibilities at work and then do their most important job, which is to be good parents to their children. The average American working family is spending more hours on the job today than their predecessors were 25 years ago. Most parents work, and most parents have to work. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to design a society in which people can succeed at the most important work of all, being good parents, and also do very well at work. That is important.

That's why I fought for the family and medical leave law. The leaders of the other party fought against it. Now, they said—to be fair to them, they honestly believed it was wrong; Senator Dole believed it was wrong—they said, "It will hurt the economy because we ought to leave people alone and let them do whatever they want to do. And I hope they'll do the right thing." He wasn't mean about it; he hoped they would do it. I said, "If you want people

to be able to do it without getting hurt by their competitors who aren't doing it, you have to set some rules and let us all play by those rules."

Well, now we've got some evidence. Three years later we've got 12 million families who got to take some time off when their babies were born or their family members were sick. We've got record numbers of new businesses, record numbers of exports, and 10.7 million new jobs. Our approach is right; it will make America stronger. And we should expand family leave to help parents take time off to go see their children's teachers twice a year and take their family members to the doctor. Joe Brennan will help. Will you help? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide whether we continue to try to help keep our children safe from drugs and tobacco and gangs and guns. We have tried to put people in every school in America saying drugs are wrong, drugs are illegal, drugs can kill you, with the safe and drug-free school program. They say they are tough on drugs, but they cut the program in half. And I stopped them, and we restored it. But we have more to do.

We were the first administration ever to say to the big tobacco companies, you have to stop marketing your cigarettes illegally to children. And they opposed me. They opposed me. But 3,000 kids a day start smoking; 1,000 will die earlier because of it. I think we did the right thing. We're in the middle of that. You will decide by your votes for the Senate and your vote for President whether you want us to continue the safe and drug-free schools program, the anti-teen-tobacco initiative, the initiatives that we're taking to put more police officers on the street, which they have consistently opposed and which they will have to undermine in their budget. It is your decision.

So this is not about Joe Brennan or Bill Clinton or John Baldacci. It's about what you want for your kids, your families, your communities, and your future. Will you help us on Tuesday to keep going in the right direction? [*Applause*]

And the most important thing of all, the most important thing of all is that everybody understand that even in this great State of Maine—which has the highest percentage of timberland of any State in the country, a State I have vacationed in and traveled across and come to love, a State like mine which still has a lot of agricultural and natural resource income—we will be dominated by technology, by computers, by a global economy, by information. We will decide whether we shape it in a way that helps us to build strong families, good careers, and good futures or whether it shapes us in a way that undermines our hopes and dreams. We will decide. That is why the decision about how we will go about the business of educating the American people is perhaps the most fundamental decision before us in this election. Now, I have offered a program to the American people that will do many things. But I want you to think about three of them because they have particular relevance to Maine.

Number one, 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country still can't read independently by the time they get to the third grade. I have a plan to mobilize a million volunteers, including 100,000 college students we'll pay work-study funds to do it, to teach these children to read. Do you believe we should do that? [*Applause*] Will the students here help us do that? [*Applause*]

Number two, especially important to rural States like Maine and my home State of Arkansas, I have a plan to hook up every classroom and every library and every school in the entire United States of America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. Now, what this means—for all of you older folks like me out there that aren't computer whizzes, let me tell you what that means. It means that for the first time in the history of America kids in the smallest rural districts, kids in the poorest inner-city districts, rich kids, poor kids, middle class kids, city kids, rural kids, suburban kids, for the first time ever they'll all have access to the same information in the same way at the same time. It will revolutionize education in America. Will you help us to do it? [*Applause*] I can't hear you. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

Finally, we must open the doors of college education to all Americans of any age who are willing to go. I want to make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today in the next 4 years. We can do that with no bureaucracy and no program simply by telling the American people they can deduct dollar for dollar from their tax bill the cost of a typical community college tuition for 2 years. I want to let you save in a IRA more than before, but withdraw from that retirement account without any penalty if you're using the money for education, medical emer-

gencies, buying a first-time home. And, finally, I want to give every American family a deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition. It will change the face of America. Now, believe me, that is our program. That is not their program. They cannot do that.

They can't fund our health care initiatives which is in our balanced budget to give families that are unemployed 6 months of insurance when they're between jobs, to give free mammograms to women on Medicare, to give respite care to the nearly 2 million families that are lovingly and courageously caring for family members with Alzheimer's, to add another million kids to the ranks of those with health insurance. They can't do that, either. It's not in their program because they have a "you're on your own" program: bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed, blowing a hole in the deficit, walking away from our common responsibilities.

You don't have to believe they're bad people. I don't like all this negative stuff about a lot of our campaigns. We just have different ideas. You have to decide in Maine whether you believe we are right or they are right. And I'm telling you, you at least have some evidence, because compared to 4 years ago we're in better shape than we were then. But you know we've still got a lot of work to do to create opportunity for all Americans, to build a community in which we're all a part, to have responsible citizens everywhere and every community doing their part.

Will you help us on Tuesday to elect Joe Brennan? [*Applause*] Will you help us on Tuesday to build a bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*] Will Maine lead the way into a bright new era, America's best days? [*Applause*] I need you. I can't hear you. Say it! [*Applause*]

Thank you. God bless you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:42 a.m. at the Bangor airport. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Marshall Frankel of Bangor and State Representative Elizabeth (Libby) Mitchell.

Remarks in Manchester, New Hampshire
November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you.

Audience member. Nice tie! [*Laughter*]

The President. Thank you. I sort of like this tie myself. Thank you. It was given to me just this morning. [*Laughter*]

A couple of weeks ago we were trying to plan how we would end this campaign—I hope I can say this without cracking up. [*Laughter*] And I said I would like to begin the last day of my last campaign in New Hampshire.

Five years and one month ago today I came to New Hampshire saying that the world was changing, America was changing, and that we couldn't stay with the old politics, that our country was being paralyzed by all this name-calling and rhetoric out of Washington, dividing us when we needed to be pulling together, and thinking about all the incredible opportunities as well as the stiff challenges we faced. And I believed that if we changed the nature of politics in our Nation's Capital we could change America and we could come together and move forward, that we could create more opportunity and have more responsibility and we could come together in an American community. That's what I believed.

Four years ago, all over this State, all kinds of people took me on faith. You heard what Dick Swett said, we are better off than we were 4 years ago. We are moving in the right direction because of what he did. And a different kind of tone has overtaken the politics of New Hampshire. I was so happy and proud when I stood here on this stage this morning and I listened to Arnie and Joe and Dick and Jeanne Shaheen talk about what they wanted to do and why they were running and what they represented.

And I heard, I guess it was Joe who said Warren Rudman said that the Democrats had become the moderate party. I think the Democrats have become the modern party as well, the party of the future. America has always

needed—at times of great changes in how we work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world—a modern, moderate party, a commonsense but vital, vigorous, centrist party moving this country forward. That's what you see on this stage.

And I was so proud—I heard Arnie speaking and she reminded me this morning that I first met her in an elevator here before the Democratic Convention in the '92 campaign and she didn't know me, but then no one else did either. [*Laughter*] And I was thinking how far Joe Keefe has come, how greatly he's matured, what a terrific speech he made. And they're going to be terrific Members of the Congress if you'll stick with them tomorrow and help them.

I was thinking that the first time I ever met Jeanne Shaheen I thought she was a diamond waiting to be discovered, that if the people ever really got a good look at her, they would want her to serve in higher office. You have given her that chance, and tomorrow you're going to make her your Governor. And it will be a good time for New Hampshire.

First time I met Dick Swett and Katrina and their children—you have to come to New Hampshire every 9 months if you want to meet all their children. [*Laughter*] I thought—somebody asked me today, "You know, you're the first President in history ever to come to New Hampshire eight times in your term of office." I said, "Well, I've got to keep up with Dick's family." [*Laughter*] I thought to myself, this man is the walking embodiment of family values.

You remember back in '92 we had a toast and roast to raise money for the party, and you all virtually extorted all this money out of those of us who were running for President; you knew we'd show up and say nice things about Dick Swett. He knew that he could do very well in his campaign, raising money with all the candidates, showing up at the toast and roast. I stood up and said that I didn't come here to heap praise on him like all these panderers did who were running against me for President. I came up here to wipe his windshield on his car. [*Laughter*]

I want to say to you that Dick Swett stood for reducing the deficit, reducing the crime rate, for making Congress live under the same laws it imposes on the American people before it was the popular thing to do—before it was the popular thing to do. He would be a positive, uniting force in Congress, not a divisive, rancorous force. He would be a force for generosity, for the better part of the spirit of the people of New Hampshire, for the better part of your future, not a force telling you how bad this person or the other one or the other one is, but a person who would be bringing us together. I'm telling you, that's what we need more than anything in America today. We need to stop the insults and get on the issues and building our future and going forward, and that's what Dick Swett would be.

Now, you know that compared to 4 years ago, in terms of the economy, the lowest crime rate in 10 years, declining welfare rolls, rising child support collection, in almost every way of indicating the character of American life, we are moving forward into the 21st century.

You don't have to take me on faith anymore; you don't have to say, well, that sounds like a good approach. We tried our approach, and they have fought it every step of the way. And you know which one works. And New Hampshire is now a living example of what happens when we work together to help each other make the most of our own lives. And make no mistake about it, that is what is at issue here. With all these big, big issues we fought about—when you hear us talking about the budget or education or the environment, the fundamental core issue is whether there are some things on the edge of this great new century and new millennium we must do together. If we want every American to have a chance to live up to his or her God-given ability, if we want America to be the strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity in the world, if we want America to be a community that's growing together and going forward together, there are some things we must do together.

One thing we have, I hope, dispelled in New Hampshire and throughout America is that this has nothing to do with liberal and conservative. It is our administration that has reduced the deficit 4 years in a row for the first time in the 20th century. The Government is the smallest it's been since John Kennedy came to New Hampshire as the President of the United States. We have reduced more programs and regulations and privatized more Government services than our Republican predecessors. But we believe there are some things we must do together. They say, "You're on your own." We say, "Let's build a bridge to the 21st century

together that we can all walk across together." All of these issues are in that one choice.

And let me say this goes beyond party, too. At every point of great change in the history of this Nation someone has to step up and say we're going to meet this challenge and we're going to go forward together. And when we do we will be living closer to our ideals. It hasn't always been the Democratic Party; Abraham Lincoln gave his life to save the Union and end slavery. Theodore Roosevelt devoted his Presidency to making America change in a way that would help to preserve and enhance our values in the face of the industrial revolution. It was Roosevelt who said it's wrong for these children to be working 70 hours a week in factories when they ought to be in school; that it's wrong to tear up all of our natural resources; it's wrong to let monopolies destroy every small-business person in the country and end the free enterprise system. It hasn't always been the Democratic Party.

But you remember what they did on the other side when they had the majority in Congress. They passed a budget that was divisive, destructive, and would have taken us back to the past. It is now our responsibility to keep on this path that I charted with you in New Hampshire in 1992 because we are the only people who are out there advocating that. That's why we need Arnie Arnesen; that's why we need Joe Keefe; that's why we need Dick Swett; and Jeanne Shaheen in the Governor's office. That's why we need them.

Your vote is going to decide whether you return to the Congress the majority of people who were prepared to shut the Government down unless we agreed to dismantle the Medicaid program, to revoke the national standards—even the standards on the quality of nursing home care—revoke the commitment we've had for 30 years to provide health care to families with members with severe disabilities so they could continue to live middle class lifestyles as they worked hard. Your vote will decide that.

They voted for a budget that cut education—student loans to Head Start—for the first time in modern history, that for the first time in 25 years abandoned our national bipartisan commitment to preserving the environment and instead put shackles on our ability to preserve clean air and clean water. And when we wouldn't accept it, they shut the Government down twice. Now, that was their approach. They said my approach was wrong, but you see what the results are.

You know now what our approach is. You know now what their approach is. The choice is there for you. Are we going to finish the job of balancing the budget while investing in our children and protecting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, or blow a hole in the deficit? Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide whether we will let the family leave law wither on the vine because they oppose it, or expand it and say, you know, you ought to be able to take a little time off from work without losing their jobs to go see your children's teacher twice a year and take your family members to the doctor.

Your vote will decide whether we continue our work of putting 100,000 police on the street. Remember when I was here in Manchester not very long ago, visiting the neighborhood where the crime rate had been lowered because there were more police on the street? They opposed us in putting 100,000 police on the street. Then they said it would never happen. Well, we've now funded about half of them. They voted against it. Then they eliminated it in their budget. Then they tried to shrink it again. They do not believe that we should work together. I can't think of anything more important than to make our children and our families safe on their streets, in their schools, in their homes, in their neighborhoods, reclaiming our streets for law-abiding citizens.

Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide whether we continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program. The only indicator in this country right now, social indicator that's not going in the right direction, with welfare down and crime down and out-of-wedlock pregnancy down for the first time in 20 years and child support collections up and drug use overall down and cocaine use down 30 percent—the only indicator that's not going in the right direction is drug use by young people under 18. I have done my best to dramatically increase the programs at the grassroots level helping people to tell our kids drugs are illegal, drugs are wrong, drugs will kill you. The safe and drug-free schools program is putting people in uniforms before young children at early ages to give them a chance to stay out of trouble in the first place. But they cut the program dramatically. I will expand it. I believe we have a common interest in helping schools all over

America to reach our children at an early age, to support the values we should all be communicating and keeping our kids out of trouble. Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide whether we or they are right when I supported and initiated and they opposed the first effort ever by our National Government to tell the big tobacco companies they had to stop advertising, marketing, and distributing cigarettes illegally to children because 3,000 a day start smoking and 1,000 will die soon because of it. Your vote will decide.

[*At this point, an audience member required medical attention.*]

The President. Yes, we need a doctor here. My medical team's here. We'll be right there.

You will have to decide that. And folks—yes, here they are. You will have to decide that. And I want you, when you walk out of here today, to remember everything that's happened in this country since I first came here in 1992. Remember that and think about it tomorrow when you get up. And think about these four fine people behind me and think about what your responsibilities are. You have a chance to seize the most brilliant future in American history. The best days of this country are still to be lived. But we have to make the right decisions. And you have to make the right decisions.

In what I suppose has become the most famous of my political speeches, I said in Dover, New Hampshire, in 1992 that if you would give me a chance to be President, I would be with you until the last dog dies. Now, folks, there's a lot of life in this old dog. And I want you to seize this day for our children, for our future, for the right sort of policies especially in education. We're going to open the doors of college education to all. We're going to hook up all these classrooms to the Internet. We're going to teach all of our young children to read. We're going to continue to reform health care so that more and more and more Americans can afford it and don't lose it when they're in difficult circumstances. We're going to continue to grow this economy while we balance the budget and protect the environment.

These are the things we can do together. We're going to continue to make our streets safe and our children's future brighter if you will seize the day and help us build that bridge to the 21st century.

God bless you, New Hampshire. Thank you. I'll see you tomorrow. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:55 a.m. outside the Merrimack Restaurant. In his remarks, he referred to Dick Swett, New Hampshire senatorial candidate; Deborah (Arnie) Arnesen and Joseph F. Keefe, candidates for New Hampshire's Second and First Congressional Districts, respectively; Jeanne Shaheen, New Hampshire gubernatorial candidate; and former Senator Warren Rudman.

Remarks in Cleveland, Ohio
November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Are you ready for tomorrow? Will you be there? [*Applause*] Wow! Well, I do not know what the Vice President ate for breakfast this morning—[*laughter*]—but if he'd had two more bites of it he would have blown the roof clear off of this thing.

But he told you the truth. I want to say, here on this last day of this campaign, how profoundly grateful I am and how profoundly grateful I know that Hillary is to have had the partnership we have enjoyed with Al and Tipper Gore. He is clearly the finest Vice President in the history of the United States. I want to say, in ways that you can never know, they have represented our country with honor and distinction and made America a better place.

I thank Mayor White for his leadership of this great city, a city that is moving in the right direction. I thank Senator John Glenn for his campaigning with me all across Ohio and for his campaigning and standing with me in Washington. Thank you, Congressman Lou Stokes, for your great, great leadership for the city of

Cleveland. Thank you, Congressman Sherrod Brown. Thank you, Jane Campbell. I hope you'll help her tomorrow. The State party chair, David Leland, and our U.S. Treasurer, your former treasurer, Mary Ellen Withrow, thank you for coming home to Ohio to help us today.

I, too, want to thank Joe Walsh and the James Gang. It's about time they got back together. And that's what we're about, bringing people back together, and I think we did it today. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Dennis Kucinich and Tom Coyne for running for the Congress, to give it back to you, to the people of Ohio and the people of America. Stand up, guys. Give them a hand. [*Applause*]

Ladies and gentlemen, you've heard all the issues debated. You've heard all of the specifics argued. But you know from what the Vice President has said, you know from your own experience that the choice you make tomorrow for the last President of the 20th century and the first President of a new century and a new millennium is a choice about how we will go forward into the 21st century.

All the young people who are here, I especially thank you for coming because this is about your future. You know what this choice is about. It's about whether we're going to go forward on our own or whether we're going to go forward together. It's about whether we're going to say, "There's a future out there and it's a long way out there and you've got to ford a big river and go down a big, deep valley and climb a high mountain; we sure hope you make it; call or write when you get there"—[*laughter*]—or whether we think we'll do better, all of us, if we work together to give everyone the tools they need, the chance—not a guarantee but a chance—to make the most of our own lives and build that bridge to the 21st century together.

Now, we have talked a lot in this campaign about my responsibilities to create more opportunity, to reinforce responsible conduct among young people and families and communities, to bring us together in an American community. Today I want to talk about your responsibility, for in this great country of ours you are the boss and we are your servants. And our contract is coming due.

It is up to you to decide whether we're going to keep building that bridge to the future or build a bridge to the past; up to you to decide whether we'll be left on our own or whether we'll go forward together; up to you to decide whether all these signs here that say Irish-Americans, Hungarian-Americans, Greek-Americans, the African-Americans, the Hispanic-Americans, the Asian-Americans, the Middle Arab-Americans—all the people that are in this audience, whether we are part of one America going forward together. You must seize the day to say this is our country, this is our future, and we're going to build it together. Will you do that tomorrow? [*Applause*]

You know that 4 years ago when Ohio put us over the top on election night, when they showed that map of America and then the Ohio map started blinking and my heart started palpitating and they said, "Ohio has gone for Clinton and Gore. They have the votes they need to win the White House"—you remember that. You took us on faith then, but now you don't have to. You know whether their approach or our approach works. This State is better off compared to 4 years ago in every way: more jobs, higher incomes, more businesses, a lower crime rate, lower welfare reform—rates. We are moving in the right direction. Do you want to keep going, and will you be there tomorrow to keep it going? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide what kind of future we build. Will you say—will every one of you personally say, "For my children, for their future, for our country, this is my responsibility. And I will seize tomorrow to build America's 21st century bridge"? Will you do it? [*Applause*]

Folks, now let me tell you——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. Wait a minute. We've got a few folks from the other side in the audience, but don't boo them. It only encourages them. Make them welcome. Make them feel welcome. Make them feel welcome. Make them feel welcome. We're not like they are. Even they are part of our America. We're not running anybody off. We're glad to have you here. Make them feel welcome.

And besides, I want to thank Senator Dole for something. He made a great speech for my reelection the other day. You know, we had a report we were at 10½ million new jobs in the last 4 years. And then last week it came out that we had another 210,000 new jobs, for 10.7 million jobs—faster job growth than any Republican administration since the 1920's. And

when that happened, when that happened Senator Dole said we had the worst economy in 20 years. Now, why is that a speech? Because just 2 weeks before, he said we had the worst economy in 100 years. Now, who else do you know who could make up 80 years in 2 weeks? We're moving in the right direction. We're going to the 21st century. We need to bear down and go on. We're going.

I agree with everything the Vice President said except one. The first decision you make is whether we continue our historic efforts in reducing the debt and bringing down interest rates and growing the economy by balancing the budget of the United States in a way that protects our investments in education, the environment, technology, and protects the people on Medicare and Medicaid and gives a targeted tax cut we can afford for education, childrearing, buying a first home, and health care—that's our plan—or whether we'll go back to their plan, the one that led to our veto. Their new version is even worse: a bigger deficit, bigger cuts, and tax increases on 8 million hard-working Americans. You have to decide.

Now, you heard the Vice President say they joined hands and jumped off the cliff together in that last Congress. That's not what they did; they joined hands and tried to push you off the cliff together. But with the help of John Glenn and Lou Stokes and Sherrod Brown, we reached out a lifeline. We said, "You can shut the Government down if you want." They said, "We'll bring the President to his knees. We will shut the Government down." And I said, "I would far rather see the American people hurt for 30 days than hurt for 30 years. You shut her down. You're not going to force that budget down our throat."

But now, folks, I have done all I can do. It's in your corner now, and you must seize the day. You'll decide whether we balance the budget and protect our priorities and invest in our future, or whether we adopt their risky scheme and wreck our economy. You will decide whether they were right or I was right when I signed the family and medical leave law and they, Mr. Dole and Mr. Gingrich, led the fight against it. They said when I signed it, this is a terrible thing, this will hurt the economy. Well, we know now, 12 million people got to take a little time off from work when a baby was born or a family member was sick. We've had record new businesses, record exports, 10.7 million new jobs, incomes going up $1,600 in the last 2 years alone. Family leave made us a stronger economy by helping people be happy at work because they knew their kids were all right at home. We did the right thing, and they were wrong.

So you have to decide. I want to expand it because I think you ought to be able to take a little time off to go see your children's teachers twice a year and take your kids to the doctor. But they don't. Your vote will decide. Will you seize the day tomorrow and help us expand family leave? [*Applause*] Will you seize the day and help us balance the budget? [*Applause*]

Your vote will decide whether we continue to reform health care. There along toward the end of the Congress, finally some of the reforms we had been advocating passed because they knew they were coming home to face you. And so now we can say, finally you can't lose your health insurance just because you change jobs or someone in your family has been sick. Finally insurance companies can't kick mothers and their newborn babies out of the hospital after 24 hours. But in our budget—in our budget, our balanced budget, we give health insurance to another million children, free mammograms to women on Medicare, respite care for the nearly 2 million families that are heroically caring for a family member with Alzheimer's, struggling against all the odds. We do all that and give families who lose their jobs 6 months more of health insurance while they're between jobs. We still balance the budget. They don't, we do. That's why they're screaming. You've got to seize the day and help us reform health care. You've got to seize the day.

You have to decide. We had a huge fight over crime. We had an approach on crime which Senator Glenn and Congressman Stokes and Congressman Brown supported. We said, we can bring the crime rate down if we put more police on the streets, get tougher with repeat offenders, give our kids something to say yes to, and get guns and gangs and drugs off the streets. That's our strategy. We'll work.

We passed a crime bill to put 100,000 police on the street, take assault weapons off the streets, double the funds for safe and drug-free schools so our kids will get the message early that drugs are illegal and wrong and can kill you. And guess what? Four years of declining crime, the lowest crime rate in 10 years. They're still trying to stop us from putting the police

on the street. Will you help us finish the job of putting those 100,000 police on the street? [*Applause*]

Will you say to them with your vote, "You rolled through Ohio and all these States in 1994 telling innocent people who were good, God-fearing Americans that we were going to take their guns away for hunting and sporting purposes. And now we know. After 2 years not a single hunter or sports person in Ohio has lost a gun, but 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers cannot get handguns because of the Brady bill. You were wrong." Will you seize the day and stand up for a safe America? Will you help us finish the job? [*Applause*]

We have worked hard to protect our children with the safe and drug-free schools program, with a V-chip in televisions so that parents can control what their young children see on television, and with the first initiative ever by our National Government to say to the big tobacco companies, "You've got to stop marketing, advertising, and selling cigarettes to kids; it's illegal, and too many of them are going to die because of it." In all three of those initiatives, the safe and drug-free schools initiative, the V-chip, the antitobacco initiative—they're all in process now; none are finished; they can all be reversed—they disagree with us. You have to decide. Will you seize the day for your children's future, their health care, the integrity of their lives, and the fact that every child in this country deserves to grow up in an atmosphere free of drugs and gangs and violence and tobacco? Will you help us do that? Will you? [*Applause*]

We have moved 2 million people nearly from welfare to work over 4 years of hard work. Child support collections are up 50 percent; $4 billion a year is going to children who need it. We passed a $5,000 tax credit to encourage families to adopt children. There are so many of them who need homes out there. Will you help us finish the job on welfare reform? The law says if you're able-bodied, within 2 years you have to turn the welfare check into a paycheck. But you cannot require people to go to work unless there is work for them to have. We have a plan to create another million jobs to move people from welfare to work. Will you help us? Will you seize the day to do that? [*Applause*]

And most important of all, your vote is going to decide what we're going to do as a country about education and whether education will continue to be the great unifying force of opportunity and progress it has always been, or whether we're going to let it drift away into a force that divides us between those who have it and those who do not. Our plan recognizes that too many 8-year-olds in this country still can't read. And I propose to mobilize a million volunteers, including 100,000 college students we pay work-study funds to, to teach every 8-year-old in the country to read independently by the third grade in the year 2000. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

And for the first time, I want to hook up every classroom and library in America to the information superhighway, the Internet, the World Wide Web. That means for the first time in the whole history of America, children in the smallest rural school in Ohio, children in the poorest inner-city district in Ohio will have access in the same way at the same time to the same information as students in the wealthiest districts in America do. It will revolutionize the education of our children. Will you seize the day tomorrow to do that for your children? [*Applause*]

And will you help us open the doors of college education to every single American who is willing to go and work for that opportunity? [*Applause*] Folks, when I became President, we improved the college loan program to lower its cost and say you could pay the money back as a percentage of your income so no young person would ever have to fear running up a big debt and be bankrupted. We just signed the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years. Seventy thousand young people earned their way to college through service in the community in the AmeriCorps program. And they fought us on AmeriCorps; they fought us on college loans; they fought us on Head Start. Now, their program for the future is, abolish the Department of Education.

Audience members. Boo-o-o!

The President. Think of it. Think of it. We would go into the 21st century as the only country in the world with no one sitting at the table of the head of state, no one at the President's Cabinet to speak up for the education of our children. My program is, let's make 2 years of education after high school as universal in 4 years as a high school diploma is today. Let's give every American—let every American deduct from their tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition, and we'll

get that done. Let every American deduct up to $10,000 a year for the cost of any college tuition, undergraduate or graduate, no matter what the age of the student. Will you help us do that? Will you seize the opportunity tomorrow to do that? [*Applause*]

Now, this election is about more than personalities and more than parties, it is about the future of America. And you have to decide. You have to decide whether in the end it will be an election of your hopes or your fears, whether it will be an election that will bring us closer together or drive us further apart. I have done everything I could. The responsibility now shifts to you, my fellow Americans. It is your country, your children, your future.

I thank you for giving me the chance to serve. I ask you to think tonight before you go to bed about what you want this great country to look like. We are better off than we were 4 years ago. When we cross the bridge into the 21st century, if we stay on this course, we'll be better off still. And we will do it together. Look at your children; think of your future. Seize the day to keep your country moving in the right direction.

Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. in the Convocation Center at Cleveland State University. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael R. White of Cleveland; Jane Campbell, Ohio State representative; musician Joe Walsh; and Dennis Kucinich and Thomas J. Coyne, Jr., candidates for Ohio's 10th and 19th Congressional Districts, respectively.

Remarks in Lexington, Kentucky
November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you.

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Hello, Kentucky! Thank you very much. Thank you. Mayor Miller, Governor Patton, Senator Ford, Lieutenant Governor Henry, Mayor Abramson, Chairman Babbage, and Steve Beshear——

[*At this point, there was a disturbance in the audience.*]

The President. Let me ask you—wait, wait, folks. If you pay attention to him, you're just rewarding him. So why don't we make a deal and we'll ignore him. I have a totally different attitude about this than a lot of people do. I always welcome people from the opposition to our rallies, because unlike them, my America includes everybody who's willing to work hard. And I'm always glad to see them.

I'm always even willing to sort of be quiet and let them talk, but they never want to stop, because what they really want is to stop me from talking and you from hearing. And if I was running against the record we've established and the ideas for the future, and I had to carry that budget I vetoed around on my back the way they do, maybe I'd be trying to shout my opponents down, too, but I hope not. I hope not.

So we've had enough smear and smear and smear, and why don't we just take a few minutes on this beautiful, beautiful fall night in Kentucky to think about our future. And if we get interrupted, let's just keep thinking about our future.

I want to thank all the young people who came here tonight, especially, because the election is more about you than anyone else. I want to thank all the entertainers who came: Kevin Cronin, the Central Kentucky Youth Orchestra, Carol and Vanessa Det, Black Voices, and the marching bands of Harrison County, Nicholson County, Mercer County, and Lafayette County. Thank you very much. Thank you, Ashley Judd, for coming. Thank you. Now, Coach Pitino, we're both defending our titles, and maybe I'll see you in the White House again next year.

Let me say on this beautiful day, what is really at stake here, clearly, beyond any doubt, is what this country will look like when we cross that bridge just 4 years from now into a new century and a new millennium. And all of you who are students here and probably everybody who is in this audience understands that we're going through a huge change in how we work and live, how we relate to each other and the

rest of the world. And the real issue here is whether we're going to make a decision to do things together that will help each other have a chance to make the most of our own lives, live up to our God-given capacities, and build together stronger families and communities and States and nations or whether we're better off being told that we're on our own.

Now, all these issues have been debated to death, I guess, so let me just give you some personal examples out of my life. A couple of nights ago I was in Denver, Colorado, and we had a rally like this—it wasn't as big; it was at night and in a little—in an inside place—but I was going along the row like this, shaking hands. Here's what happened to me in about 5 minutes. In each case, I want you to listen and see if you identify with it.

I met a young woman who was a victim of domestic violence who thanked me for setting up the violence against women section at the Justice Department and working to stop violence against women and children and setting up that hotline.

I met a man who was doing ground-breaking research against Parkinson's disease who got a research grant because of an initiative of our administration. And he had fire in his eyes when he said, "We are going to cure this disease; we're going to whip it; we're going to get to the point where we have 100 percent cure rate."

And then I met a man who told me that he and his wife had just adopted a young child, and because of the family and medical leave law she was home with the child, getting the child accustomed to being in a new environment and they were not going to lose her job and her income because of it, because of the family and medical leave law.

And then I met three women who were breast cancer survivors who thanked me for fighting hard for the research funding in the budgets of the last 4 years that include more women and more research. We've uncovered two of the genes that cause breast cancer, and we may well be able not only to cure it but prevent it in the next few years.

And then—just walking down the line now—and then I met a young person who went back to school on the AmeriCorps program after serving in his community and then got some money to pay his way to college.

And then I met a young woman who was a police officer in a smaller Colorado town, thanking me for our police program that Wendell Ford voted for to put 100,000 more police on the streets of America because they were getting 5 more.

And then I met a young man who told me that he was a dropout and had given up on his life, but he heard me talking about the importance of going back to school. He found out about the changes that we've made in the student loan program and what we were trying to do, and he said, "I got one of those new loans and now I'm going back to school and I'm going to get a degree in microbiology. I didn't just get in, I got in in a big way," he said.

Now, that's just one ropeline. Every issue I talk to you about, every single one, my opponent and the leaders of the other party opposed us on the initiatives which made those things possible—every single one. That is what is at stake here. When I said we ought to pass a crime bill that puts 100,000 police on the street, they said, "It won't do any good, and you'll never do it." Then when they passed their budget, they must have been worried about us doing it because they tried to stop me from doing it. But we've only funded about half those police officers. It's a 5-year program; you will decide whether we finish the job.

Now, here are the facts. The crime rate has gone down 4 years in a row. We have a 10-year low in American crime. If we bring it down for 8 years in a row we might make our streets, our schools, our neighborhoods safe for all of America's children. I believe we're right and they're wrong. But you have to decide.

You have to decide so many of these issues. But if you strip them all away, you look at what is really at stake: What is it that we should be doing together to help each other make the most of our own lives? Now, we have had some time to see whether this approach works or not. Compared to 4 years ago, we have 10.7 million more jobs, record numbers of new small businesses, incomes are going up again, the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years.

I met a woman—we were just in Cleveland, Hillary and I were—I met a woman who was crying and had a picture of her house because she had been able to buy a house because we have a 15-year high in homeownership, which is what happens if you drive the deficit down 63 percent and get those interest rates down.

So the country is moving in the right direction. And the real question before you is, what do you want it to look like 4 years from now? This is the last day of my last campaign. I will never seek office again unless I go home and run for the school board someday. [*Laughter*] This election is about your future. It's about what America will look like when your children are your age. And I tell you, we are on the verge of the greatest age of possibility in human history. The young people in this audience will have more chances to live out their dreams than any generation has ever had. There are many of you in this audience who before long will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many of you will be doing jobs that have not even been imagined yet.

When I became President, there were 3 million people working in their homes. Today, there are 12 million. Four years from now there will be 40 million people. That's just one example. Things are changing so fast that we're building a supercomputer with IBM that will do more calculations in a second than you can do on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. Things are changing.

We have differences on the budget. We have differences on crime. We have differences on the environment. I believe we can preserve the environment and grow the economy, and I don't think we can grow the economy over the long run unless we do preserve the environment. It's an honest difference of opinion.

We have differences on issues like Medicare and Medicaid. The Medicaid program for 30 years has allowed families to maintain a middle class lifestyle, even if a member of their family was severely disabled, because people could work and still get some help for medical care for their loved ones. It's enabled people to go into nursing homes in their later years, and it has national standards of quality care. It's enabled poor children to get good care from the moment they're born. They wanted to take away that 30-year guarantee. I thought it was wrong. You can decide. I think that's one of the things we ought to do together.

But the most important issue before you is your education and the education of those who will come behind. Because in a world that is changing as it is, if you really want all the American people to have a chance to go into that future together, we've got to guarantee all our children world-class education. I want that to be the lasting legacy of this administration.

And I ask you to think of this. There are still 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in America who cannot read a book on their own. But I have a plan to mobilize one million volunteers to go out to the parents and the teachers of this country and help teach those kids to read. We got 200,000 more work-study slots out of this last budget for college students; I want 100,000 of them to go to young people who say, "Send me. I will go. I will teach the children to read." Will you help? Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

You heard Wendell Ford talking about my dream that within 4 years every classroom and library and every school in America can be hooked up to the information superhighway. Think what it would mean if the children in the most remote Appalachian schools and the children in the biggest, poorest urban school districts were, together with the students in the richest, middle class, suburban, urban, rural school districts all over America—the first time ever, all these kids got access to the same information in the same way at the same time. That would revolutionize learning in America. It would explode the potential of our children. Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

The last thing I want to say is, I am very proud that we've reformed the student loan program to make it less costly and to let people pay their loans back as a percentage of their incomes so no young person need fear going broke when you borrow money to go to college. I'm proud that 70,000 young people are in AmeriCorps, I'm proud that we got the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years, but we must do more. I want to open the doors of college to all Americans, and if you give me 4 more years, that's exactly what I intend to do.

Now, I want to make 2 years of college after high school as universal as a diploma in high school is today, and we can do that simply by saying, you can deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition. I want to open the doors to all 4-year colleges and to graduate school by saying you can deduct from your tax bill up to $10,000 of tax deduction for the college tuition at any college and university in the United States today. Will you help us do that? Will you? [*Applause*]

Folks, let me say, in our politics today there is too little discussion of these issues and too much finger-pointing and insulting. In the end, when you're like me and you come to the end of more than 20 years of endeavor, I have to tell you something. I want to say this for our friends on the other side, too. Most of the people I've known in over 20 years of public life in both parties, people with different—who have disagreed with me, people who ran against me for office, most of the people I've known loved our country, worked hard, and were honest people. We just have honest differences of opinion.

Today, I still feel that way. But you must also understand the honest differences of opinion. And you are now the judges in that court of public opinion. These differences are being brought to you. Are we going to say, "You're on your own," or are we going to build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across? Is our education program going to be abolishing the Department of Education or opening the doors of college to every single American who wants to go?

These are the decisions for you to make. This is a very great country. Its best days are still ahead. You can make sure that the 21st century is a time of unparalleled opportunity for all Americans, and you can do it only if you decide that we have to work together without regard to race, region, religion, or income. We've got to work together. We've got to be able to say to one another, "If you are willing to show up tomorrow and say you believe in this country and its timeless values, you're ready to show up for work or school and do your part, we don't need to know anything else about you. You are part of our America, and we're going to build the greatest country the world has ever seen in the 21st century." Will you help us do it?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you be there tomorrow?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. Will you elect Steve Beshear to the Senate?

Audience members. Yes!

The President. We need you. Thank you, and God bless you all. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:15 p.m. at the University of Kentucky. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Pam Miller of Lexington; Gov. Paul E. Patton and Lt. Gov. Steve Henry of Kentucky; Mayor Jerry E. Abramson of Louisville; Bob Babbage, chair, Kentucky Democratic Party; Steve Beshear, Kentucky senatorial candidate; actress Ashley Judd; and Rick Pitino, University of Kentucky men's basketball coach.

Remarks in Cedar Rapids, Iowa

November 4, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. Iowa, are you ready to build that bridge to the 21st century tomorrow? [*Applause*]

Let me begin by thanking those who have joined us to entertain us tonight and to keep our spirits high: the Iowa City High School Marching Band, the All-City Flag and Drum Corps, the Coe College Concert Band. Thank you all very much. Thank you.

I want to thank those people who are here, too numerous to name, who have been so important to me, to Hillary, to our administration and our efforts. I want to commend to you our candidates for Congress back here. I've gotten to know them. I was together with them in Indianola not very long ago. I believe that Leonard Boswell and Donna Smith and Bob Rush will do a good job for you, and I hope you will help them to win tomorrow as well.

You know, I have had two incredibly memorable experiences in Cedar Rapids, and they reflect a lot of what I have tried to do as President. Not very long ago I was here to dedicate the National Czech and Slovak Museum. And I brought with me, as you remember, the President of the Czech Republic and the President of Slovakia. And we had a wonderful day here—a little cold, but we had a great day. [*Laughter*] And we celebrated this mystery that is America, that we can meld together people from different ethnic groups and different religions and dif-

ferent races and different tribes and different views and still hold our country together and grow stronger.

And as we look around the world at the heartbreak of Bosnia; at the continuing heartbreak in Northern Ireland, where my people are still fighting over what happened 300 or 600 years ago; at the heartbreak of the Holy Land in the Middle East, the home of the world's three great monotheistic religions; as we look on our television news now at the heartbreak of these hundreds of thousands of refugees driven out of their refugee camps because people are still fighting tribal wars, even though no one has enough to get along on and if they'd work together it would be so much better—I thought to myself that cold day in Cedar Rapids, how fortunate we are that we live under a Constitution and a system where all of us are created equal, accorded equal status, and given the chance to live up to our God-given abilities. And I will always remember Cedar Rapids for that.

The other thing I remember is a rally I had here in 1992 at the Quaker Oats factory. I met a remarkable woman in that factory who had led the work of the people there in recycling paper and promoting a clean environment while growing the economy. I met a child with an unusual physical problem, abnormality from birth, who was otherwise a beautiful child. And it was before I became President. I looked at that child, and I saw how much that child's mother loved him. And I picked him and held him, and I said to myself, if I win this race for President, I will never rest until we have done everything we can in medical research to make as many people in America whole as possible. It is a part of our common obligation.

And then I remember seeing a woman, whom I later got to know quite well—she may be here tonight—a white woman holding an African-American baby. And it was interesting because we were being demonstrated against, kind of like you're being treated to at the last of this campaign. There were people holding signs on both sides of the abortion issue, and they were shouting at one another. And this woman was just standing there quietly in the crowd, holding this child of another race. And I said, "Where did you get this baby?" And she said, "This is my baby. This baby was born HIV-positive, and no one would take this child in Florida, so I adopted this child. I'm doing the very best I can." She was already raising another couple of kids on her own. And she said, "I don't mind those people having that debate back there, but if we're really going to be pro-life and pro-child, I wish they'd all come along with me and adopt some of these kids. We need to build a better life."

And not very long ago I had the honor of signing the minimum wage bill, which Senator Harkin talked about, which also did some wonderful things for small business—made it easier for small-business people to take out pensions on themselves and their employees and for the employees to take the pension from job to job, and made it easier for self-employed people to buy their own health insurance and gave them more tax relief for doing it. But that bill had another little-known provision which I'm particularly proud of. And on the day I signed that bill I thought of that woman holding that child, because that bill gives a $5,000 tax credit to Americans who will adopt children who need a home.

Now, I say that to make this point: To me that is what our public service is all about. To me that is what our public life is all about. And I think it is amazing that in so many elections in the 11th hour, with an avalanche of funds and emotions, people can be asked to suspend their convictions about issue after issue after issue after issue, based on a concerted attempt to convince the voters that somehow their opponent is some sort of an alien to their values.

And I wanted to be in Iowa on the last night of my last campaign in my entire life—I wanted to be in Iowa because, first of all, because it's a tight race and I want to carry the State—I mean, let's be honest—[*laughter*]—but also because this State is a place where I always feel at home, and I always have from the very first day I crossed the border and came here, and because I always felt that a people who had brought in enough crops and seen enough droughts and seen enough floods—you know, after that flood you all had before, you had everything but a plague of locusts visited on you there—[*laughter*]—that had seen all of life's ups and downs, all the rational and irrational things that can happen to you, and still were bound together and working together and producing the kind of schools Iowa is producing, producing the kind of economy Iowa was producing—I always felt that here you could talk

sense to people and people could look at you in the eye and tell whether you were worth supporting and worth believing in. And I always love coming here.

And I want to say to you tonight, I would not presume to tell anyone in Iowa for whom to vote in any other race. I went home to Arkansas to campaign with some of my friends on Saturday, and there was a big article in the paper. It said, "President's visit mixed blessing," and then it had every single time a President had come to Arkansas to try to get people to vote for somebody, and they had always voted for the other person. So I told the people, I said, "This is no surprise to me. You didn't let me tell you who to vote for when I was just a Governor." [*Laughter*]

So I wouldn't say that. But I want you to know three things I know about Tom Harkin and about Ruth and their family. And you make up your own mind about what you're going to do with that information between now and tomorrow, in terms of whether you could go home tonight and still call somebody and change a vote. You know, when you leave tonight, most people won't be in bed, even in Iowa. [*Laughter*] Most people are not going to be in bed. You could still do some good tonight, and I want you to think about it.

The first thing I want you to know is this, I spent a lot of time with Tom and Ruth Harkin when nobody else was looking, when there were no cameras around, no reporters around, no speech to give, no one to impress, no gain from anything. They are good people. They love their children, they love their country, and they love this State.

And I want to say, I understand—I don't normally get involved in local advertising campaigns, but I understand that Senator Harkin's opponent has actually run an ad against Ruth. They got that—you know, they started on Hillary, and now they're down to the Senate spouses. [*Laughter*] I wish they'd just pick on us. But anyway, saying that Ruth Harkin really wasn't qualified for the job I gave her; she only got it because she was Tom's wife. If you believe that, I've got some land way out in the ocean I'd like to sell you. [*Laughter*]

Let me tell you something, folks, one thing I knew I had to do for you is to deliver on the economy. I knew that. And I made up my mind I was going to do some things that had never been done before. I was not going to appoint just someone who was a politician who had supported me at the Department of Commerce, I was going to appoint somebody I though would be good. I was not going to appoint someone that I thought would be a good political appointment but someone who could really produce in the trade office. I was going to appoint somebody who was not just a political appointment but someone who had actually created small businesses at the Small Business Administration. And at Ruth Harkin's job, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, I was going to appoint somebody I thought could help create jobs in America by getting opportunities for us overseas.

Now, I know what that ad says, but let me tell you, like so many of their ads against us, they have a huge problem with something called the evidence—the evidence—the evidence. [*Laughter*] She, Ruth Harkin, in spite of the fact that she's married to Tom, has the finest record of achievement of any person who has ever held that position in the Federal Government of the United States of America. And there are more Americans working, more businesses profiting and our economy is stronger because I appointed her. And I'm glad I did, and I'd do it again tomorrow.

Now, I'll tell you something else. I'm for Tom Harkin because he'll fight. I know; I've been on the other side of a fight with him, you know, once before. [*Laughter*] He'll fight. And if he's for you and he believes it's right and he thinks that Iowa needs something, if he has to stand all by himself in a whirlwind, he will stand right there until he is blown away. He will not walk away from you and from our country.

The other night we were on the campaign plane, you know, and you practically get silly, you're so tired, on these campaign planes. You can just imagine how it is, you know, how exhausted you get. And your conversation wanders off into all kinds of things; it's amazing. And this was before we scheduled to come here tonight. And we were having a talk about politicians and people in public office and who they were and how they were and everything. And somebody looked at me and said, "If you were in a desperate situation with enemies closing in on all sides and you were all by yourself and you had to pick one person who would stand there and fight with you to the very end, who would you pick?" And I did not miss a

breath; I said, "Tom Harkin of Iowa. Tom Harkin of Iowa."

You need to think a long time in Iowa before you trade in a man that gave you the Americans with Disabilities Act, a man that has fought for medical research, a man that has fought for education, a man that has fought for farmers, a man that has fought for this country. You need to think a long time before you trade in someone like that for a person who marched to the beat of the Speaker Gingrich's army in 1995 and threatened to send this country back after all the progress we've made.

The second thing I want to say is, Tom Harkin fought for us when it counted. When the Republicans won the Congress in 1994 with their contract on America—how many times has Mr. Lightfoot talked about the contract on America in this campaign? How many times have they told you what a wonderful thing it was and how they pushed it? How many times have they bragged on cutting Head Start and cutting college loans and paralyzing our ability to implement environmental protection? How many times have they bragged on stripping a 30-year guarantee of quality medical care through the Medicaid programs to middle class families who have family members with disabilities, to elderly people in nursing homes, to getting rid of the quality standards—even the standards—of guaranteed quality in our nursing homes, to taking the quality of care, the guarantee of care away from newborn babies just because they're poor? Have they talked about that very much in this campaign?

Audience members. No-o-o!

The President. I'm telling you, I see it all over America. They're praying for amnesia on your part. [*Laughter*]

Vice President Gore—who incidentally is jealous that he's not here tonight and I am—he told a story today in Cleveland that we used to tell each other in Arkansas and I'd forgotten. But it's a good story, and you'll appreciate it in Iowa.

He said there was a politician out on the country road running for office, and he came upon a farmer who was sitting up on his porch. There was an old dog laying out there in the yard. He said, "Sir, I'd like to come ask you for your vote. Will your dog bite?" He said, "No." So the guy hiked over the fence, went up, shook hands with the farmer. And just as he was asking for the vote, the dog got up and ran up and bit him right in the rear. So he ran back and got in his car and rolled the window down and said, "I thought you said your dog wouldn't bite." He said, "That ain't my dog, son." [*Laughter*]

Now, that's what they want you to think about that budget that I vetoed. But it is their dog. It is their dog. And I thought it was a mangy old dog, and that's why I vetoed it, because I did not want to see our country divided.

And then they shut the Government down; not once but twice they shut it down and said, "You will take these $270 billion in Medicare cuts and our attempt to split Medicare apart." You know, we have—American senior citizens have the lowest poverty rate ever recorded in history now and the highest life expectancy of any group of seniors in the world in part because of Medicare. We have to reform it, but I'm not going to wreck it. That's a high class problem, having people living longer and well. I'm proud of that achievement. Every American should be proud of it.

And they said, "We're going to make you take it, or we'll shut the Government down." And I looked around and I counted how many people were going to be on that field with me, because the President's veto is no good unless somebody will stand with him. And Tom Harkin was first in line. And what we told them was, "Go on and shut the Government down. We'd rather see the American people hurt for 30 days than 30 years, and we will not go along. We will not go along. We will not go along."

But the third thing I want to say to you is, notwithstanding their attempts to sort of distract and divert the American people and divide us here, this country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago, and we need to keep going until we build that bridge to the 21st century. This is a happy time. This is a great time for America.

Of all the countries in the world, we've had the best growth for the last 4 years. We have the lowest deficit. If you take the big seven economies, we have created by far more jobs in America than all the other countries put together, 10.7 million more than we had 4 years ago. We're moving in the right direction. We need to bear down and go on. Farm exports at an all-time high; we've opened new markets for all kinds of things. And I'm telling you, we are moving in the right direction. And the most important thing is when you vote for President

tomorrow, when you vote for Senator tomorrow, when you vote for Congress tomorrow, you have to ask yourself, "We're going into this new century; things are changing. What do I want my country to look like, and what do those guys or those women have to do about it?"

Now for years, since I have been your President, I take a little time every day to ask and answer this question, what do I want my country to look like when we enter the 21st century? What do I want my country to look like when our daughter is our age? And for me it's pretty simple. I want the American dream to be alive and well for everybody responsible enough to work for it. I want America to lead the world indefinitely for peace and freedom and prosperity. And I want us to beat the odds when the rest of this old world is being torn apart by their differences; I want us to relish and respect our diversity and say, we share the same values and we're going forward together. That's what I want America to look like.

Now, your vote will determine whether that happens in Iowa. Your vote will determine whether we keep on going and balance the budget with a targeted tax cut we can afford for education and childrearing and buying a first-time home and dealing with medical costs and not charging people taxes when they sell their home. We can pay for that one and still protect Medicare and Medicaid, invest in education and the environment and technology and the future of these young people; or their plan, which is a big old scheme, sounds great at election time: a bigger deficit, higher interest rates, bigger cuts than the ones I vetoed when they shut the Government down. And they're still trying to raise taxes, as Tom said, on those 8 million working families making modest incomes. Your vote will decide.

I think you know which vote will build a bridge to the 21st century. Will you seize the opportunity tomorrow to help us do it? Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. Let me ask you this. You heard Tom Harkin talking about the crime bill. One of the most troubling things in America has been the high rates of violence among our people, especially among our young people. Now we have 4 years of declining crime, a 10-year low in the crime rate. We're halfway through implementing that crime bill Tom Harkin voted for in 1994 to put 100,000 police on the street. They were against it. Then they killed it in the budget I vetoed. Then they tried to stop it all over again. Now, why in the wide world they would oppose something that we are doing together that is working is beyond me. But they are.

So if you want to finish the job and you want 8 years of declining crime and you want our children to be able to grow up on streets and in neighborhoods and be in schools that are truly safe, you've got to help us by helping us to build a bridge with Tom Harkin, with these candidates for Congress, with Bill Clinton and Al Gore for safer streets and a brighter tomorrow.

If you want——

Audience members. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Let me say, Tom Harkin talked a little about health care, and so did Hillary. I'd like to brag on them both, but you'd be here till dawn if I did that. We have made a beginning on health care reform, but here is another choice. I want you to think about it.

Their budget will do nothing to advance the cause of health reform. Our budget—balanced budget—adds another million children to the ranks of those with health insurance, children of lower income working people, gives free mammograms to Medicare women, free mammograms. Our budget says to people who are between jobs, if you lose your job and your income, we'll help your family keep health insurance for 6 months. Our budget says we'll help families with respite care, the nearly 2 million American families that are courageously caring for family members with Alzheimer's. And our budget says, we're going to spend another billion dollars on medical research over and above what they will, because we have uncovered two genes that cause breast cancer. We have determined a cure—a treatment for the first time for strokes. We have seen for the first time movement in the lower limbs of laboratory animals whose spines have been completely severed because of nerve transplants from the legs to the spine.

We are moving to break down the barriers of knowledge, and we are going to keep going until we have reformed the health care system in a way that makes it work for all Americans. And your vote will decide. Your vote will decide.

Your vote will decide. Your vote will decide, most important of all in shaping the 21st century, what we do about education. We know what their program is. Their program is fewer Head Start positions, cut student loans, and eliminate the Department of Education. That's their big deal, eliminate the Department of Education. They say it's a big bureaucracy. Two percent is bureaucracy; 98 cents is money we're pumping to your schools, your colleges, and your students. I say we don't want to eliminate the Department of Education.

I want to do three things. I want to make sure, first of all, that every 8-year-old in this country can read a book independently by the third grade; 40 percent can't now. We're going to mobilize an army of a million people to go out and work with teachers and parents to do that. A hundred thousand of them will be college students who are going to get new work-study slots because of the work that Tom Harkin and this administration did in the Congress this year.

I want every classroom in Iowa and every classroom in America to be hooked up not only with computers but computers that are linked through the Internet, through the World Wide Web, through the information superhighway. What it means is that people in the smallest school in Iowa, people in the most remote school district in Alaska, people in the poorest inner-city school district for the first time in history will have access along with all other wealthy, middle class, and poor districts, urban, suburban, and rural districts, all of them together for the first time in the history of America will have access to the same learning in the same way at the same time. Will you help us do that? Will you go out for Tom Harkin tomorrow to do that? Will you help us? [*Applause*]

And finally, let me say to all these young people here, one thing we know is that education will no longer be the province of people who are 18 and under. We know now that nearly everybody needs to go much further. We know now that most people will have to learn for a lifetime. We know now that the young people in this audience today, many of them within a few years will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet, and some of you will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet. And therefore, we must open the doors of college education to every single citizen of this country who is willing to work for it. It is time.

Let me say to all of you, I am proud that we kept our commitment in 1992 to set up a national service program, AmeriCorps, that has allowed 70,000 young people to serve their communities and go to college. I am proud that we had the biggest increase in Pell grants in 20 years. And I am proud that we have increased work-study grants by 200,000 and that we reformed the student loan program so people can now borrow money at lower cost and pay it back as a percentage of their income, so no one ever need fear going broke by borrowing the money to go to college. I'm proud of that, but we must do more. We must do more.

And if you give us a chance to serve tomorrow, we're going to do two things. Number one, we're going to say people ought to be able to take off their tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of a typical community college tuition so we can make 2 years of education after high school as universal as a high school diploma is today by the year 2000. Number two, more Iowa families ought to be able to save in an individual retirement account and withdraw from it without any penalty if they're using the money for a college education or health care or homebuying. And thirdly, everybody ought to be able to have a tax deduction of up to $10,000 a year for the cost of college tuition, undergraduate or graduate. Will you help us do that tomorrow? Will you help make that part of our bridge? [*Applause*] I can't hear you. Will you do it? [*Applause*]

Now, let me say I am very grateful to you for the votes that you gave to me and to Al Gore 4 years ago. I know how hotly contested this State has been. I know that the State is more or less evenly divided and that there are a lot of people who are independents who will vote either way. But I say to you, this is not an election for party; this is an election for country and for people. Remember the stories of the people from Iowa I told you at the beginning of my remarks. Every day for 4 years, I have gotten up and gone into that Oval Office and tried to do something that would help to create more opportunity, to insist upon more responsibility, and to bring us closer together in an American community.

We are better off than we were 4 years ago. We have a better plan for the future. Our best

days are still ahead. And the fundamental choice that underlies all these issue differences is as crystal clear as can be. We believe that we're better off when we work together to help each other make the most of our own lives. They believe you're on your own. They believe it's okay to say, "There's a future out there. It will be pretty exciting if you get there, and I hope you do." I believe every single one of us are better off if we roll up our sleeves and join hands and build that bridge to the 21st century together. We need you tomorrow. Go call someone! Go ask someone to vote! Go do your work tonight; we'll see you tomorrow!

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:10 p.m. at the Five Seasons Center. In his remarks, he referred to Leonard Boswell, Donna Smith, and Bob Rush, candidates for Iowa's Third, Second, and First Congressional Districts, respectively; President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic; and President Michal Kovac of Slovakia. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks in Sioux Falls, South Dakota

November 4, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, I didn't expect to see so many of you here this late at night. Senator and Mrs. Daschle; Senator-to-be and Mrs. Johnson; Congressman-to-be and Mrs. Weiland. And I want us to give a real good hand here to Rick Weiland and his fine wife. They've done a great job out there campaigning, give them a hand. [*Applause*] Pam Nelson, thank you for your candidacy. Give Pam Nelson a hand. Stand up, Pam. She needs your help tomorrow. [*Applause*] I want to thank CeCe Peniston for singing so beautifully; the Bill Gibson Orchestra. Thank you, South Dakota State University Marching Band. You were fabulous.

Now, you know, if the rest of us can maintain that level of energy till the polls close tomorrow night, we're going to be just fine, and this is great. We're going to be fine. Thank you.

And I want to thank my longtime friend who was with me 4 years ago on this night under similar circumstances. He's going to bring us good luck again, Jerry Jeff Walker and his band. Thank you for being here. God bless you, friend.

You know, folks, I appreciate what Tom Daschle said in thanking us for our lavish attention to South Dakota and all that. It's not complicated. I like it here. I like coming here. I enjoy being here. I feel at home here. I feel this is a place where people still know their neighbors and where they care about what happens to their neighbors and where they understand, in the best sense, as Hillary often says, it does take a village for us to raise our children and build our future.

This is the last election of the 20th century for President, the first election of the 21st century, an election occurring against a background of almost breathtaking, unimaginable changes in technology and science, in the way we are simply organized to work and live and relate to each other and the rest of the world. The young people here in this audience today, in a few years many will be doing jobs that have not been invented yet. Many will be doing jobs that have not been imagined yet.

One little piece of evidence about how much the world is changing: When I became President there were 3 million Americans who were living and working in their homes, making a living. That was 4 years ago. Today, there are 12 million Americans doing that because of technology, and 4 years from now there will be 30 million Americans doing that.

We just signed a contract, the United States did, with IBM to develop a supercomputer that will do more calculations in one second than you can do at home tonight on your hand-held calculator in 30,000 years. That is an example of what is happening.

I say that to make this point: This is an election of enormous consequence, not because of Tim Johnson or Bill Clinton but because of the sweeping changes going on in our country. And

the great question is, how shall we respond to those changes?

There's been a lot of back and forth in this campaign that I think is, unfortunately, a by-product of much of modern politics, a lot of negative stuff. My experience has been that most people in public life in both parties are good, honest, hard-working people who give their lives to their country and love their country. In this case we just have different views. And you should be happy about that because in an election of great consequence there ought to be a clear choice and you ought to have some way of measuring whether the choice you're making is right. And I would argue to the people of South Dakota—I know that there are more registered Republicans than Democrats here; I know there are a lot of registered independents here. This vote tomorrow should be the first vote of the 21st century. It ought to be a vote about people and progress and hopes and dreams. Party is not nearly as important tomorrow as reaching out for our dreams and our deepest hopes for our children, and that is what I am asking.

Now, you know, maybe some of you have noticed this, but I am now speaking at the last rally of the last campaign I will ever run. And I'm honored to share it with you. It's hard for me to believe that this January it will be 23 years ago when, as a young 27-year-old man, I asked the people of my rural hill country congressional district in Arkansas to send me to Congress. They said no, by the way. [*Laughter*]

And everybody thought I was washed up. Then I got to be my State's attorney general and Governor, and then in the Reagan landslide of 1980 they said no again. [*Laughter*] By the time I was 34 years old, I had already been defeated twice. I was in Ripley's already. I was the youngest ex-Governor in the history of America. [*Laughter*] But the people of my home State were good to me. We learned a lot together, and we did a lot together. And 4 years ago you gave me the chance to be President.

The American people 4 years ago took us on faith when I said that I hated what had happened in politics in Washington; it was too much hot air, too many insults, not enough issues, not enough results, not enough people reaching across the partisan divide and working together in a new and different time to try and build a new politics for America. I said that if you elected me, I would follow a vigorous and disciplined approach: more opportunity for everybody, more responsibility from everybody, and an American community in which everyone who works hard and is responsible has a place at the table and a role to play. We have done that for 4 years, and you don't have to guess anymore.

Our friends on the other side, they honestly believe that we're better off when we're on our own. I think we're better off when we work together to give each other not a guarantee but a chance to make the most of our own lives and our families and our future. And you don't have to guess anymore.

This economy is stronger than it was 4 years ago. The deficit has gone down by 63 percent and there are 10.7 million more jobs and the lowest rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. Something that's always been important to hard working families in this part of our country is that everybody who works hard ought to have a fair share. We've had the biggest decline in inequality of incomes among working people in 27 years, the biggest drop in child poverty in 30 years, the lowest rate of poverty among seniors in America ever recorded since we've been keeping statistics. We are moving in the right direction to the 21st century. We are.

And in our country as a whole the crime rate has gone down to a 10-year low. The welfare rolls have dropped by nearly 2 million. Child support collections, by the way, are up by about 50 percent. And more children are getting what they are entitled to. Our economy is in better shape than it was 4 years ago, but so is our environment. We've taken millions of tons of pollutants out of the atmosphere, raised the standards for safe drinking water and the purity of food. And I might add, we've done that with the support of the agricultural community. We've cleaned up more toxic waste dumps in 3 years than our opponents did in 12.

So we're moving in the right direction. And you have this clear choice. They say all these terrible things they say about all of us, you know, but it obscures the fact that we're moving in the right direction, that we have now 4 years of evidence that "you're on your own" is not nearly as good as "we're working together to build a bridge to the 21st century we can all walk across." And that's what this is about.

Now, there is another very important piece of evidence here, and that is when our friends

in the other party were in power and were given the power to enact their Contract With America—by the way, how many times has Congressman Johnson's opponent mentioned that contract in this election? But anyway, they did it, and it wasn't just the House under Newt Gingrich. It was the Senate under Senator Dole. They did it together. And they passed their version of what they thought America's future ought to be. They did it all by themselves. They told us they didn't want our help, they didn't want our votes, and they weren't interested in our input. They wanted to do it, and they wanted to show America what they wanted to do.

And we saw. We saw. They passed a budget which cut 3 times as much from Medicare as was necessary to save the Trust Fund and divided the program so that the oldest, the poorest, and the most ill of our seniors ran the risk of being put in a second-class program at a time when it wasn't necessary and at a time when we know it's wrong. We've got the lowest poverty rate we ever had among seniors. And in America, if you live to be 65, you have the highest life expectancy of any group of seniors in the world. That's a high-class problem. Why would they mess that up? That's what they tried to do.

They also took the Medicaid program, which has for 30 years provided a guarantee of health care to poor women and infant children, to middle class families with family members with disabilities so they could take care of their family members and still work and maintain their middle class lifestyle, to a lot of our seniors in nursing homes and standards for those nursing homes and they got rid of all that. And they cut education funding from Head Start to college loans for the first time in modern history, abolished the Department of Education, abolished the program to put 100,000 police on our street, which has played a critical role in bringing the crime rate down, and paralyzed environmental enforcement and cut it back by 25 to 30 percent. That's what they did. They also—oh, by the way—raised taxes on 9 million of our hardest pressed working families and gave companies the authority to raid their workers' pension funds. We went through that in the 1980's. In 1994, Tom Daschle and Tim Johnson and I passed a worker protection pension act to protect the pensions of 40 million retired and still working people, and they wanted to turn around and undo that. That's what they did.

Now, along toward the end of this last Congress they adopted our program. They said, "Oh, we've got to go face the voters. We'll give the President what he wants." And they hope you have this case of collective amnesia. [*Laughter*] The Vice President told a story today in Cleveland when we were together—I had forgotten this story; we used to tell it at home all the time—but it captures what they're trying to get you to think about their budget.

It's a story about a politician who's out in the country, and he sees a farmer. He's running for office, and the farmer is sitting up on his porch rocking, and he says, "I'm going to go talk to this farmer," but there's a big old dog in the yard that's ferocious looking. So he says, "Sir, I'd like to come visit with you, but does your dog bite?" He said, "No." So he hikes over the fence, goes over on the porch, shakes hands with the farmer and tells him he's running for the legislature and would like to have his vote. And the dog runs up and bites him right in the rear. [*Laughter*] And he runs back and jumps in his car and rolls the window down and said, "I thought you said your dog didn't bite." He said, "Son, that ain't my dog." [*Laughter*]

And let me tell you something, folks, that budget that I vetoed, it is their dog, and it was a mangy old dog, and that's why I vetoed that dog. And everybody—and I'll tell you, if you reward them, everybody—oh, I can see it all now in the columns the next day—well, that budget wasn't so unpopular after all. You have to decide.

They said, "Well, the Democrats—Tom Daschle, Tim Johnson, people like that—they love the Government so much they'll never let us shut it down, and we'll just make the President cave. We'll put them all on their knees. If they don't take our budget and let us shove it to the American people, we'll just shut the Government down, and we'll show them who's boss."

And they did it, and we didn't cave. And they did it again, and we didn't cave. And what I finally told them was, I said, "Look, I hate to see the American people inconvenienced for 30 or 40 days, but that is nothing to seeing the American people hurt, divided, and set back for 30 or 40 years. Shut her down. We are

not going to cave." Thank you, Tim Johnson, for staying there. Thank you.

Now, let me give you an idea of what the practical impact of that was on you. I was in Denver the other night and we had a nice little indoor rally like this—I think you got more folks here tonight. But they were really great, though. We had a great rally, and after the rally I did what I always do: I started at one end, went to the other end, just shook hands with everybody I could reach. And while I was moving in a space about like this, I met the following people: I met a young woman who started crying who thanked me for the work we were doing in trying to combat domestic violence and violence against women. She was obviously a victim. That was in the crime bill that they opposed. So if they had had their way, it wouldn't be law.

Then I met a young woman in a police uniform from a smaller community in Colorado thanking me for the five new police officers that her community had, and she was going to feel safer on the street and the kids were going to be safer in her community. That was in the crime bill, and that was in the budget that they tried to do away with. All those police officers, they wouldn't have been there.

Then I met a young man who had dropped out of college and went back when we changed the college loan program so you could borrow a lot of money and then pay it back as a percentage of your income so young people would never be bankrupted by borrowing the money to go to college. They did away with that, too. They tried to kill it, and they did away with that.

Then I met a man who told me that he and his wife had just adopted a 2-month-old baby, and his wife was able to go home and make that child more comfortable in their new circumstances without losing her job because of the family and medical leave law. And they led the fight against that. This happens to me all the time.

Then I met a young woman who was going to college because she'd worked in AmeriCorps, the national service program, serving her community, and earned the money to go to college. Seventy thousand young people have done that. They are solving problems and helping people all across America, and they did away with that in the budget.

Now, those are just people that I just ran into in a line just like this in South Dakota. This has huge consequences for America. Now, I know that in Congressman Johnson's race there's a lot of talk about clout. And that's an interesting concept, clout. [*Laughter*] It looks to me like you'd have a lot of clout if Tom Daschle were the majority leader of the Senate. You would have a lot of clout because everybody in the entire United States Congress, in both parties, who knows him respects Tim Johnson as one of the most hard-working, effective, intelligent, persistent Members of Congress in the entire country.

And you'd have a lot of clout because the President likes Congressman Johnson and listens to him. And when he says, "Mr. President, you're wrong; you shouldn't do this. This, this is what's in the best interest of the people of South Dakota," I would be highly likely to listen to Tim Johnson if he said this.

So it makes a difference. You know, the title is not enough. There's a difference. You have to draw these distinctions. It reminds me of my other favorite dog story. [*Laughter*] You know about—this guy is going down the highway, and he sees this sign that says, "George Jones, Veterinarian/Taxidermist. Either way you get your dog back." [*Laughter*]

It makes a difference. Tim Johnson will have good clout. He'll be very, very good, and he won't be using a committee chairmanship to saddle the American people or the people of South Dakota with the kind of budget that I had to veto that would have divided this country and set us back. He'll be building a bridge to the future.

So you ought to go to the polls tomorrow happy and upbeat and feeling good about your country. You ought to go to the polls tomorrow with absolutely no doubt in your mind that the best days of America lie ahead. But you should be heavily aware of the responsibility you and all Americans bear to seize this opportunity to say, if we're going to meet the challenges we face, if we're going to seize the opportunities we have, we have to do this together. There are some things we must do together. I talked about that supercomputer. The richest person in this audience tonight cannot afford to build that.

Every American who won a Nobel Prize this year in physics and chemistry started with a public research grant. The Internet, which is

going to be the salvation of so many people in rural areas, allowing them access to things they would never have otherwise, started as a Government research project. It's now in the private sector where it belongs, but I just announced another investment of $100 million to modernize and expand it because when we all get on we don't want it to break down. We want it to take us out to the rest of the world.

Now, we have to do some things together. So your vote is going to decide whether we go on and balance this budget, have a targeted tax cut for education, childrearing, health care, and homebuying that we can afford in a balanced budget, protect Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment; or whether we go back and replay what happened before with their big, risky tax scheme that still raises taxes on the hardest pressed working people, will require bigger cuts in those things than the ones I vetoed, will blow a hole in the deficit, and violates every fiscal principle that I know that the people of South Dakota, Republican, Democrat, or independent, all believe in. You have to decide. Let's go on and balance the budget and build that bridge to the 21st century. You will have to decide. You have to decide.

You have to decide whether we're going to finish the work of the crime bill and put a whole 100,000 police on the street; whether we're going to continue to support the safe and drug-free schools program which we have doubled so that more people will be out there telling these young people drugs are wrong, illegal, they can kill you. This is not the time to turn back on that problem. There's still too many kids out there raising themselves. They need a strong hand and guidance, and I want to give it to them. We dare not cut back on that program and walk away from it. You have to decide.

I say let's keep bringing the crime rate down. In 4 more years we might actually feel safe in this country again if we can do it. You have to decide.

You have to decide whether you really believe, not just something to cheer about on the eve of an election but whether deep inside you believe that America will never be what it ought to be until we give all of our children and all of our adults now access to world-class educational opportunities with high standards, accountability, technology, and all the benefits that the best schools have. You have to decide.

Let me just give you an example. I want to do three things. Number one, you know 40 percent of the 8-year-olds in this country still can't read a book on their own. A lot of them come from places where their first language is not English. That will be cold comfort to them when they can't learn later on because they didn't learn to read when they were young. We have a plan to mobilize a million volunteers. We have 100,000 more work-study slots that we'll make available to college students if they'll teach 8-year-olds to read. I want to go into the schools and work with the parents so that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in this country can pick up a book and say, "I can read this all by myself." Will you help me do that? Will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

The second thing I want to do—we had an event about this in South Dakota not very long ago. I think the Vice President was here. We are working hard to connect every classroom and every library in every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2000. And here's what it means. It means that children in every American tribe in America, children in the poorest rural school districts, children in the most remote districts in Alaska, children in the biggest—poor inner-city school districts in our biggest cities; children in urban, suburban, and rural districts; rich, poor, middle class—for the first time in the history of America, because of these connections we can make available the same learning from all over the world at the same level of quality in the same time to all of our children. It will revolutionize education. Will you help us build that bridge to the 21st century? [*Applause*]

And finally, when you look at these college students, let me say that we must—we must—open the doors of college to all Americans. And we can do this, number one, by making 2 years of college as universal as a high school diploma is today. In 4 years we can do it by simply saying you can deduct from your tax bill, dollar for dollar, the cost of the typical community college tuition. All you have to do is go and make your grades and do your business.

Number two, I want to make it possible for more people to save in an individual retirement account, but withdraw from it tax-free if the money is used for education or homebuying or health care.

And finally, something that would help virtually every person in that band up there. I

think the people ought to be able to deduct up to $10,000 per year for the cost of tuition at any college or university in any place in the United States. Now, will you help us do that? [*Applause*]

But again, I say, all these issues, all these divisions, they're not a matter of party. Every time we go through a period of big change, we are given an opportunity not only to increase our prosperity, not only to make our lives more interesting but to build stronger families and stronger communities and to live closer to our values. That is what this election is about.

This is the last speech of my last campaign. If you came up to me and said, "What have you learned in 23 years that never changes?" I would say, when people look into their hearts and they ask, "What is the right thing for my children and for my family and for America's future," when they set aside their prejudices and embrace people of different racial and religious and ethnic groups who share their values of work and family and belief in the Constitution, when they roll up their sleeves and work together, America always wins.

This is the greatest country in human history because we have created a system in which you are the boss. Tomorrow you will be the boss, and you will go in there, and you will be asked, will we renew President Clinton's contract? You will be asked—you're going to be asked, should we hire Tim Johnson to be our Senator? Should we hire Rick Weiland to be our Congressman? Should we hire Pam Nelson to be our corporation commissioner? You're going to be asked these questions. But the real question is, are we going to do it together? That's what I've learned. I have learned that when we are divided, when we look down on each other, when we look for what these politicians call wedge issues to divide each other, to win a campaign because we get people in a lather so there's more heat than light in our debates and discussions, we always get hurt.

But when we join hands and run our country the way you try to run your families, your churches, your farms, your factories, your businesses, your communities, your charities, when we do that, we always win. There is no person living in this country today who knows that better than I do. There is no person living in this country today who has been given more gifts, who feels more humble on this night than I do. Fifty years ago, when I was born in a summer storm to a widowed mother in a little town in Arkansas, it was unthinkable that I might have ever become President. I'd like for you to believe I did it because I always worked 60 or 70 hours a week, I had an understanding and supportive and wonderful family, and I just did it. But it isn't true. I did it because at every step along the way for 23 years and long before, there was a Sunday school teacher, a teacher in school, a doctor, the guy running the Red Roof in my hometown who always stopped and talked to me and tried to give me encouragement when I was despondent, over and over and over. We just need to run our country the way we want to run our lives. That is what I have learned in 23 years, and that is what I ask you to vote for tomorrow as we build our bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 p.m. in the Sioux Falls Arena and Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Linda Daschle, wife of Senator Tom Daschle; Tim Johnson, South Dakota senatorial candidate, and his wife, Barb; Pam Nelson, candidate for public utilities commission; singer CeCe Peniston; and musician Jerry Jeff Walker.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on Iraq's Compliance With United Nations Security Council Resolutions

November 4, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Consistent with the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1) and as part of my effort to keep the Congress fully informed, I am reporting on the status of efforts to obtain Iraqi compliance

with the resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council. This report covers the period from September 5 to the present.

Saddam Hussein's attack on Irbil in late August and his continuing efforts to manipulate local rivalries in northern Iraq to his advantage, provide new evidence that he remains a threat to his own people, to his neighbors, and to the peace of the region. As I detailed in my last report, the United States responded to Saddam's military action in the north by expanding the Southern no-fly zone from 32 degrees to 33 degrees north latitude. The U.S. response included strikes against surface-to-air missile sites, command and control centers, and air defense control facilities south of the 33rd parallel in order to help ensure the safety of our forces enforcing the expanded no-fly zone.

Since my last report, we have further strengthened the U.S. presence in the region in order to deter Saddam. In September, we deployed two heavy battalions of the Third Brigade of the First Cavalry, one Patriot battery and eight F–117 stealth fighter aircraft to Kuwait. We also deployed 23 advanced F–16 aircraft to Bahrain and one Patriot battery to Saudi Arabia. These forces were sent to the area, in addition to the forces that were already deployed to the region, as a tangible deterrent to any Iraqi aggression. In early September, the USS Enterprise Carrier Battle Group was deployed to the Gulf, joining the USS Carl Vinson Carrier Battle Group already there; the USS Carl Vinson Battle Group redeployed from the Gulf on October 8.

The no-fly zones over northern Iraq (Operation Provide Comfort) and southern Iraq (Southern Watch) continue to be enforced by U.S. and coalition forces. The Turkish parliament must consider renewal of Operation Provide Comfort before the end of December.

We issued strong warnings to Iraq on September 6 and 16, via our UN mission in New York, not to challenge our aircraft enforcing the extended no-fly zone or to restore damaged Iraqi air defenses. Saddam appears to have backed away from his earlier violent rhetoric. We will continue to monitor Iraqi action carefully and are well-positioned to respond to any future challenges.

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 949, adopted in October 1994, demands that Iraq not threaten its neighbors or UN operations in Iraq and that it not redeploy or enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq. In view of Saddam's reinforced record of unreliability, it is prudent to retain a significant U.S. force presence in the region in order to maintain the capability to respond rapidly to possible Iraqi aggression or threats against its neighbors.

The situation in northern Iraq remains volatile. This Administration has continued efforts to bring about and maintain a cease-fire and reconciliation between the two major Kurdish groups involved in that fighting, including maintaining an active dialogue with both. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Robert Pelletreau met with Massoud Barzani, the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), in Turkey on September 18 and October 21. Assistant Secretary Pelletreau also met with Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) leader Jalal Talabani on October 22, and follow-on meetings with representatives of the KDP and the PUK took place on October 30 and 31 in Ankara. In these and other high-level meetings, this Administration has consistently warned both groups that internecine warfare in the north can only work to the advantage of Saddam Hussein.

In response to the increased uncertainty in northern Iraq, we temporarily withdrew the United States Government presence (the office of Foreign Disaster Assistance and the Military Coordination Center). In September and October, with the assistance of Turkey, we conducted a humanitarian evacuation of approximately 2,700 residents of northern Iraq whose lives were directly threatened by the Iraqi regime because of close ties to the United States Government or the Iraqi opposition. The first 2,100 of these individuals, evacuated in mid-September under Operation Quick Transit, were employees of United States Government agencies with offices in northern Iraq and their families. A second group of approximately 600 Iraqi opposition members was evacuated October 19–21. All of the evacuees are being processed on Guam under the U.S. refugee resettlement program.

We remain concerned about the safety of local employees of U.S.-funded and U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations that remain in northern Iraq. We have sought and received assurances from the KDP and PUK about their safety. We are keeping their security situation under active review and are continuing to con-

sider all options to ensure the safety of these employees and their families.

The United States, working through the United Nations and humanitarian relief organizations, continues to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of northern Iraq. Security conditions in northern Iraq remain tenuous at best, with Iranian and PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) activity adding to the ever-present threat from Baghdad. We see no role for Iran in the area and continue to advise all concerned not to involve themselves with Tehran.

We also continue to support the United Nations Secretary General's decision, in light of the changed circumstances on the ground, to review carefully the procedures for implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 986, which provides that Iraq may sell a certain amount of oil in order that they may use part of the proceeds to purchase food, medicine and other materials and supplies for essential civilian needs and that allocates proceeds to be used to fund vital UN activities regarding Iraq. We want to see the resolution implemented, as written and intended, in a way that ensures that humanitarian supplies to be purchased under the auspices of UNSCR 986 will actually be received by the people who need them.

On October 9, United Nations Undersecretary Gharekhan reported to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) that the Government of Iraq is now seeking to negotiate aspects of the plan to implement UNSCR 986 related to the number of monitors and restrictions on the movement of UN personnel within Iraq. This action to renegotiate the plan—a plan that was agreed to by the Iraqis and that was memorialized in a Memorandum of Understanding between the Iraqis and the United Nations on May 20—is likely to delay implementation of UNSCR 986 even further.

The Government of Iraq has, since my last report, continued to flout its obligations under a number of Security Council resolutions in other ways. Under the terms of the Gulf War cease-fire with Iraq—outlined in UNSCR 687—Iraq must grant the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) inspectors immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any location in Iraq they wish to examine and access to any Iraqi official whom they wish to interview, so that UNSCOM may fully discharge its mandate. Iraq continues, as it has for the past 5 years, to fail to live up either to the letter or the spirit of this commitment.

UNSCOM Executive Chairman Rolf Ekeus briefed the UNSC on his most recent, semiannual report on October 17. The Chairman's report outlined in comprehensive detail Iraq's past and ongoing efforts to conceal evidence of its Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) programs and otherwise obstruct the work of the Commission. As long as Saddam refuses to cooperate fully with UN weapons inspectors, UNSCOM will be impeded in its efforts to fulfill its mandate to ensure that Iraq's WMD program has been eliminated. We will continue to fully support the mandate and the efforts of the Special Commission to obtain Iraqi compliance with all relevant UN resolutions. We will not consider any modification of UNSC resolutions.

On October 1, implementation of the export/import monitoring mechanism approved by the Security Council in Resolution 1051 started. Resolution 1051 approved a mechanism to monitor Iraq's undertaking to reacquire proscribed weapons capabilities; it requires that countries provide timely notification of the export to Iraq of dual-use items.

Iraq also continues to stall and obfuscate rather than work in good faith toward accounting for the hundreds of Kuwaitis and third-country nationals who disappeared at the hands of Iraqi authorities during the occupation or toward the return of all of the Kuwaiti military equipment stolen during the occupation, as well as priceless Kuwaiti cultural and historical artifacts looted on instructions from Baghdad. Additionally, Iraq continues to provide refuge for known terrorists.

Iraq's repression of its Shi'a population continues with policies aimed at destroying the Marsh Arabs' way of life in southern Iraq as well as the ecology of the southern marshes. The human rights situation throughout Iraq remains unchanged. Saddam Hussein shows no signs of complying with UNSCR 688, which demands that Iraq cease the repression of its own people.

The Multinational Interception Force (MIF) continues to enforce the sanctions regime against Iraq. In September and the first half of October, four north-bound and five south-bound vessels were diverted to various ports in the Gulf for sanctions violations. Several of these vessels contained illegal cargo hidden beneath humanitarian shipments and over 3 million gal-

lons of illegally exported Iraqi petroleum products were intercepted.

The expeditious acceptance of these recent sanctions-violating vessels by Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates greatly contributed to our strong deterrent posture and provides further evidence that the MIF is a valuable resource in sanctions enforcement.

We continue to meet one of our key foreign policy objectives by maintaining the multinational composition of the MIF. New Zealand recently sent a ship back to operate with the MIF; the United Kingdom maintains a nearly continuous presence with our forces in the northern Gulf; and we are hopeful that in early 1997, Canada, Belgium, and The Netherlands will all send ships to rejoin the MIF. We are continuing our efforts to engage the international community in maritime sanctions enforcement.

Most of the ships engaged in sanctions violations during this period were flagged in the United Arab Emirates. At our urging, the Government of the United Arab Emirates recently announced stricter penalties for sanctions violators. We remain hopeful that these actions will discourage operations from the United Arab Emirates that violate UN sanctions against Iraq.

Iran continues to contribute to sanctions violations by allowing vessels leaving Iraq to transit territorial waters in order to avoid the MIF in the northern Gulf. We have presented evidence of Iranian complicity in sanctions violations to the UN Sanctions Committee and have urged the Committee to formally denounce these actions.

Our policy with respect to sanctions enforcement remains firm; sanctions continue to send a clear message to the Government of Iraq and those who would defy UN resolutions for profit that there will be no modification or relaxation of sanctions until Iraq has fully established its peaceful intentions by complying with all UNSC resolutions.

The United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC), established pursuant to UNSCR 687, continues to resolve claims against Iraq arising from Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The UNCC has issued over 980,000 awards worth approximately $4.0 billion. The UNCC has authorized only limited payments for fixed awards for serious personal injury or death because Iraq refuses to comply with all relevant UN Security Council resolutions, and UN economic sanctions remain in force.

Currently, the UNCC faces a serious financial crisis in funding awards and daily operations. If Iraq eventually sells the full amount of oil authorized under the provisions of UNSCR 986, the proceeds of the sale will be transferred to the UN escrow account opened for that purpose, with 30 percent allocated to the Compensation Fund to finance awards and operations of the UNCC.

To conclude, Iraq remains a serious threat to regional peace and stability. I remain determined to see Iraq comply fully with all of its obligations under UN Security Council resolutions.

My Administration will continue to oppose any relaxation of sanctions until Iraq demonstrates its peaceful intentions through such compliance.

I appreciate the support of the Congress for our efforts and will continue to keep the Congress informed about this important matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 5.

Statement on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's Heart Surgery

November 5, 1996

President Yeltsin underwent heart bypass surgery today in Moscow. On behalf of the American people, I want to convey our very best wishes for his full and speedy recovery. Our

thoughts are also with Mrs. Yeltsin and the Yeltsin family.

We are pleased to see the reports that the surgery was a success. I have spoken with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, who confirmed that the operation went well, and who expressed gratitude for the assistance provided to the Russian doctors by Dr. DeBakey and his team.

Over the last 4 years, the United States and Russia have taken important steps to build a safer, more peaceful world. We look forward to continuing the close work between our two countries as we lay the foundation for a bright new century.

Remarks at a Victory Celebration in Little Rock, Arkansas
November 5, 1996

My fellow Americans, thank you for being here. Just 4 years from now we will enter a new century of great challenge and unlimited possibility. Now, we've got a bridge to build, and I'm ready if you are.

Today the American people have spoken. They have affirmed our course. They have told us to go forward. America has told every one of us, Democrats, Republicans, and independents, loud and clear: It is time to put politics aside, join together, and get the job done for America's future. In the last 4 years we've made remarkable progress, but in our schools, our families, our workplaces, and our communities, our journey is not done. My fellow Americans, we have work to do, and that's what this election was all about.

I want to say to all of you here and to all of the American people, no words can convey the gratitude I feel tonight for the honor that has been given to me. It is an honor that belongs to many: first to my family, to my wonderful wife of 21 years, who from the day I first met her began teaching me that it does take a village to raise our children and build our future; to our daughter, Chelsea, for understanding the work we have done together, the burdens it has imposed. Today I went down to the train station to vote in the last election in which I will appear on the ballot. And as I have done in every year since she was born, I took Chelsea to the ballot with me. And as we looked at the ballot together and discussed the issues there, I thanked God that I was born an American.

I thank the members of my wonderful family who are here, my stepfather Dick Kelley, my wonderful mother-in-law, Dorothy Rodham, and all the others. And I thank my beloved mother who is smiling up there and said, "I never had a doubt, I always knew it would be this way."

I thank the friends of my lifetime. There are people who have stood with me through thick and thin, who started with me in grade school, in junior and senior high school, in college, and all across the years since, friends who knew me and knew my dreams and stood as a powerful force against those who sought to stop America's progress with the politics of personal destruction. Thank you, my friends. Thank you for what you did for America.

I thank the people of my beloved native State. I would not be anywhere else in the world tonight. In front of this wonderful old capitol that has seen so much of my own life and our State's history, I thank you for staying with me so long, for never giving up, for always knowing that we could do better.

I thank the finest Vice President this country has ever seen. Because of Al Gore, we have a stronger and more secure relationship with a democratic Russia; we are exploring the wonders of new technologies for the benefit of America; we are protecting our environment; and we have reinvented America's Government so that it does more with less, thanks to his leadership. It is a legacy unique in the history of this Republic.

I thank Tipper for her friendship, for her crusades on behalf of our children and the mental health of the American people, and for always standing with us, along with her children and her family.

I thank the members of our administration, the Cabinet members, the members of the White House staff. I thank all those who are

part of the permanent service to the President at the White House, the medical staff. I thank especially my Secret Service detail that has been so challenged by a President determined not to be isolated from the American people.

I thank the members of our campaign staff, all those who have served in this election and the work you have done. I thank the leaders of our party in the Congress, in the statehouses. I thank all those who stood for what we believe in in these elections today, those who won and those who did not. You did a service to America by raising the things in which we believe. And I thank you all and wish you Godspeed.

I want to thank the employees of the Nation's Government. They have had to do a remarkable job. We have reduced the size of our Government to its smallest point since President Kennedy served, and yet they have continued to serve the people better year-in and year-out. They had to do it in the face of enormous challenges and outright hatred for momentary periods. They have had to live with the horror of Oklahoma City and the difficulties that came along the way. But the people who serve us deserve our thanks, and I thank them.

I thank those who served this administration and our cause who are no longer here tonight. And one especially I must thank, my friend and brother Ron Brown. You're looking down on us, and I know you're smiling, too.

On a purely personal note, I must thank my pastor, Rex Horne, who prayed with me before I came out here tonight, and all the ministers and people of God who prayed for me and with me over these last 4 years. There were a few especially, and they know who they are, who came to the White House time after time, in good times and bad. When the times were bad, they reminded me that God gave Saint Paul a thorn in his flesh so he would not become exalted in his own eyes. And that certainly was not a problem for me in the bad times. [*Laughter*] When the times were good, they reminded me that humility is always in order in the Presidency, for in this life we see through a glass darkly, and we cannot know the whole truth of our circumstances or the motives of those who oppose us. I thank them all for bringing me closer to God and to the eternal wisdom without which a President cannot serve.

I would like to say a special word of thanks to Senator Dole, and I ask you to join me in applause for his lifetime of service to the United States. [*Applause*]

And I thank Jack Kemp for his service to America and his devotion to the proposition that this is a country in which everyone should have a chance to live free and equal and to have a chance at success.

Let me say, I had a good visit with Senator Dole not too long before he went out to speak. I thanked him for his love of our country, for his years of service. I applauded the campaign that he fought so bravely to the very last minute. I thanked him for the work we did together to advance the common cause of America. And on behalf of all Americans, I wish him well and Godspeed.

Four years ago, on these very steps, we set forth on a journey to change the course of America for the better, to keep the American dream alive for everyone willing to work for it, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity, to come together as one American community. The time was one of widespread frustration and doubt about our economic and social problems, about our ability to deal with the vast sweep of change that was all around us. The scope and pace of those changes were threatening to many, and our values seemed to be under attack on all sides. But together, you and I vowed to turn our country around, with a strategy to meet our challenges and protect our values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, an American community of all Americans.

We have worked hard to end the politics of who's to blame and instead to ask, what are we going to do to make America better? Tonight we proclaim that the vital American center is alive and well. It is the common ground on which we have made our progress. Today our economy is stronger, our streets are safer, our environment is cleaner, the world is more secure, and thank God, our Nation is more united.

To all the men and women across this country who have created our jobs, taught our children, patrolled our streets, and kept America safe throughout our world, I say America's success is your success; this victory is your victory. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

Now, my fellow Americans, a vast new century lies before us. It will be a time more full of opportunity for people to live out their dreams than any in human history. We have committed this night to continuing our journey,

to doing the hard work that will build our bridge to the 21st century, to give the young people here and those all across America the America they deserve and their children and their children's children.

But we have work to do. We have work to do to keep our economy growing steady and strong, by balancing the budget while we honor our duties to our families, our parents, and our children, and our duty to pass on to our children the Earth God gave us. We have work to do to give all of our children the gift of an education, to make sure every 8-year-old can read; every 12-year-old can log on to the Internet; and yes, every single 18-year-old in this country willing to work for it can have a college education.

We have work to do to make the permanent under class in this country a thing of the past, to lift our fellow citizens who are poor from the degradation of welfare dependency to the pride and dignity of work. We have work to do to strengthen our families; to help our parents succeed at home and at work; to keep our children safe from harm in their schools, their streets, their homes, and their communities; to clean up our environment so that our children grow up next to parks, not poison; to tell them that drugs are wrong and illegal and they can kill them; to teach them right from wrong.

My fellow Americans, I will do all I can to advance these causes. But all our citizens must do their part to continue the upsurge of personal responsibility that in the last 4 years has brought crime to a 10-year low, child support collections to an all-time high, and reduced the welfare rolls. Will you help me do that? [*Applause*] We must do it together.

We must make our democracy stronger by enacting real, bipartisan campaign finance reform. Talk is no longer enough; we must act and act now. And the American people will be watching the leaders of both parties to see who is willing not just to talk but to act. I am willing to act, and I ask others to join me.

And we must keep America the world's indispensable nation, finishing the unfinished business of the cold war, meeting the new threats to our security through terrorism and the proliferation of dangerous weapons, and seizing these extraordinary opportunities to extend our values of peace and democracy and prosperity.

Every American here tonight and every American within the sound of my voice can take pride in the fact that in these last few years, for the first time in all of human history, a majority of the human beings living on this globe live under democracies where the people rule.

The challenges we face, they're not Democratic or Republican challenges, they're American challenges. What we know from the budget battles of the last 2 years and from the remarkable success of the last few weeks of this Congress is the lesson we have learned for the last 220 years: What we have achieved as Americans of lasting good, we have achieved by working together.

So let me say to the leaders of my Democratic Party and the leaders of the Republican Party, it is time to put country ahead of party. We do not know the final outcome of the congressional elections, but we know this: the races are close; the American people have been closely divided; the Congress, whatever happens, will be closely divided. They are sending us a message: work together, meet our challenges, put aside the politics of division, and build America's community together.

On this beautiful night, when we have shared so much joy and so much music and so much laughter and so much pride, it is hard for me to believe that it was 23 years ago when I first began to go to the people of Arkansas to ask for their support. The most lasting and important thing that I have learned in all those 23 fleeting years is this: When we are divided we defeat ourselves, but when we join our hands and build our families and our communities and our country, America always wins. What we need to do is to do the work of America the way we seek to do the work of raising our children and doing our work and supporting our religious institutions and our community institutions. If we would simply be Americans, the way we seek to live in all of our other roles, there is no stopping America. Our best days are still ahead.

And so I say, when we look into our hearts and simply ask what is right for the American people and the future of our children, when we set aside our differences and build on our shared values of faith and family and work, when we roll up our sleeves and work together, America always wins. And my fellow Americans,

America is going to keep winning these next 4 years.

Let me say that, as all of you here from my native State know, I believe this and I have tried to live by it because there is no person in America who has been given more gifts than I have; there is no person in America tonight who feels more humble in the face of this victory than I do. Fifty years ago, when I was born in a summer storm to a widowed mother in a small town in the southwest part of our State, it was unimaginable that someone like me could have ever become President of the greatest country in human history. It has been, for me, a remarkable journey, not free of failure but full of adventure and wonder and grace. I have worked hard to serve, but I did not get here on my own.

Every step along the way, for these last 23 years and long before, there was a teacher, a doctor, a neighbor, a parent, a friend, a wife, a daughter who always had time to care, who always tried to give me instruction and encouragement, and who never gave up. I got here tonight, my fellow Americans, because America gave me a chance.

That is what all the children of America deserve. Our people have to give them the tools to give them not a guarantee but that real chance to live up to their God-given potential. And I ask you to join me in that commitment. Every child deserves the main chance that I was given.

And so I say, again, let us resolve to run our country the way we try to run our lives. Whether you are the party of Thomas Jefferson or the party of Abraham Lincoln, whether you're an independent or unaffiliated, remember that we all belong to the greatest Nation in history. To us much has been given and much is still expected. We must rise to the challenge of building that bridge to the 21st century.

Tonight is a night for joy not just for us here but for all Americans. For the 53d time in our history our people have made their quiet and deliberate decision. They have come together with their powerful voice and expressed their will. Tonight we celebrate the miracle of America. Tomorrow we greet the dawn and begin our work anew.

I am more grateful than I can say. You have given me an opportunity and a responsibility that comes to few people. I will do my best. And together, we will—we will—build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you. Good night, and God bless America. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 p.m. on the steps of the Old State House.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Prevention of Importation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

November 4, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am writing pursuant to section 229 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997, to inform the Congress that the United States has the capability to prevent the illegal importation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons into the United States and its possessions.

The United States Government has developed and maintains myriad international and domestic programs to prevent the illegal importation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) into the United States. The scope and nature of our approach is essential because at least 20 countries have or may be developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Moreover, terrorist groups have become increasingly capable, often employing lethal, wide-ranging and sophisticated operating methods and technical expertise. This trend is exacerbated by the spread of dual-use technologies, many of which have legitimate civilian or military applications.

Our response to this multi-dimensional threat begins far from our borders. The Departments of Defense and Energy, for example, have developed programs that have succeeded in eliminating or more fully safeguarding tons of fissile materials in the former Soviet Union. These materials—essential to nuclear weapons production—could be targeted for acquisition by terror-

ist groups or pariah nations and used against the United States. We also are assisting Russia in the elimination of the chemical weapons stockpile it inherited from the Soviet Union, and an interagency group is working with Kazakstan in the conversion of a former chemical weapons production facility to civilian use.

Diplomacy is another instrument for combating the potential illegal importation of WMD. At the 1996 Moscow Nuclear Summit, the United States, Russia, and our G–7 partners agreed on an international program to combat illicit trafficking in nuclear materials. To this end, the Intelligence Community has expanded its liaison relationships with foreign intelligence services, and similar relationships have been expanded among law enforcement organizations. In addition, the indefinite extension in 1995 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty strengthens our efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons. The United States also is working with other members of the International Community to help deny terrorists and rogue states access to chemical and biological weapons by ratifying and bringing into force the Chemical Weapons Convention, and by concluding a legally binding protocol to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.

Prevention of WMD importation also receives high priority for intelligence collection. This is particularly important because one of our first lines of defense is to discover the hidden plans and intentions of countries and groups of concern well before we have to confront their weapons or efforts to smuggle these weapons into the United States. Because of intelligence successes and cooperation with foreign governments, the United States has halted the international transfer of a large amount of equipment that could be used in WMD programs. The efforts of our intelligence and law enforcement agencies are supported by a Department of Defense initiative to develop special technologies—including BW/CW sensors to counter terrorist WMD threats.

Within the United States, the FBI has been assigned the lead law enforcement role in responding to threats or acts of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. The FBI's criminal jurisdiction is based in Federal statutes, including title 18 and title 42 of the United States Code, which address planned or attempted acts of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism. Moreover, in April 1996, title 18 was amended to prohibit transactions involving nuclear byproduct materials, providing additional statutory authority over radiological threats. While the probability of a major terrorist or criminal-related WMD incident occurring in the United States cannot be realistically quantified, to date all of the threats investigated by the FBI have been determined to be noncredible. Nonetheless, the FBI is aggressively pursuing countermeasures and readiness programs to respond to a threat to develop, use, or import WMD.

As the Nation's primary border enforcement agency, the Customs Service has taken the lead in working with other United States Government agencies to prevent any attempts to illegally import WMD into the United States. During the past year, the Customs Service program has focused on preventing illegal trafficking in prohibited materials and components as well as their delivery means. The Customs Service also initiated a major research and development effort aimed at detecting any nuclear devices or materials being smuggled across this Nation's borders. Various detection means were tested and a pilot test was conducted at the JFK Airport in New York in 1996. The Customs Service also has played a leading role in developing a Border Enhancement Training course for 10 countries in parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In conclusion, the United States Government has devoted significant resources to developing the capability to detect and prevent efforts to illegally import nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons into the United States or its possessions. These efforts range from international cooperation to domestic law enforcement. I take this threat seriously, and my Administration will continue to strengthen our capability to prevent illegal importation of such weapons. In this regard, the funding provided in the National Defense Authorization Act will enhance our existing capabilities.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 6.

Remarks at a White House Victory Celebration

November 6, 1996

Thank you very much. Thank you. Well, you know, I really appreciate that lesson in history from the Vice President. [*Laughter*] I'll tell you one thing—you remember what John Nance Garner said about the Vice Presidency; he said it wasn't worth a warm—what—kettle of spit, or something like that. [*Laughter*] That's before Al Gore got ahold of it. Nobody will ever say that again—ever, ever, ever say that again.

And just for your information, George Clinton of New York, doubtless a relative of mine—[*laughter*]—the only man in America ever to be the Governor of a State in excess of 20 years—he served for 21 years as Governor of New York. He served 4 years and then laid out and served 17 years, until he became Vice President. And that's a pretty good record. [*Laughter*] It just sort of runs in the family, you know. [*Laughter*]

I want to tell you all—first to the White House staff and to all the appointees who are here; to the members of the Clinton/Gore campaign, from our wonderful campaign manager, Peter Knight, on down; and to the members of—the people who work for our Democratic Party campaign. I want to say a special word of thanks to Don Fowler and Chris Dodd; they did a wonderful job, all the people at the party. To our terrific Cabinet over here on the left—you know, they've labored for 4 years to uphold the dignity of our Government, and they sort of changed their image today. [*Laughter*] That picture of Warren Christopher in that T-shirt gets out—[*laughter*]—he'll be on Letterman and Leno within 48 hours. I thank you all so much.

Last night I had a chance to do something really quite wonderful for me. I was able to have a meeting with—when I was home in Arkansas—with everybody who ever worked for me there—at least we invited them all—the people who worked for me 20 years ago when I was attorney general, the people who worked for me during all my five terms as Governor. And I told them something I want to tell you; that is, I have always been a very hard-working, kind of hard-driving person. I'm always focused on the matter before me. Sometimes I don't say thank you enough. And I've always been kind hard on myself, and sometimes I think just by omission I'm too hard on the people who work here.

You have accomplished a phenomenal amount in the last 4 years, and you have proved that even in this vast country of ours, where the Government is only one part of our national partnership and billions upon billions of decisions are made every day by people who are not in our Government—thank goodness we are primarily a country of free individuals with a free enterprise system—but you have proved again something that was clearly in doubt in 1992 at election time. You have proved that with disciplined, sustained, focused effort, America can be changed for the better.

You have proved that our problems are not all intractable. You have proved that we can galvanize the energies of the American people and that we can, in fact, bring the deficit down—it's not a permanent feature of American life; we can, in fact, grow the economy on a sustained basis; we can, in fact, improve the education and the educational opportunities of our children; we can, in fact, lower the crime rate; and in fact, if people will help us enough in communities across the country, we can even help to change some of the very difficult cultural patterns that had begun to develop in our country over the last several years. You all did that.

Very often, I get the credit for the work you do, and then when something goes haywire, if I make a mistake, you have to try to figure out how to clean it up. [*Laughter*] And I appreciate that. [*Laughter*] And I'm sure I'll give you other opportunities in the year ahead. [*Laughter*]

I just want you to know, all of you, from the Cabinet to the staff, to the appointees, to all the others who are here, you should be very proud of this. This race was won because of the record we made and because of the plans we have and because we have established in the minds of the American people that it's more than talk with us, that we work at it hard every day. All of us, we work hard. And in the end that's what sustained us: a vision, a strategy, hard work, and success. And we have a lot more work to do. But when our work is done and when there is 8 years of sustained, disciplined

effort, we will have gone a long way toward preparing our country for this new century.

I can't even imagine what the world is going to be like, but I try to imagine it all the time, 20 or 30 or 40 years from now. And we are lucky enough to just be here at a moment in history when it is our profound obligation to move the American people closer to what they believe by opening up new opportunities for people to live out their dreams, and when we have the opportunity to prove that we can actually reduce our problems. We have to keep working on that.

We've got a lot to do. I talked a little about it last night. But I begin this new tenure with high opportunity and with renewed energy and with profound gratitude to the American people and to all of you. Two years ago, not many people thought we would be here. But I believed if we just kept doing the right things, kept trying to do them in the right way, and kept working hard and refused to be distracted by the things which dominate too much of our public life today, in the end the American people would render the right judgment.

I am profoundly grateful for what they did last night and very, very grateful to all of you for making it possible.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, and Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, Democratic National Committee.

Remarks at a Victory Celebration at the National Building Museum

November 6, 1996

Thank you. Let me join Tipper and Hillary and Al in telling you how glad I am to see all of you. I'm sorry we couldn't get everybody into the limited hotel space in Little Rock. Although, somehow or another, we had about 50,000 people in the street.

It's been a wonderful day. And I am full of gratitude to all of you and to all those whom you represent. I thank my Cabinet; I know that at least Secretaries Riley, O'Leary, and Brown are here. But all of them worked very, very hard. I thank Don Fowler. And along with Hillary and Tipper and Al and all of you, I send our prayers and best wishes to Don and his wife tomorrow. And I thank Chris Dodd for speaking out in his brave and aggressive and incredibly articulate way. And we did pretty well in Connecticut last night. I think that the people there agreed with him instead of all those that were attacking us and running us down.

I thank Marvin Rosen for taking on this hard job and doing it well and Peter Knight and all of our wonderful campaign staff and Richard Sullivan all the people at the DNC. I thank Terry McAuliffe and Laura Hartigan; they worked so hard with all of their people to make sure our campaign was financed early and well.

I want to thank those who entertained us tonight, and thank all of you. There are a lot of people in this audience and around this country who played a major role in this campaign.

I feel I have to say a special word of thanks to the mayors that are here. I know that Dennis Archer and also Mayor Ed Rendell of Philadelphia are here. I don't know if there are any other mayors, but if there are mayors or Governors here I don't know about, I thank you very much for what you've done. Thank you, Reverend Jesse Jackson, for what you did in this campaign and what you do in every campaign, all the miles you traveled, all the speeches you gave. Thank you for going to California and standing up, as I did, for what we believe. We don't always win when we stand up for what we believe, but we always come out ahead. And I thank you, sir, for that.

Let me say that a campaign is a fascinating thing—the people who give and give and give of their time, their money, their heart. This was an unusual campaign for me, in terms of the difference from the one before, because this time, everywhere I went I could actually see the evidence of our collective endeavors.

I was in Denver the other night and we had a nice little crowd and then folks were standing

by the ropeline the way you are. I just was walking down the ropeline, and I started shaking hands with people. And within 5 minutes, I met a young woman who had obviously been a victim of domestic violence, who thanked me for the Violence Against Women Act, the hotline, the fact that we were moving to bring down domestic violence.

Then there were three women standing there with a little sign that said, "Thank you for putting more money into breast cancer research," who knew that we had uncovered now two of the genes which cause breast cancer and may someday be able to not only actually cure those cancers early but even to find out enough to prevent them in the first place.

And then I met a man—a big, big man who reached across four or five folks and shook hands with me and said, "I wish my wife were here tonight, but we adopted a baby 2 months ago and because of the family leave law, she's able to take a little time off from work to integrate that baby into our home life without losing her job."

And then I met a young man who said he had dropped out. But when we passed this new law to reform the college loan process so that he could pay the loan back as a percentage of his income and he didn't have to worry about going broke anymore, he had gone from being a college dropout to a good student in microbiology.

And then I met a lovely young woman who happened to be the daughter of one of the Federal agents who was there, who was a police officer in a smaller community in Colorado, who thanked me for the law enforcement part of the crime bill because her community was about to get five more police and she thought the children of her community would be safer and she would be safer doing her job because she was going to have help. That was in 5 minutes.

I was in Longview, Texas, the other day. We had 13,000 people at 8 in the morning, and that's hardly a hotbed of liberalism. [*Laughter*] I met a young single mother with two children who had gone back through the AmeriCorps program to serve in her community, get off public assistance, and was now going to the Kilgore Junior College there. And I met another woman whose husband had cancer, who got to save her job while she took care of her husband because of family leave. And I met a man who was a Vietnam veteran there with his wife. And he asked me—he said, "What did you all ever do with that bill to help the veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange whose children got spina bifida?" And I looked at him, and I said, "I signed it yesterday, and now those people will get disability as well as medical benefits for the first time." And he was real tall, so I was looking up at him—he was a head taller than I was—and he said, "Well, thank you very much for her." And I looked down at his little girl who was 12 years old in a wheelchair who had 12 operations because she contracted a condition that almost certainly she got because her husband served our country 20 years ago.

This is what this whole deal's about to me. You know, all this political business that you read in the newspaper, who's doing what and all that. And let me say something else. A lot of you contributed to our campaigns; a lot of you really stretched the limit; a lot of you went out and raised money for our campaigns. And you knew good and well you could have gotten a more direct benefit if you had put your money into the other side. I mean, they told you you'd get a big tax cut, and you maybe could have had other things. And you did it because you wanted your country to grow together.

As you know, I have said for 5 years, I think we ought to find a different system of financing our campaigns. But I want you to know that I appreciate that fact that you helped us stay competitive, even though the Republicans still raised $150 million or more, more than we did. We were able to stay competitive because people like you believed in the common ground of America. And I thank you for that. And I thank all of you for that. We had unprecedented financial support from the African-American community, from the Hispanic community. And I want to say as an Irish-American, I appreciate the support we got from every ethnic group, from the Jewish-Americans, from the Greek-Americans, and yes, from the Asian-Americans. I'm proud to have your support, and I thank you very much for it.

And let me say also, there are lots of other people who worked in our campaign. I went back to New Hampshire—I started my last day of my last campaign where we began our quest for the Presidency—and early in the morning in New Hampshire, on that last day, the 60 people who started out with me in 1991 and stayed with me when my death warrant was pronounced by the experts, gathered in a little

restaurant. And they had all these pictures up everywhere. One of them was a young boy named Mike Morrison who was only a high school junior when I ran the last time and is now in college and was finally able to vote for me. And he said, "Mr. President," he said, "I'm in college now, and I'm a straight-A student." And I said, "Well, Mike, what do you like? What's your favorite courses?" And he said, "I like creative writing and critical thinking, and I'm writing essays." And he said, "You know, my teachers at our school, they think I should submit my essays to magazines, Readers' Digest and some others." And we talked about it awhile, and I thought about the first time I saw that boy joining with his high school classmates, carrying my banner down the middle of the aisle at the New Hampshire Democratic Convention.

Mike Morrison gets up every day and gets into a wheelchair. And he's a big, strong boy, and he was raised by his mother on a very modest income. He worked hard for me in 1992. And on election day, he promised to be a poll worker, but his mother's car broke down. It was a cold winter day in New Hampshire, and Mike Morrison took his wheelchair 2 miles along the side of a highway from his home to the polling place to be there, to give us a chance to do what we have done these last 4 years.

And the thing I'm so proud of about our campaign is that we've got all kinds of people with all kinds of abilities. And all of us have some disabilities. And we have together made a difference, partly because we decided we were going to do what we were doing together. Justin Dart went to every State in America to organize Americans with disabilities for the Clinton/Gore campaign. That's one reason we won some of those States. God bless you, and thank you. There are people here who organized Republicans for Clinton/Gore, and I thank you for that. And I thank you for what you did. Your numbers were significant.

And last night, when the vote came in and all across the country, I thought of all the people I had met along this journey and all the people whose lives have been touched and how much better off we all are when we work to give everybody not a guarantee but at least a chance, a real chance to be what God meant them to be.

I am very proud of you. I want you to be very proud of this campaign. I want you to be very proud of what has happened. There are millions and millions and millions of people whose lives have been directly touched by the fact that we offered them a chance to have a second chance—to have their main chance to be what they ought to be. And there's lots more to do.

But we should be very grateful we happen to be here in America at the time that I'm convinced it is more possible for more people to live out their dreams than ever before, if we simply meet our challenges and move ourselves closer to our ideals. And it has fallen to us now to do that.

The people decided to leave the Congress in the hands of the Republicans, but they sent a very strong message. A lot of the offices they won, they won by less than 1,000 votes. They don't want meanness. They don't want the politics of personal destruction. They want us to put the people first, the future first, and work together. All of that, too, you contributed to making happen. The whole feeling in this country is so different from what it was just a couple of years ago, and you helped to make that happen.

So I ask you tonight—I ask you tonight to sort of hold back your shoulders and take a deep breath and be very proud because you helped to make our democracy work and, of course, all of us believe, to make the right decision. And I ask you to wake up tomorrow—I hope, like me, you'll be a little less tired than you are tonight—but I ask you to wake up tomorrow with a new sense of optimism about your country, a new sense of belief in the future, and a new determination to continue the work of citizenship. We are making a difference. We're going to make a big difference in the next 4 years. And everybody's got a role to play. And everybody has something to do.

In closing, let me say a special word of thanks to Tipper and to Al and to Hillary. We four have had an unusual partnership. I doubt that there's been anything quite like it in the history of the Presidency and the Vice Presidency. But it has served America well.

And if I had served out my term as Governor and had been elected to another term as Governor instead of running for President, George Clinton and Bill Clinton would have been the two longest serving Governors in American history, and we could have been on a different

list. So I think it's a pretty distinguished list, Mr. Vice President, myself.

Let's have a good time tonight. Let's wake up tomorrow proud that we won. And let's think about what we can do to build that bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, Marvin Rosen, national finance chairman, and Richard Sullivan, finance director, Democratic National Committee; Peter Knight, campaign manager, Terry McAuliffe, finance chairman, and Laura Hartigan, finance director, Clinton/Gore '96; Mayors Dennis Archer of Detroit, MI, and Edward Rendell of Philadelphia, PA; Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, civil rights leader; and Justin Dart, former Chair, President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks on the Resignation of Secretary of State Warren Christopher and an Exchange With Reporters

November 7, 1996

The President. We are truly about to make a new beginning. Yesterday, at the wonderful welcome home that Hillary and Al and Tipper and I had at the White House, I saw a remarkable sight: Warren Christopher was wearing a T-shirt. [*Laughter*] He did have it on underneath his Saville Row suit. Nonetheless, it was there. This is the same Warren Christopher, I would remind you all, who made People magazine's best dressed list, the only man ever to eat Presidential M&M's on Air Force One with a knife and fork. [*Laughter*]

Yesterday Secretary Christopher gave new meaning to my conviction that we are entering an age of new and remarkable possibility. Today it is with great regret at his departure but deep gratitude for his service to our administration and to our country that I have accepted Warren Christopher's decision to step down as Secretary of State.

He has left the mark of his hand on history, not in some theoretical, intangible fashion but in concrete ways that have made a real difference in the lives of the American people and people around the world. He has served three previous Democratic administrations, as a trade negotiator, a Deputy Attorney General, a Deputy Secretary of State when he brought home our hostages from Iran. These past 4 years, I have been proud and privileged to have him by my side as Secretary of State.

Today, if the children of the Middle East can imagine a future of cooperation, not conflict, if Bosnia's killing fields are once again playing fields, if the people of Haiti now live in democracy instead of under dictators, in no small measure, it is because of Warren Christopher. The cause of peace and freedom and decency have never had a more tireless or tenacious advocate.

Those of us who have worked with Chris know that his quiet dignity masks a steely determination. Let me cite just one example.

History will record that Bosnia's peace was secured at Dayton. It will also recall that, literally, until the last minute the outcome was in doubt. Our negotiators had their bags packed and were ready to head home without an agreement. But Chris refused to give up. And the force of his will finally convinced the Balkan leaders to give into the logic of peace.

For all Secretary Christopher's skill at diffusing crises, I believe his lasting legacy was built behind the headlines, laying the foundations for our future. Under his leadership we've taken on new threats like terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and environmental degradation. We're seizing the opportunities to make the 21st century more secure and prosperous for every American; working toward a Europe that is undivided, democratic, and at peace; building a new partnership with a strong and open Russia; meeting the challenges of change in Asia with strength and steadiness; opening more markets abroad and helping

American businesses to take advantage of these new opportunities.

Perhaps most important, Warren Christopher's life provides powerful proof that America has a unique responsibility and a unique privilege to lead. He has helped the American people understand that we cannot lead on the cheap; it takes time, energy, and resources. And as we go forward, I pledge to protect and preserve the resources for our diplomacy that Warren Christopher has put to such good use.

Finally, let me say, as all of you know, I owe Warren Christopher a debt that extends far beyond the broad range of his responsibilities. Few individuals did more to shape my first administration. He chaired our Vice Presidential search committee, and I'd say he came up with a pretty good recommendation. [*Laughter*] The American people have him to thank for my selection of Al Gore and the subsequent development of the most unique partnership in the history of the Presidency and the Vice Presidency. And I think it is clear that the Vice President has been the most influential and constructive force ever to occupy the Vice Presidency's office.

Warren Christopher directed the 1992 transition, in particular, in building a Cabinet team that helped to put America on track as we enter the 21st century, one which a scholar of the Presidency wrote me and said was the most loyal Cabinet since Thomas Jefferson's first administration.

These past 4 years, time and again, I have reached out to my friend for his counsel, his judgment, and his support. It is no exaggeration to say that Warren Christopher has literally been America's elder statesman. It's also no exaggeration today that he retains the energy, the vigor, and the capacity of a person half his age.

I thank Secretary Christopher for agreeing to stay on until we select a successor. I will consult closely with him in that process. In the weeks ahead I may have a hard time finding him, however. The Secretary is continuing to do the vital business of our Nation, participating next week in the Cairo conference, traveling to China and throughout Asia, moving on to Europe to work on Bosnia, and adapting NATO to the future.

Secretary Christopher already has set a 4-year record as America's most traveled diplomat-in-chief. If you could earn frequent flyer miles for Government travel, we would owe him at least a round trip on the space shuttle. [*Laughter*] The Vice President says that with the travel he's already logged in, he could go to the Moon and back and back to the Moon again. I want him to travel a few more miles so he will finish on the right planet. [*Laughter*]

Through dignity, determination, hard work, and skill, through an unbelievable, powerful collection and combination of his intellect, his integrity, and his good heart, Warren Christopher has earned our Nation's admiration and a debt that can never be fully repaid. From the bottom of my heart, I thank him for his service to the Nation and his unique friendship to the President.

Mr. Secretary.

[*At this point, Secretary Christopher made brief remarks.*]

Q. Mr. President, how will you go about choosing a successor? What's your plan for doing that?

The President. Don't sit down now. It won't take long for me to answer this question. [*Laughter*]

Let me say to all of you here in the press, I intend to have a press conference tomorrow afternoon, and I'll be more than happy to answer all of your questions in greater detail.

But I will go about selecting a successor, first of all, by soliciting the Secretary of State's advice and the advice of others on our national security team and others beyond that with whom I have worked and whom I trust. And I'm sure I'll get some unsolicited advice as we go along, and that's a good thing. I believe that the Secretary will be difficult to replace, but I think there will be worthy Americans who can contribute, who are willing to serve. And with all these places where we have vacancies, I want to cast a wide net.

And I think the American people sent us another message on Tuesday. They want us to work together. They like it when we try to have principled compromise. And they want us to create a vital center, that is, not one that just splits the difference but one that moves the country forward in an aggressive way, Republicans and Democrats and independents alike. And I will be looking, in all these personnel decisions that I have to make, across a broad span of American people to try to get the best people to create that vital center and take this country into the 21st century.

And I'll see you all tomorrow and look forward to answering your questions. Thank you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. in the Cross Halls on the State Floor at the White House.

The President's News Conference
November 8, 1996

Chief of Staff Transition

The President. Good afternoon. Please be seated. Before I begin I'd like to ask the Vice President and Leon Panetta and Erskine Bowles to join me up here, in no particular order. [*Laughter*]

Let me begin by once again thanking the American people for the honor they have bestowed upon me and the responsibility they have once again placed in my hands. I will work hard over the next 4 years to uphold their trust, to protect our shared values, and to meet our common challenges.

To do that, I want our administration to be able to serve the American people as well in the next 4 years as we have in the past 4. I must, therefore, begin by announcing that Leon Panetta, who has been my Chief of Staff since 1994, will be resigning to return to California.

I understand why he wants to return home after so many long years and long hours, but that doesn't make it any easier for me to see him go. No one in recent memory has better served the administration—any administration—or the American people than Leon Panetta in what is perhaps the most difficult of all the jobs in public service in Washington today.

As a civil rights official, a distinguished Member of Congress, an OMB Director, Leon Panetta brought his sharp mind and his huge heart to bear on every task he ever undertook. He became my Chief of Staff at a difficult time. He leaves with a remarkable record: deep reduction in the deficit, millions of new jobs, a strong defense of programs for those in need, including food stamps. All these bear Leon's stamp.

Just as important as the work he did was the way he did it. He saw our White House staff as a family. They returned his devotion. His easy laugh and his level head kept our priorities straight and our spirits up.

He and I have often had the opportunity to wonder at the miracle of America that took us this far. He is a child of immigrants who came to this country in search of a better life and found it in the walnut groves of California. He has become my great friend, more than my countryman, more than my fellow Democrat, more even than my fellow worker. In the language of his people, he is my *paesan.* [*Laughter*] And I love him very much.

To Sylvia, Christopher, Carmelo, Jim, Elizabeth, Christina, and the grandchildren, Michael and Elizabeth, I know how proud he is of you, and you must be very proud of him.

To succeed Leon Panetta, I wanted someone of stature, intellect, dedication, drive, and the capacity to do this virtually impossible job, both a manager and a leader. I'm proud to announce that I am naming Erskine Bowles as the next White House Chief of Staff. He's combined brilliant business success and dedicated public service. As an investment banker, he recognized that our successes come not just from our big firms but from small and medium-size ones, entrepreneurs with energy and ideas he worked hard to give the opportunity to start new businesses and to expand the ones they were running.

When I became President, I wanted to transform the Small Business Administration from a political backwater to an engine of economic growth. Erskine Bowles did it beyond my wildest expectations. He revitalized the SBA. He doubled the loan volume. He dramatically increased loans to women and minority business owners even as he cut paperwork and trimmed bureaucracy.

I then asked him to serve as the Deputy Chief of Staff. He was one of those most responsible for bringing focus and direction to our efforts. Quietly, behind the scenes, he led our effort to educate the public on what was at stake in last year's budget fight. Through it all, he became my close friend and trusted adviser.

He returned to North Carolina last year to be with his family, to start a new business, and continue his work for the Juvenile Diabetes Foundation, which he had previously served as president.

I know how much Erskine Bowles loves private life. I know that I have asked from him a real sacrifice, and not only from him but also from his wife, Crandall, and his children, Sam, Anne, and Bill. But his country needs him, and I need him. I have absolute faith in his ability to do this job. He will bring discipline, focus, and deep values to the work. He will help us finish the job the American people sent us here to do. In a sense, this is a homecoming for him, for Erskine is a part of our family here, and I'm happy to have him back.

As Leon will tell you, I expect a lot of the Chief of Staff. I kept Leon Panetta up until 6 o'clock in the morning election morning playing hearts. [*Laughter*] Yes, Erskine Bowles can play hearts. [*Laughter*] He also plays golf, but he plays golf better than he plays hearts; I prefer to focus on his hearts playing. [*Laughter*]

It has become more apparent than ever that our country is moving forward with confidence and vigor toward the 21st century. It has become more apparent than ever since the election that the American people want us to fulfill our responsibilities as Democrats, Republicans, and independents second and Americans first, to set aside our differences and join hands to make the most of this moment of possibility.

That's how we achieved so much at the end of the past Congress. Just think of what happened: historic welfare reform, a minimum wage increase, dramatic expansion of pension opportunities for people in small businesses, the adoption tax credit, the extension of the Brady bill to cover incidences of domestic violence, the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care reform bill that lets people keep their health insurance as they change jobs or when someone in the family has been sick, an end to the drive-by pregnancies and deliveries where people are kicked out of the hospital after only 24 hours, help for families with mental health needs, and assistance to Vietnam veterans' children with spina bifida. All this happened and shows you what we can do if we work together to give our people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

It's a good sign for America that all parties now say they want to reach common ground. And I want us to forge a partnership to produce results for the American people. On Tuesday our people voted for the ideas of the vital American center. Now let us make that vital center the place for the vigorous actions to move us into the 21st century.

We should begin with our most pressing challenges: balancing the budget, giving our children the world's best education, opening wide the doors of college to everyone willing to work for them, finishing the job of welfare reform, passing real campaign finance reform.

Nothing is more fundamental than balancing the budget. Our progress has already produced lower interest rates, steady growth, expanded homeownership. Now we must keep our economy going steady and strong by finishing the job of balancing the budget in a way that truly reflects our values. I am inviting the bipartisan leadership of Congress to meet with me next week here at the White House to discuss how we can develop a plan together to pass a balanced budget and to keep our economy going. I've asked Leon Panetta and OMB Director Frank Raines to coordinate this effort.

I want these negotiations to cover a broad range of issues involved in balancing the budget, including strengthening the Medicare Trust Fund, cuts in spending, and a tax cut. I believe our highest priority must be education, especially college opportunities. As I told the American people, we should make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as a high school diploma is today. So I will work to see to it that this balanced budget includes the education tax cuts I outlined during the campaign, which had very broad and overwhelming support among the American people.

I will also discuss with the congressional leadership how we can enact bipartisan campaign finance reform as soon as possible. We clearly have a unique moment of opportunity now, when the public and you in the press are focused on this issue. Now is the time to seize it, before the moment fades. The American people will be watching to see whether our deeds match our words.

The lesson of our history is clear: When we put aside partisanship, embrace the best ideas regardless of where they come from, and work for principled compromise, we can move America not left or right but forward. That is what I am determined to do.

Now, I want to take your questions, but first I'd like to give Mr. Panetta and Mr. Bowles a chance to just say a few words.

[*At this point, Leon Panetta and Erskine Bowles made brief remarks and then left the podium.*]

The President. Thank you. This is an inauspicious beginning; you're leaving me in my hour of need. [*Laughter*]

Go ahead. Sorry.

Trust and Campaign Finance Reform

Q. The election is over; you do have the support of the American people for a second term. But some questions remain. One of them is, how do you explain the obsession with fundraising, especially from dubious Asian sources, and how do you overcome the image created by your opponent that you are a President who cannot be trusted?

The President. Let me answer the second question first. I think the American people, since they've been hearing this for 5 years, took a long, hard look at it, and they measured that against what they saw in terms of the work of this administration, in terms of the people who were laboring hard to make their lives better, and in terms of the President. And I think they made their judgment that I have worked hard for them, I will keep working hard for them, and that that is my motivation for being here. And I think that they gave me their trust, and I'm going to do my best to be worthy of it.

Now, with regard to the contribution issue, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party raised a lot of money under the rules which now exist. The Democratic Party received over a million different contributions in 2 years. They determined two things. One is that a relatively small number of them—I think—I don't know exactly what the number is but quite a small number out of a million—they should not have taken, and they have returned them. They also—the Democratic Party said that they thought they should have a tighter screen on contributions when they come in, and they've implemented improvements so that they won't receive contributions they shouldn't if they can determine it at all. I think that's a good thing. I think the Republican Party should have the same rules.

But the real thing that I would say here is—I'd like to make two other points. First, and far and away the most important point, is that this has shown us once again that our campaigns cost too much, they take too much time, they raise too many questions, and now is the time for bipartisan campaign finance reform legislation.

I supported the McCain-Feingold bill last year. The leaders of the other party did not, and it did not pass. Today I reaffirm my support for McCain-Feingold, and I am prepared to do whatever is necessary to pass it as soon as possible with an amendment that our party has agreed to, saying that we should not have contributions from foreign nationals who are otherwise—who can legally give money now. I am prepared to do that.

I called Senator McCain yesterday and Senator Feingold. I had a good conversation with both of them, and I asked them for their best advice about where to proceed. I assured them that I would support this legislation, that our party would support it, and that we had more than enough votes in our caucus to guarantee it an overwhelming victory. So the question now is basically for the leaders of the Republican majority in Congress, whether they will support it, either right now or as soon as we come into session next year. But I am prepared to go forward, and I think that's the most important thing.

Now, let me just make one final comment. A lot of, I thought—questions had been raised about these contributions, and any questions that had been raised, we should do our best, the Democratic Party should do its best to answer; any questions you ask of us, we should do our best to answer. But there was a—in your question and in a lot of the things that have happened in the aftermath, there is an almost disparaging reference to Asians. And in the last few weeks, a lot of Asian-Americans who have supported our campaign have come up to me and said, "You know, I'm being made to feel like a criminal. All these people are calling me. And I say, 'Why are you calling me?' They say, 'Because you have an Asian last name.'" And I—maybe I don't need to do this, but I would like to remind everybody here and throughout the country that our country has been greatly enriched by the work of Asian-Americans. They are famous for working hard for family values and for giving more than they take. And I, frankly, am grateful for the support that I have received from them.

And so I just want to make that clear. I think that there's been a lot of rather—I don't mean that you did, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], but there has been a lot of rather disparaging comments made about Asian-Americans. And it's—ironically, I found it surprising that our friends on the other side did because historically they have received more votes from Asian-Americans than we have.

Q. May I say as a point of rebuttal, I certainly didn't mean to disparage——

The President. I know you didn't.

Q. No, but also—there was also the question of whether the Indonesian contributions may have affected our policy toward——

The President. Well, now that's a different—the answer to that is, absolutely not. Indeed, look at the difference in my policy and my predecessor's policy. We changed our policy on arms sales because of East Timor, not to sell small arms. And we cosponsored the resolution in the United Nations in favor of greater human rights for East Timor. And I'm proud that we did that. So I can tell you categorically that there was no influence.

By the way, all kinds of people talk to me about policy. Polish-Americans, Hungarian-Americans, Jewish-Americans, Irish-Americans talk to me about policy. Citizens that I—people I meet around the world in the course of my travels on your behalf talk to me about it. But in the end, I always do what I believe is right for the American people.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Independent Counsel and Attorney General Reno

Q. Mr. President, Attorney General Reno is considering whether to appoint an independent counsel to investigate these allegations of improper fundraising by your campaign. She says that she's——

The President. Wait, wait, wait. There have been no allegations about improper fund——

Q. Well, by the Democratic——

The President. That's correct, by the Democratic Party.

Q. She says that she's caught between a rock——

The President. That was the other campaign that had problems with that, not mine.

Q. General Reno says she's caught between a rock and a hard place and that she'll be criticized no matter what she does. I know that it's her decision, but what do you think? Do you think that these allegations should be investigated by an independent counsel? And secondly, do you think that General—would you like to see General Reno stay on for a second term?

The President. I think, on the first question, I should have no comment on that. On the second question, I should have no comment on any personnel decision until I have had a chance to meet with the Cabinet members in question and work through all the decisions. And I think I should have a uniform policy on that, which I have followed to date and which I will continue to follow.

Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, CNN].

John Huang and James Riady

Q. Getting back to the first question, Mr. President, a lot of questions have been raised, though, about your personal relationship with John Huang, who was the DNC fundraiser who went out to the Asian-American community and raised some of the money that had to be returned, as well as with the Riady family in Jakarta, James Riady in particular, who came to the White House on several occasions. What exactly was your relationship with John Huang and with the Riady family?

The President. I believe the first time I met John Huang—I believe—was several years ago in Taiwan when I was a Governor on a trade mission. I believe that is correct. He might have a better memory than I do, but I think that's right.

I met James Riady when he came to Arkansas to live and work when he was partners—when his family and his family's business group were partners with the Stephens interest in Arkansas, in a bank there. And he and his wife lived there, and I got to know them several years ago.

So I have known both James Riady and his wife and John Huang and his wife for several years. And I knew them primarily in the context of my work as Governor, both inside Arkansas in dealing with the economic issues within the State and then in my work as Governor of Arkansas and going to Taiwan—which parenthetically is one of the biggest purchasers of soybeans, which is a big product in my home State, of any country in the world. So I was there quite often, I think five times during the course

of my governorship. And that's how I knew them.

So I had a personal relationship with them that went back several years and long before there was any politics or even contributions or anything like that involved. I had known them for several years.

Q. Was it a mistake for you to appoint John Huang to a Commerce Department position, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, given the relationship he had with the Lippo conglomerate in Indonesia and his business interests in the past?

The President. Well, I don't believe so. As soon as—I don't think so, not as long as the clearances and the search of all the records and the business disclosures, if they were all appropriate. You know, there are all kinds of standards for that, that anybody who gets an appointment that they have to be confirmed for has to meet. And if they were, I wouldn't say so.

I mean, keep in mind, one of the jobs of the Department of Commerce, and perhaps one of the most important jobs now and one which Ron Brown did very well, is to open new opportunities for American businesses around the world, to open new markets for American businesses, to create jobs by doing that. And one of the great advantages the United States has over virtually every other country in the world is that we have living here in our country citizens who are from everywhere else and who have business ties and contacts and deep understandings of the cultures and the economies of every other country in the world. And so assuming that all the proper disclosures were made and all the proper clearances were had—I mean, the Government has rules for that—I would think that that's the sort of person we would be looking for, someone who did have good contacts and could—and did have a general understanding of international commerce.

Yes.

Bosnia

Q. Yes, Mr. President, thank you. Despite your promises earlier to pull out of Bosnia next month, the Pentagon now says that U.S. troops will remain there at least until the end of March. Is it possible you would keep U.S. troops there beyond March as part of a follow-on peacekeeping force if NATO decides they are needed?

The President. Well, let me explain, first of all, what the March deadline is. We have already begun moving some people out, and the December—we said that the mission, the IFOR mission, would take about a year. But as the Pentagon can explain in greater detail and specificity than I, you can't just up and pull people out in one day. There has to be a phase-down, and people have to be brought in to help move out the people that have been there the whole time. So the March date is just the time the last people who are part of a 3½ month phase-down will leave.

Now, separate and apart from that, NATO has been asked to consider the question of whether—well, let me make one other point. IFOR went there to establish a buffer zone between the ethnic groups and to make sure that during this time elections could be held and basic security could be maintained along the border areas, not to be actually involved in law enforcement. And I think they've done their job very well. I am very pleased with it. I am very pleased with the cooperation between the NATO allies and Russia and the other non-NATO countries. And I think that it has helped the Bosnian peace process to take hold. And we have had elections. A lot has been done.

What NATO has been asked to consider is whether or not, since the economic reconstruction has not taken hold as fast as we had hoped and there is still, obviously, some hard feelings there between the parties, we should consider a smaller, different force that might have a more limited mission than the IFOR mission that NATO would be involved in. I believe the position I have taken on that is the position that the other NATO leaders have taken, the leaders of the other NATO countries, which is, we would like to see the proposed mission; we would like to see what our contribution would be. I want to assess the risks, as I always do, and the possible benefits, and then I will make a judgment.

I took a long look at the IFOR mission. We worked very hard to define it in a way that would guarantee the maximum possibility for success and the minimum possibility of danger to our forces. It has worked very well. Whether we could do this, as I said all along, would depend on what the nature of the mission is.

I'm looking forward to the NATO report; I haven't received it yet. When I do, I will tell you exactly what the recommendations are and

what my best judgment on them is. It is conceivable that we could participate, but it depends upon exactly what the recommendation is.

Yes, sir, and then we'll go back. Go ahead.

Second Term Transition

Q. You're in the process of choosing your team now for the next administration. You were criticized 4 years ago for your failure to go ahead with your stated intentions to choose at least one Republican for a top post. You were criticized for putting too much emphasis on diversity and also for relying too much on friendship. In some cases, friends got into ethical problems. Do you feel you must be more tough-minded this time around?

The President. Well, first of all, I think the Cabinet that I've had has done very well, and on average, I believe their tenure of service far exceeds the average tenure of service in the modern era. And I believe that we have proved that you could have diversity as well as excellence not only in the Cabinet but in the Federal bench, where I've made the most diverse appointments in terms of women and minorities in history and yet they have the highest ratings from the American Bar Association—my appointees do—of any President since the rating system began.

So I don't see a conflict between excellence and diversity. But I would extend that diversity to Republicans as well. I think we ought to try to have a Government that can unify the country. And I did want to put—badly wanted to put a Republican in the Cabinet the last time. I had one in particular in mind who declined for personal reasons who, I think, wanted to serve, and I regret that. So I have not ruled out that; in fact, I have cast a very wide net in looking for people to serve in this administration, and I wouldn't be surprised if we had Republican representation. I certainly hope we will.

Peter [Peter Maer, NBC Mutual Radio]—Rita [Rita Braver, CBS News] was next, and then Peter. I'm sorry.

The First Lady and Former Senator Bob Dole

Q. Speaking of what people will be doing in the next administration, when you ran for your first term you talked a lot about the First Lady's role, but we didn't hear so much about it during this run for the reelection. Can you give us a sense of what she'll be doing in the next term? And also, I wondered whether you have thought about whether you intend to offer Bob Dole any chance to serve.

The President. Well, let me answer the question about Hillary. I think what the First Lady will do is something that—I think it will be consistent with what she's been doing, but we have not—frankly, we've been too tired to talk about it. Yesterday, I'm embarrassed to tell the American people, I actually slept past noon. [*Laughter*] I was tired. And so we hadn't had much chance to talk about it. But I think that my assumption would be that whatever she did, she would be working on the issues that relate to children and families that she's spent most of her life doing. And so that's what I would think. But we have not had a chance to talk about it.

Q. You once mentioned welfare.

The President. Well, but I think—I must not have spoken all that clearly on that. What I meant about welfare is this: The welfare reform legislation is law now. Let me just talk about that just a minute, and then I'll come back to your other question. What the welfare reform bill says is this: It says, from now on, the United States Government will guarantee to poor families medical care and nutrition and, if a person moves from welfare to work, then more for child care than ever before. But that portion of the Federal money that used to go with State money into a monthly welfare check will now go to the States, and they have 2 years to figure out how to turn the welfare check into a paycheck.

Now, I think what is important is to recognize that that's all the bill does. Then all the States and all of the communities of this country have to figure out how to do that. And what I think is important is that we all be aggressive in figuring out how to do that in ways that work for the children, not that there should be a role for the First Lady or anybody else, but children's advocates in particular want to make sure that this is a pro-family transition. That's all I meant. And I believe it will be. I feel good about it.

In terms of anything for Senator Dole to do, I think, to be fair to him, even though I am standing up here on both feet giving this press conference today, after a campaign like this, you need time to decompress, whether you win or whether you lose. And I've been on both sides of this in my life. And he said something I

really appreciated when we had our personal conversation on election evening. He said, "You know, after awhile, after I get rested up and you do and we get—we'll come by—I'll come by, and we'll have a cup of coffee, and we'll talk about—just have a visit." And I said I'd really like that.

And I think that I would just urge all of you to give him and Mrs. Dole a little space here and let them get rested up and think about their lives and what they want to do. And there will be time for that. You know, Thanksgiving's coming up; Christmas is coming up.

But I can attest to the fact that based on the vigorous campaign he ran, not just in the last 96 hours but throughout, that if he so chooses, he's got a lot left to give his country. But I think that should be his decision. We should let a little time go by.

Peter.

Investigations

Q. Thank you, sir. As you reflect on the past 4 years and look ahead to the next 4, what are your thoughts about the emotional, legal, and even financial toll that these investigations over the past 4 years have taken and continue to take on people who are very close to you? Do you see any remedy for it, and do you see any end to it?

The President. Well, I think that nearly every objective observer who's looked at it believes that progressively over the last however many years we have tended to turn our political differences into legal battles in ways that have enormous costs, human costs for the people involved in them and for our democracy.

But I think—frankly, I think at this—given the posture in which some of these things are in, I'm not the person to be making recommendations on the resolution of it. There are others who are writing about it. I noticed there was a woman who worked for both Mr. Fiske and Mr. Starr who wrote an article in one of the legal periodicals in the last month or so arguing for some changes in the way these matters are dealt with. There are a lot of people who are troubled by this and are thinking about it.

But I think that—I think that at least for the time being that it's not for me to be the one who's suggesting what should be done. But a lot of people, I think, in both parties who care about it are concerned about the costs of this as compared with any benefit that comes from it.

Q. What are your thoughts, though, on the toll that it has taken on those closest to you?

The President. Well, I hate—I obviously hate that. And the thing I really hate is that, when people that are completely innocent are basically confronted with a presumption of guilt and told to prove their innocence of charges, they're not quite sure what they're supposed to do. It's difficult.

But, you know, right now—and my heart's full of gratitude—I told you that, as far as I'm concerned for me, it doesn't bother me because—I wouldn't say it doesn't bother me, but it's just part of being in public life today. But we should never be happy when innocent people suffer unnecessarily. That's not good; no one can be possibly for that. So we need to try to seek out people's opinion about what should be done. But I don't think it's for me to be discussing that now.

Campaign Finance Reform

Q. Mr. President, you spoke in your opening remarks about the moment being now for campaign finance reform. In light of the recent controversies in both parties, would you be willing to commit to the idea that campaign fundraising not be done as closed events but be open for news coverage as a means of putting more sunshine on the process?

The President. You know, you're the first person that ever asked me that. Let me just say this: I'll be glad—I'd like to have some chance to think about it. But I've never been asked it before, and I've never thought about it much. But I have—you know, a lot of our fundraisers are open, and most of the smaller events we have are basically round-robin discussions from people who very often come from very different perspectives on issues. But I will think about it; I will give you an answer. I'd like to think about it.

Q. Mr. President——

The President. Go ahead. Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service], I'll come to you next. Go ahead.

Investigations

Q. Getting back to the subject of all these legal investigations, has the First Lady been notified by Kenneth Starr's office that she is either

the subject or a target of any of his investigations?

The President. No.

Yes, Sarah—not to my knowledge.

Clandestine Government Activities

Q. How are you going to keep yourself from secrets that other people try to keep from you in Government? I refer to the secrecy that surrounds the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department and those people in Government—and the Defense Department—who sometimes try to work and keep secrets from you. How are you going to keep yourself from being insulated?

The President. Well, frankly, the only way to do that—there are only two ways to do that. One is, I have to appoint good people in positions in those departments who are in a position to know what is going on or to find out if I need to know. Or there has to be some external way of knowing, which means that all of you have to find out so that I can either see it or read it or hear it on the news, or we have to have—or some independent commission, if a particular problem or question is hanging out there, should press further.

I think the—let me just say, I think the commission I appointed on Gulf war illnesses has done an exemplary job. And I believe that the Pentagon, in fairness, has also done much better recently. And we have done—as I think all of you know, we have given free medical exams to tens of thousands of people. We have qualified 26,000 people for disability. And we have a lot of various medical tests going on. That all came about, I believe, in large measure because the American people kept demanding a response. And so I put this commission together, and they did their job. And then the Pentagon, as I said—Secretary Perry, having seen the evidence, has moved in an expeditious fashion.

But I think those are the ways—there is never any magic about that. The President has to have good people in those agencies; they have to be able to find out the truth. And then if you do your job, and then if some real big problem arises and a group of citizens can look into it, we normally find a way to make our democracy work.

Ken [Ken Walsh, U.S. News & World Report]. Go ahead, Ken; Ken and then Susan [Susan Page, USA Today]. Go ahead.

Medicare and Budget Negotiations

Q. Mr. President, one of the lingering areas of hard feelings from the campaign is over your and the Democratic Party's attacks on the Republicans over Medicare. Since you're going to meet with the Republican leadership next week, how will you encourage them to be conciliatory and trust you now over Medicare, given the damage they incurred in the campaign over the issue?

The President. Well, first of all, there are always a lot of hard feelings after every campaign. I mean—I believe that what I said about the Medicare provisions of the budget I vetoed was accurate and true and fair, and I cannot retract that. I do not believe the picture they painted of the budget I passed, which sparked America's economic recovery, is fair. By any reasonable standard, it wasn't the biggest tax increase in history. Average people did not pay as much as they said they paid. I mean, there were lots of problems I had with that. But that wouldn't stop me from working with them on the budget.

So we obviously don't always agree with each other's characterization of our positions. I don't agree with a lot of their characterizations, but that wouldn't stop me from working with them. And I would say that—my answer to you is that the way to put this behind us is to reach an agreement. And I'm prepared to reach out and meet them halfway. And if you—I think the way to go forward is to pick up where we left off.

As I said and acknowledged to everyone, including for Senator Dole, when we ended the budget negotiations, when they had to stop, in fairness to him, because he had to begin his Presidential campaign, at the time when they ended, we were actually quite close to an agreement and the differences between us were entirely manageable. And I could see how we could build a bridge between our two positions that would give us a balanced budget plan. So the obvious answer here is just to go forward by picking up where we left off, with the Republican position and with our administration's position, and I think we could have an agreement in next to no time. And that would be my advice on that.

Yes, Susan, go ahead, and then I'll take this.

President's Second Term

Q. Mr. President, we know that you're an avid student of Presidential history, and in modern times second terms for Presidents have been either disappointing or disastrous. I wonder if you've drawn any lessons on why that's so—[*laughter*]—and if there are any pitfalls in particular that you are determined to avoid for yourself.

The President. Actually, I read a book not very long ago on second—there is a book that's just been written on second-term Presidencies. And I was a little nervous about reading it before the election, but along toward the end I read it. And I got to thinking in my own mind about the second terms of, you know, President Truman's second term, President Eisenhower's second term, and President Reagan's second term, and then the others in the 20th century especially I focused upon.

What the record shows is that the things which derail a second term are basically three: One is, some external event intervenes, and the President can't fulfill his dreams or hopes or his agenda. Two is—I mean, apart from the obvious case. The second thing that happens is, sometimes a President thinks he has more of a mandate than he does and tries to do too much in the absence of cooperation. That was the rap on President Roosevelt's second term, that his first and third terms were greater than his second term because of that. And the third is that sometimes a President essentially just runs out of steam. That was the rap that was attempted to be put on President Reagan, although I would remind you that in President Reagan's second term he signed the tax reform legislation and the first big welfare reform overhaul, which was quite a good bill.

So what we have done to try to avoid that is, number one, make it clear that we understand the American people want us to work together with the Republicans and that we have to build a vital center; and number two, to have a driving agenda for the second term that grows out of what we have done for the last 4 years. That's why I went out of my way at the Democratic National Convention, when I was speaking to the convention and the American people, to list a very long list of specific things I wanted to do, because I wanted an agenda to organize the attention, the spirits, and the energies of people. I think when people stay busy, they do good things. And I think that that will very much help.

So we have a big agenda; we have a driving agenda; we know what we have to do. And if we keep good, energetic people involved, I think we'll be able to avoid those pitfalls. But I'm very mindful of history's difficulties, and I'm going to try to beat them.

Yes, Jim [Jim Miklaszewski, NBC News], go ahead.

Congressional Investigations

Q. Speaking of hard feelings, as you did just a moment ago, Senator Alfonse D'Amato only yesterday said that the Senate Whitewater hearings were over. And he said the American people didn't want to see Congress going out on any fishing expeditions. What do you make of what Senator D'Amato said, and do you think it signals that Republicans may ease up a little bit on some of the investigations that were aimed at the White House?

The President. I don't know. All I can tell you is, I imagine they will have debates in their party about what they should do. It's clear to me what the American people said. It's clear to me what the people of New York said. It's clear to me what—but even in the States that I did not carry—you know, we lost Georgia by 10,000 or 15,000 votes or something—this country was divided as to just exactly which way to tilt, but they were collected around the idea that we needed to keep making progress but do it by working together from the center. And I think that's what Senator D'Amato recognized. And if that is the majority view within the Republican caucus in the Senate and the House, the American people will be very well pleased by the work we do together, and we will get a lot done.

Q. And would you expect any relief from the Republican investigations?

The President. What I would respect is if we all spent our time and energy working on balancing the budget, on opening educational opportunities, on advancing health care reform step by step, on continuing the fight against crime; the things that we need to be doing together, that's what I think we ought to do. And I think the American people would be elated if we—both sides seem to be putting our politics down, waiting for the next election, and really working like crazy to get something done for our country; I think they would like it. And

I'm prepared to do it, and I hope that they will be.

And I was very encouraged by my conversation with Senator Lott and with my conversation with Speaker Gingrich. And I was encouraged by what Senator D'Amato said. We'll have to see what happens. I very much hope it will be that way.

Mike [Mike Frisby, Wall Street Journal], and then we'll go over there.

Social Security and Medicare

Q. Mr. President, do you plan on looking at ways to reform the Social Security system in the next 4 years?

The President. Well, I think—that goes back to the Medicare question one of you asked—Ken, I guess. I believe we have to find a bipartisan framework to look at the longer, if you will, the baby boom issues presented in Social Security and Medicare. And as I said, I think there has to be some sort of commission, some sort of functioning bipartisan way of looking at that. But that must not be an excuse for any of us, including me, to avoid doing what it takes right now to put a decade of life on the Medicare Trust Fund. In other words, we need to fix Medicare for a decade right now. And we have agreed upon savings that will do that.

And we lost a year last year. Thank goodness it didn't hurt us too bad because the inflation rate dropped so much in medical costs. But we don't need to lose another year. We ought to make an agreement now, put a decade of life on the Medicare Trust Fund, and then agree upon a bipartisan mechanism that could look at what things can be done which wouldn't be particularly dramatic if we move now, to deal with the problems that Social Security will encounter in the third decade of the next century and the problems that Medicare will encounter when all the baby boomers go on it. But those things can be salvaged and resolved with modest changes if we move now because it's so far into the future. But that kind of a bipartisan mechanism cannot and must not be used to avoid dealing with the Medicare Trust Fund problem that exists right now.

John [John Broder, Los Angeles Times], and then we'll go to—yes, go ahead, follow up, and then we'll do this one, and then I'll go over here.

Q. The last time there was a bipartisan commission to look into the long-term reform of Social Security in 1983, among the reforms that came out was the raising of taxes and the raising of the retirement age, eligibility. Would you be open to those possibilities if that became the recommendation of a new commission?

The President. I think it would be—well, the reason you have a commission is so you don't have to jump the gun on trying to make decisions. But let me mention—let's just—my view is it would be unwise to raise the payroll tax any more. It is already quite high, and it is a regressive tax. Most of our new jobs are coming from small businesses. If you start a small business, you have to pay the payroll tax whether you make any money or not. You don't have to pay income tax unless you're actually making money. And if you look at the job machine in America and where most of these jobs are coming and you look at the fact that the payroll tax is quite high, I think it would be difficult for us to do it. And I also believe if we start now, it will not be necessary.

In terms of the age, keep in mind, we have already—the '83 commission got an agreement to raise the age from 65 to 67 because when Social Security was instituted the average life expectancy was less than 65. You didn't even have a 50–50 chance to draw Social Security when it started. Now if you get to be 65 in America, you're living in the group of seniors with the highest life expectancy in the world. So we're going up to 67.

I think I would—to go beyond that, the question would be—there are two issues there. One is, could you accelerate the ladder? You know, it's like a month a year now; could it go to 2 months a year? That's one question. The other question would be, if you went beyond that, it might be fine for somebody like me who has always had a desk job, but what about people who have laboring jobs? What about people who really work with their hands and their backs, and would that be too burdensome for them? That would be my concern there.

Go ahead, John, and then we'll come over here. Yes.

Campaign Financing

Q. Yes, Mr. President. When questions came up earlier this afternoon about questionable campaign finance contributions, you took pains to say these were Democratic National Committee matters. But with all due respect, you named the cochairmen of the Democratic National

Committee. Much of what they did this year was in furtherance of your reelection and that of other Democrats. Don't you feel some responsibility or accountability for what was done in your name?

The President. Well, first of all, we are doing—I believe that the Democratic Committee is doing the right thing by returning any contributions that were improperly tendered to it. And I certainly feel responsible to do that, and I would not tolerate their not doing it.

Furthermore, I think Senator Dodd and Chairman Fowler did the right thing in trying to, if you will, develop a tighter screen for evaluating it. They acknowledged that they should have had a better screen, that they were—you know, as I said, they took in over a million contributions over 2 years from different people and that they found these relatively small number that were wrong and they should do it. And had that not been done, I would absolutely feel responsible for it, because I am a Democrat and I'm the titular head of the Democratic Party.

So I'm not trying to disclaim responsibility, but I am trying to point out that there is—there's a difference between what the party does and what the campaign does. I'm also responsible for what the campaign does in that sense, but there is a difference. And the party should do the right thing and give any money back but—and I also pointed out again, the Republicans have their own problems here and have had some in both campaign and in party-raising—in Presidential campaigns and in party-raising. But all of them, when you add them up, it's—I'll say something in behalf of the Republicans—if they raise money from a million people over 2 years, it would not surprise me if 10 to 20 of those contributions did not meet the requirements of the law, or 30, and it would be a small percentage. And that doesn't mean that we ought to run them out of town on a rail.

But what I do know is that if you have to raise this kind of money—and they raised—what did they raise, $150 million more than we did; they raised $3 for every $2 we did—if you raise this kind of money, questions will be raised about it. And the only way to ever put this to rest is to pass campaign finance reform.

We have a vehicle that I think is as good as any. There is no perfect solution to this, because of two Supreme Court decisions, one of which says nobody can limit how much money you spend on the campaign or how much of your money you spend; the other one appears to give a wide berth to these third-party expenditure committees. But still, the McCain-Feingold bill, with a modification to deal with the foreign contribution issue, would dramatically improve things.

Now, I am for it; the Democratic Party is on record for it; the chairman of the Democratic Committee has challenged the chairman of the Republican Committee to endorse it. Senator McCain was very active in Senator Dole's campaign. It is completely bipartisan, and we have enough votes in our caucus in the Senate and the House to contribute to an overwhelming victory. So now the real question is, whether we get McCain-Feingold is solely within the purview of the leaders of the House and the Senate on the Republican side. If they'll go with it, we will do it lickety-split, and then we'll be able to talk about some other things down the road.

Yes.

Q. Mr. President, first of all, congratulations.

The President. Thank you.

Q. President Arafat called on you——

The President. You had to remind me that it was congratulations instead of condolences after this crowd. [*Laughter*]

Middle East Peace Process

Q. President Arafat called on you, Mr. President, to help him move the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis, and Mr. Arafat considers the whole situation as very urgent and serious, due to the fact that there are many settlements which are brewing and Mr. Sharon is threatening to build more settlements in the West Bank before the final settlements with the Palestinians. In light of this and the choking closure on the Palestinians that you are very concerned about—several times you have expressed your opinion and desire to see the Palestinians working and getting everything—what are your immediate plans, Mr. President, to bring about implementation of the Oslo accords, as well as the Israeli-Palestinian agreement, and all of the signatures that we have done here in Washington, in the near future, sir? Thank you.

The President. I think the first and most important thing we can do is to nail the agreement on Hebron. You know, we were getting very,

very close to an agreement on Hebron before Chairman Arafat had to leave to go to his trip to Europe. And I did what I could by bringing Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat here to meet with King Hussein and me. They began to establish at least the beginnings of a relationship of trust and interchange so that an agreement could be made on Hebron.

If we can clear the Hebron hurdle—it has such emotional significance to both sides as well as such practical significance—I believe that will open the door to go on and fulfill all the other challenges that are there before us. That's what I believe.

Yes, sir, in the back.

Social Security and Medicare

Q. Mr. President, on the Social Security-Medicare problem, could you give us a timeline on when you plan to call for organization of a bipartisan commission and who you would like to see serve on that commission?

The President. I can't, simply because I—it's one of the—how we're going to deal with this is one of literally a hundred items that are on my agenda in this period after the election. All I can tell you is, I think that to deal with the baby boom issues of Social Security and Medicare, we need a bipartisan commission, and we need the longest possible timelines so we have to make the least painful possible changes.

But that must not be—let me reiterate—that is not a reason not to go on and balance this budget and put 10 years on the Medicare Trust Fund. We need to do that now. Losing a year last year I think was an error. It may have been unavoidable, but it complicates all of our other balanced budget calculations. We need to go on and do it and start ratcheting down this spending issue.

Go ahead, Karen [Karen Ball, New York Daily News].

Election Results

Q. Mr. President, this is twice now you've been elected with less than 50 percent of the vote. How big of a disappointment was that to you, and is that going to hamstring you now?

The President. Not much. The 379 electoral votes was an enormous consolation prize. [*Laughter*] And after all, in many of the States that were battleground States, including two that were especially important to me, there were four candidates on the ballot that got substantial numbers of votes, in California and Oregon particularly. And I made a decision the last week that I wanted to go to some of the smaller States where we had some elections in play. And my advisers said, "Now, if you do this, it will cost you a couple of points on your popular margin." I said, "You know, it's the right thing to do, we ought to go out there." People were asking me to come and campaign, they thought it would make a difference, and I agreed to do it. I don't have any regret at all.

I never met a person in public life that didn't wish that he or she had gotten all the votes. So would I have liked a few more? Of course. But I'm very gratified by what happened.

Yes, go ahead.

Australia and New Zealand

Q. You'll be going to Australia in about a week or so. What do you hope to accomplish there? And you're not going to visit its neighbor New Zealand at this time, but will you be reaching out to them to increase the contacts with New Zealand and perhaps invite their ambassador here when they sort out—their Prime Minister—when they sort out their election?

The President. Let me just say, we have a good partnership with Australia. I have not had a chance—it is vital to our security interests in the area. I have not had a chance to meet with the new Prime Minister. And I'm looking forward to going down there, and it will be a nice thing for Hillary and for me. We have never been to Australia before.

And we've also had a good relationship with New Zealand. And Prime Minister Bolger and I work quite well together. And we'll just have to cross that bridge when we come to it about where we go from there. But I'm feeling—I'm anxious to go down there and do that because our relationships with Australia are a big part of our future in the whole Asian-Pacific region.

Yes, go ahead.

Iraq and Kuwait

Q. [*Inaudible*]—from Kuwait TV. Congratulations, again. My question is, what would be your administration's policy towards Iraq in order to guarantee and maintain the security of the Gulf area in general and the state of Kuwait in particular? Thank you.

The President. Well, the first thing we will do is maintain our firm policy that we have all along to let the Iraqis know that no action

can be taken against Kuwait without dire consequences. When the Iraqi troops were massed, remember, down toward the Kuwait border during my first term, we immediately moved military assets into the area and activated a plan for reaction. And I think that they can be under no illusion that any aggressive action could be taken against Kuwait without a stern response by the United States.

The other thing that I think we're focused on with Iraq, and we must continue to be, is just getting them to comply with the United Nations resolutions. I think that is also very important. I do not relish the suffering of the people of Iraq. The United States was one of the sponsors of the resolution which would allow them to sell oil in return for food and medicine. And when the U.N. can work out the mechanism for doing that in the aftermath of the unfortunate events involving the Kurds, I think that will go forward. But our policy will be the same. We must contain the ability of Iraq to threaten its neighbors.

Yes, Mara [Mara Liasson, National Public Radio].

Voter Turnout

Q. Mr. President, we just finished an election where turnout was at a record low. I'm wondering why you think that was and what you might have done to make it more interesting or compelling so that more people would have voted.

The President. I could have made it closer, maybe. [*Laughter*] I don't know. I'm concerned about it, you know, and there are all kinds of—there are explanations you read which may be reassuring, like, "Well, when times are pretty good people maybe not vote;" and explanations you read which are discouraging, "The more the negative ads are, the lower the turnout is." And I saw a very disturbing—one of you on the television—I saw a series the other night about how local campaigns were now becoming also dominated by negative ads.

Let me make a suggestion and say that I do not know the answer to it. I was elated at the enormous turnout in 1992. I felt good about it. But we had signals that this election would be a lower turnout election quite a long while before we had the turnout. And the first indication I had for sure was when the viewership of the debates was so much lower than it was the year before. And you know, we got all our folks together and I said, "We're going to have a hard time getting our folks to the polls, and we need to really work on this."

So let me just throw it back to you and say that I would welcome any analysis anyone has about what we can do to get voting up. I strongly supported motor voter and other attempts to increase the registration base, thinking that that would increase the turnout. We have dramatically increased the number of people who are registered; there's been a huge increase in registration in the last 4 years. And I'm disappointed it wasn't accompanied by an increase in voting.

If you've got any more ideas—I saw Senator Feinstein on television saying that if we had a uniform poll closing, that that would increase turnout in the Western States. I wish I had a good opinion on it, but I'm open to doing something that will increase it if you all have any good ideas.

Yes.

Press Secretary Mike McCurry. Last question, please.

The President. No, I'll take both of them. Go ahead.

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. You took some heat during the campaign concerning the troubles in Northern Ireland, particularly from former Secretary of State Jim Baker, who called your trip to Ireland last year "Gullible's Travels." [*Laughter*]

The President. Did he say that? That's pretty good.

Q. Will you continue to try and assist in finding a solution to Northern Ireland, or do you find that there's just no solution to be had and no assistance the U.S. can provide?

The President. Well, the answer is I will continue to do whatever I can to be of assistance to the Irish and the British Governments as long as they work for peace in Northern Ireland and to the other parties who are committed to peace. I have supported the process which is now underway there. I don't think America could make a greater contribution than to have a man of George Mitchell's caliber there doing what he's doing.

And so I do not think that I have been in error in trying to help the Irish people come to grips with their hundreds of years of demons and put them aside and make peace. I think that we should continue to try. But it's obvious that there has to be a genuine cessation of vio-

lence and that all the parties have to be able to rely on one another not to start killing again, either in Northern Ireland or in Great Britain, in order for this peace process to go forward.

But I—yes, I intend to continue to do what I can to encourage it. I stay in close touch with Prime Minister Bruton and with Prime Minister Major and we talk—obviously, our people talk to the parties involved from time to time. And of course Senator Mitchell keeps us informed. And I would like to—I very much hope in the next 4 years that we can make some contribution to the ultimate resolution of this.

Yes.

Secretary of State

Q. Thank you, sir. Mr. President, the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement was the foreign policy pinnacle of your first term. As you seek a Secretary of State, will the first and foremost quality you look for in someone be the person who can get that process back on track?

The President. Well, the short answer to your question is, that will be one thing I look for. And that is one of the most important things that happened in the last 4 years. Continued reduction of our nuclear arsenals, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the end of—stopping the North Korean nuclear program, all those things amount—they count for a lot as well.

But if you look ahead, here's what I want a Secretary of State who can do—to do: number one, to continue our efforts to build the first undivided democratic Europe in history, which means to effect the NATO expansion, working with the Secretary of Defense, in a way that solidifies our partnership with a democratic Russia instead of undermining it; number two, to continue to be a force for peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland, working through the process in Bosnia, and elsewhere; number three, to meet the new security threats of terrorism and organized crime and drug running and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and sophisticated traditional weapons; and then to take advantage of the extraordinary economic opportunities for the United States in building a global economic structure that is increasingly more open and fair. That will stabilize the rest of the world and help America's prosperity to continue.

I don't think there is any way to—we don't have any scientific studies of this, but there is no way to calculate the enormous positive impact that the dramatic expansion of trade in the last 4 years has had on the changing mix of the new jobs in America. Over half of the new jobs, our 10½ million—10.7 million new jobs have come in high-wage areas. There is no question that one big reason is the disciplined, organized, integrated efforts that have been made in the private and public sectors to expand trade. So I want a Secretary of State that can do all that. I guess that means I want a magician.

One other thing I would say that we've learned from Warren Christopher—I made a reference to this yesterday—he is—his sheer physical capacities are those of a person half his age. You cannot be an American Secretary of State today unless you are capable of withstanding the rigors of intense travel, followed by intense meetings, followed by more intense travel. So it's almost like you've got to be practically athletic to do as well as you need to do. But those are the things that I want.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 130th news conference began at 3 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. During the news conference, the following persons were referred to: former Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown; Robert B. Fiske, Jr., former Independent Counsel, and Kenneth Starr, Independent Counsel, in the investigation of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan Association; Senator Christopher J. Dodd, general chairman, and Donald L. Fowler, national chairman, Democratic National Committee; Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; Ariel Sharon, Minister of Infrastructure, and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel; King Hussein I of Jordan; Prime Minister John Howard of Australia; Prime Minister James Bolger of New Zealand; George J. Mitchell, Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives for Ireland; Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland; and Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom.

The President's Radio Address
November 9, 1996

Good morning. Today I want to talk with you about what we can do as a nation to help parents as they try to raise their children. This week the American people came together to say that we are on the right track to the 21st century. They said we must continue to make real our vision to create an America where we offer opportunity to all, demand responsibility from all, and build a stronger American community of all Americans where everyone has a role to play.

At the heart of this mission has been our effort to strengthen America's families. This is work I am determined to build upon these next 4 years. We will continue to strengthen families by creating economic opportunity so that hard-working parents can provide for their children. To do that, I ask Congress to join with me to finish the job of finally balancing the budget in a way that protects our values. We will continue to strengthen families by helping parents to succeed at work and at home, by giving families safe streets to walk on and communities free from gangs and guns and drugs, and by expanding educational opportunity so that literacy is a given and college is within reach of all Americans.

We will continue to strengthen families by helping parents to protect their children from bad influences that come from outside the home. American parents are working overtime to set good examples only to have the full force of popular culture make their work harder. That's why we gave parents the V-chip and a television rating system so they can keep televised violence and explicit sexuality out of their young children's lives. And that's why we'll continue our efforts to help parents protect their children from the corrosive, dangerous influences of tobacco and alcohol.

We know the power of tobacco advertising to reach out to children every day and to get them hooked on a habit we know is deadly. Every day nearly 3,000 young people start to smoke in this country, even though it's illegal to sell cigarettes to them. This week we received further chilling evidence why we must remain vigilant in our efforts to protect our children from tobacco. According to a report released by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, more than 5 million Americans under the age of 18 who smoke today will eventually die prematurely from smoking. The CDC estimates that today's teen smokers will run up an estimated $200 billion in projected health care costs from tobacco-related illnesses. Their premature deaths will cut approximately 64 million years off the lives of Americans.

That's why my administration has taken tough, unprecedented action to stop advertising and marketing of cigarettes that can persuade teenagers to smoke. We're banning tobacco advertising on billboards near schools, ending cartoon characters in ads that children will likely see, restricting the cigarette machines that make it easier for children to illegally buy cigarettes.

The CDC report shows that when parents, teachers, doctors, and government work together we can stop people from smoking. The CDC studied two States that have put in place strong antismoking initiatives, California and Massachusetts. Both now have smoking rates lower than the national average, and both have seen smoking drop dramatically—15 percent in California and 20 percent in Massachusetts.

These reports tell all of us, keep up the fight to protect our children's health. It's worth it, and it works. We've worked so hard here to warn our children about the dangers of drugs, to tell them drugs are illegal, drugs can kill them, drugs can ruin their lives. We've worked hard to protect funding for safe and drug-free schools so the community can help parents. We must not weaken in this fight to protect our children from the dangers of tobacco.

We also have a duty to protect our families from the consequences of alcohol abuse. In the last year alone, 2,200 young people between the ages of 15 and 20 died in alcohol-related car crashes. We've worked hard to keep our children away from alcohol. Just last month I issued a rule telling the States they could lose some of their Federal highway funds if they did not make it illegal for anyone under 21 to drive with alcohol in their blood—zero tolerance.

Now the American liquor industry has made a decision that will make this hard work even harder. For a half-century now, liquor compa-

nies have agreed not to advertise their products on television and radio for the simple reason that it was the right thing to do. This week, however, the liquor industry announced it would break its ban and put liquor ads on the air, exposing our children to such ads before they know how to handle alcohol or are legally allowed to do so. That is simply irresponsible.

I commend the four major broadcast networks for saying they'll continue to honor the ban and keep liquor ads off the air. I urge all other broadcasters to follow that example. Parents have a hard enough time raising good kids these days, and all of us have a responsibility to help them to make those jobs easier, not harder.

To tobacco companies we should all say, "Sell your products to adults, but draw the line on kids." And to liquor companies we should say, "You were right for the last 50 years when you didn't advertise on television. You're wrong to change your policy now. This is no time to turn back. Get back on the ban." That's the best way to protect all our families.

Our goal must be to help parents pass on their values to their children, help our children act responsibly, and teach them to take charge of their own lives. If we do this, America's days—best days are still ahead.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:30 p.m. on November 8 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 9.

Remarks at a Veterans Day Ceremony in Arlington, Virginia
November 11, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much, Secretary Brown, for your introduction and for the service that you, Deputy Secretary Gober, and all of the men and women of the Department of Veterans Affairs render to our Nation every day. I thank Commander Zweiman for his remarkable address this morning, and I congratulate him on the 100th anniversary of the Jewish War Veterans of America. Thank you, sir.

To the distinguished leaders of our veterans' organizations; all the veterans who are here; the Gold Star mothers; the Gold Star wives; Major General Foley; all the members of the Cabinet who are here; the Joint Chiefs; the men and women in uniform, their families, and my fellow Americans.

Today on this hallowed hillside and all across our great land, we pay tribute to the service and sacrifice of our veterans, all those who followed our flag in war and peace, those who gave their lives, and those who came home. Each of us owes to all of them a debt we can never fully repay. The inscription on the Korean war memorial says, "Freedom is not free." For more than two centuries, our armed services have defended our freedom and made our Nation a beacon of hope for the world.

I'd like to take a moment in this special time for Americans to recognize the special contribution that one American veteran in particular has made to our Nation. Bob Dole was a 21-year-old 2d lieutenant serving in the Po Valley of Italy when a German shell struck him down in battle. He would bear the burden of his severe injury from that day forward for the rest of his life. But he refused to withdraw from the world and instead dedicated his life to serving the American people. I ask all of you here now to join me in applauding his remarkable record of achievement and patriotism to America. [*Applause*]

Today we thank God that America is at peace, but our freedom still comes at a cost. It depends upon the untiring efforts of the one and a half million men and women in our Armed Forces who defend our Nation, protect our interests, advance our ideals: keeping the peace in Bosnia, enforcing the no-fly zone in Iraq, standing watch over the DMZ on the Korean Peninsula, promoting stability and peace in Haiti. And beyond the headlines and hot spots, our service men and women are working every day, from Diego Garcia to Guam, to keep our forces strong and our readiness razor-sharp. Standing tall with them are the Guard and the Reserves, whose citizen soldiers proudly trace their lineage all the way back to the colonial Minutemen.

All those who serve our Nation deserve our strongest support. They must have the best training, the finest equipment, access to the newest technologies. And those who do go into battle for our Nation must never be left behind. And so we continue to pursue the fullest possible accounting for those Americans who are still missing.

Those who serve in uniform deserve every chance to build good lives as private citizens. And so we must offer our veterans and their families every opportunity to live their dreams, helping them to improve their educations, find good jobs, buy homes, protect their health.

This commitment extends to pursuing answers and providing relief for Gulf war veterans with unexplained illnesses. This issue was first brought to my attention by the First Lady as she traveled across America and veterans and their family members came up and talked to her of their personal experiences. Last year I appointed an independent Presidential advisory commission to address the health concerns of Persian Gulf veterans, their spouses and children. This commission will report its findings by year's end.

I want to assure all of you that we will leave no stone unturned in our efforts to investigate these cases and to provide our Gulf war veterans with the medical care they need. Tens of thousands of examinations have been performed; 26,000 determinations of disability have been made. There are many research projects now underway. There are mysteries still unanswered, and we must do more. But the United States will not forget the people who have served us, and we will discharge our obligations to those who served in the Persian Gulf.

Today we remember and honor the past service of America's veterans. And today we renew our commitment to meet the challenges of America's future for which they gave so much. Almost two centuries ago, Daniel Webster said in his dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill, "There remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation. And there is open to us, also, a noble pursuit to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us."

My fellow Americans, on the brink of a new century, we stand before broad new vistas of hope and progress. But if we are to realize our hopes for that future, we must ensure that America remains the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, for security and prosperity. We must strengthen and expand the alliances that have brought us thus far. We must continue to reduce the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction. We must confront the violent conflicts rooted in ethnic, religious, and racial hatreds that so bedevil the world today. We must stop the global scourges of organized crime, drug trafficking, and especially terrorism. We must build an open trading system for the 21st century, and we must stand with all those who stand for democracy and universal human rights.

I cannot help but note on this day that in our time, for the first time in the entire history of humanity on this planet, more than half the world's people live in democratically elected governments because of the example and the force and the power of the ideas of America and the sacrifice of America's veterans.

Let me also say that, as we meet the challenges of the next century, our unity as a people will be, as it has ever been, our greatest strength. The silent white rows of crosses that surround us mark the final resting place of men and women of all services, all ranks, all races, all religions. They stand as stunning evidence that our Founders were right: We are all equal in the eyes of God. That is something we must continue to practice until we get it right. It is something we must teach our children, and it is something we must continue to teach to those troubled areas of the rest of the world where people still insist on killing over their differences.

Our American veterans buried here came from different walks of life. They served our Nation in different places and in different ways. Yet all were united by love of country, belief in freedom and opportunity and responsibility, and their faith in America's future. As we commemorate this day of reverence and respect, let us also remember this unity of spirit that has guided our Nation forward from its beginnings. No words can repay the debt of gratitude we owe to the men and women who have stood up for our freedom, but we can honor the memory of our veterans best by remaining the best kind of Americans we can be and keeping our Nation strong and secure, one Nation under God, to fulfill the vision of a better world that so many of them, our veterans, gave so much to create.

Thank you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. at the Amphitheater at Arlington National Cemetery. In his remarks, he referred to Robert Zweiman, national commander, Jewish War Veterans of the USA, and Maj. Gen. Robert F. Foley, USA, Commanding General, U.S. Army Military District of Washington.

Remarks on Signing the Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996 and an Exchange With Reporters

November 12, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Vice President, and to the members of the administration and especially to the large delegation of Members of Congress who are here from both parties. I thank you all for coming and for creating this legislation which will protect and expand the treasure of our national parks.

This legislation affirms our solemn commitment to say, from one end of our Nation to the other, we will be good stewards of the land that God has given us. This bill will create or improve almost 120 parks, trails, rivers, historical sites in 41 of our 50 States.

It turns the Presidio, a former military post in San Francisco, into a sanctuary of nature and history by establishing a nonprofit trust to manage the Presidio's property. It gives us a blueprint for national parks that one day will be able to sustain themselves without Government funds. I thank Senators Boxer and Feinstein and Representative Pelosi for their work on this.

The legislation preserves the Sterling Forest on the New York-New Jersey border. This new park, just 40 miles from New York City, will put nature within reach of millions of families of all backgrounds. It will safeguard a watershed that provides clean drinking water for the people of New Jersey. It will show that a forest that was left for dead a century ago can be brought back to life and protected today. I thank Senator Bradley and Senator-elect Torricelli and Representative Hinchey especially for their work on this.

The legislation will establish the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve in Kansas. Four hundred thousand square miles of this prairie covered our continent when Lewis and Clark made their great journey. Today, only a tiny fraction of it remains. This bill will help to restore 11,000 acres of this uniquely American landscape with its 9-foot-tall grass and rich plant and animal life. I'm pleased to say that it will also give the State of Kansas its very first national park. I thank Senator Kassebaum especially for her work on this, as well as Secretary Glickman, who supported this project when he was a Member of Congress.

The legislation does much more. It establishes the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail in Alabama, the 54-mile stretch of road that Dr. Martin Luther King walked in 1965 to remind Americans of how far we had to travel to live up to our ideals of equality and justice for all. And I thank, especially, the man who walked a lot of those miles with Dr. King, Congressman John Lewis, for his leadership in that regard.

This bill also gives us the resources to upgrade housing for Park Service employees. Many of these dedicated public servants have been spending their winters living in 30-year-old trailers that were supposed to last only one summer. That's going to change. I must say that one of the more rewarding aspects of being President has been visiting our national parks and getting to know the people who get up every day and put on the National Park Service uniform. It is amazing, the level of talent, training, and commitment those people bring to this job and the sacrifices, financial and other, that they're willing to accept to do the work that they love. But they deserve a better deal. And for the service they do to us, I thank the Congress for providing decent housing to them.

I'm also proud of what this bill does not do. It no longer contains provisions that would have taken land away from Virginia's Shenandoah and Richmond Battlefield parks. It does not open the Sequoia National Park in California or the Red Rock region of Utah to development that I believe would be destructive.

I also want to say, finally, that I hope we can see more legislation like this in the next 4 years. This bill is a model of how we ought to work together. This bill had strong Republican support; it had strong Democratic support. We said we were going to put our national treasures beyond partisan politics and put the people of America, their future, and their environment above that. And I was very gratified by it, and I want to say again to the Members here and to those who are not here who played a leading role in this legislation, it is a model of how democracy ought to work.

So now I want to sign the bill. I want to say that I ask Congress to continue to work with me in this same spirit, to protect the environment, to strengthen the community right-to-know protections, to toughen punishment for polluters, to clean up two-thirds of the existing toxic waste sites by the year 2000. We can meet these challenges if we work together in the future, as we did to pass this terrific piece of legislation.

Thank you very much.

[*At this point, the President signed the legislation.*]

Second Term Transition

Q. Mr. President, how close are you to naming a new Secretary of State, and will former Senator George Mitchell be the nominee?

The President. I haven't made a decision. I'm working on it. I'm working on a lot of appointments now, and I will do it when I'm ready to do it. It's a very important decision.

Bipartisanship

Q. Mr. President, what will you say to the congressional leaders, especially the Republicans, when you meet with them this afternoon to encourage this idea of bipartisanship?

The President. Well, I think the first thing I'd like to do is to—it'll be the first chance I have to thank them in a room together for what happened in the last 6 or 8 weeks of the last Congress, where you had Senator Kassebaum and Senator Kennedy's bill pass, a number of some other health reform legislation passed. We had the minimum wage, small-business pension, adoption tax credit legislation passed, the welfare reform legislation. It was a remarkable period of incredibly productive legislation, and that shows what we can do when we work together. And I would just encourage us to do that, beginning with balancing the budget and the campaign finance reform. But there are lots of other things we have to do. So, basically, today I just want to reaffirm my commitment to try to re-create that spirit and keep it going.

Health Care Reform

Q. Sir, Senator Lott, in particular, has said he would like what amounts to almost an admission from you and from the Democrats that using words like "cut," "slash," "wreck" referring to Medicare in the ads was, as they put it, demagoguery and unfair. They want you to set the record straight, so to speak. Will you cooperate?

The President. Well, I didn't read what he said exactly in that way. I think the—what we objected to, I don't think that it was going to come back again anyway. The $270 billion option is not there and no longer needed, which is one of the problems with our budgeting process. You know, the inflation rate in health care has come down so much because of the increase in competition and efficiency that no one any longer believes that we need to do that again, I don't believe.

So the question is whether we can basically take up where we left off, where the differences between us were smaller. And I think that's just the—we'll just have to talk about how to do that.

Senator Lott, to be fair to him, has got to have time to meet with—he's got some new Members. He's got to have time to meet with his caucus to develop a strategy. I think we'll be working together on this. I certainly hope we will.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any views on——

Bipartisanship

Q. Wasn't this remarkable period really driven by the fact that there was an election coming up and that Republicans didn't want to be perceived——

The President. It does, and I'll compare it to mine. It may have been driven by that. But the point is, the people ratified what was done, you know. There is no way to read the election results as they came out as a repudiation of the last 2 months of the last Congress. It clearly has to be seen as a ratification of the last 2 months of the last Congress and what was done.

And so it shouldn't take—you know, I'm not always as quick on the uptake as I ought to be, but it shouldn't take me another year and a half to figure that out. I have a fresh memory of what happened, and I think that's the way the Members will receive it as well.

Q. Trent Lott says the first move is up to you on Medicare. Are you ready to make the first move?

The President. Under the rules, I have to present a budget, and I'm certainly prepared to present a budget. But in the end, we will still have to reconcile. You know, we don't want to get into that—I don't agree with every characterization that was put on our economic program in 1993; I think that's why we're in the shape we're in today. We've got that interest rate down, went forward. But there's no point in us going back and litigating what we thought of each other's programs that we didn't agree with. We need to focus on how we can reach agreement now.

We're in this boat together and we have to paddle it together. And that's what the American people want. We've got to remember that the American people are in the boat with us, and we're not nearly as important as they are and their future. And so it's time for us to each pick up our paddle and row. And I think that's what we'll wind up doing.

Balanced Budget Amendment

Q. Mr. President, would you consider supporting a balanced budget amendment, given the change in the Republican Senate?

The President. Do I expect the Congress to support it?

Q. Well, no. Would you consider supporting it, given the change in the Senate now?

The President. You know, my problems with it always were—you know, I lived under one as a Governor, and we produced 12 balanced budgets, and I'm trying to get back to a balanced budget system here.

My problems with a constitutional amendment were always more a question of how to manage the larger economic problems of the country. The Nation's budget is different from a State, and I just want to make sure that if we have one, it needs to be clear in terms of how—and it needs to really give us the possibility of dealing with a recession. You don't want to wind up with a Congress someday in a recession raising taxes or throwing unemployed people off health care because they're trying to get to a balanced budget. Then you could actually wind up making the deficit worse.

If it sets a framework and says that in the 21st century in the economy we're going to be living in, other things being equal, we ought always to be balancing our books, I agree with that. I just don't think you—we may tie our hands more than we will achieve. So what I'm going to focus my energies on is getting the balanced budget. I don't have a vote in the Congress. My voice counts, presumably, but I don't have a vote. But I do have the responsibility to help the American people get the balanced budget, and that's what I'm going to focus my energies on.

Q. So you don't reject the amendment out of hand?

The President. Well, what I—I don't believe we need it, and it can't be an excuse—for a long time I was afraid it would be an excuse to throw the burden on somebody else by the Congress, because by definition you have to have it down the road. It takes awhile to ratify. But my belief is that you—I don't believe that we need it, but if we have it, it ought to be able to be implemented in a way that actually works and gives the country what it needs to manage a recession because, you know, we won't always have—someday down the road we'll have another bad patch in the economy. I mean, we just know that's going to happen.

You know, you don't have—no one has a total trouble-free life; no country has a trouble-free economy. Someday down the road—and we just don't want an amendment to wind up making our recession worse and causing us to do things that are counterproductive that you would never do in a recession. In a recession you would never raise taxes, and you wouldn't throw people who are unemployed through no fault of their own off of health care eligibility because you were trying to balance the budget.

So that's the only thing I'm—if the escape hatch is good, then we'll manage it the best way we can. The American people—we're a very practical people. We'll find a way to deal with the amendment if the amendment—the thing I want us to do is, if you look at this global economy, look how much more economic activity was generated in America when we lowered the deficit and lowered interest rates, and it totally overwhelmed the contractionary effects of reducing the deficit by holding spending

down. And we would be better off in this kind of economy always targeting a balanced budget unless there is a substantial recession, in which case we don't want to raise taxes on people when they don't have as much money as they should anyway. That's what I'm worried about.

So that's why I'm telling you I'm going to be working on putting a balanced budget in there. If we get it, if we can get the Congress to pass a plan that will achieve that, we'll have the desired economic effect, short term and long term, and then whatever happens with the amendment will happen.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:18 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. H.R. 4236, approved November 12, was assigned Public Law No. 104–333.

Statement on Signing the Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996

November 12, 1996

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4236, the "Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996," a comprehensive bill addressing the management of the Nation's invaluable national parks, forests, and other natural resources.

I am pleased the Congress passed this legislation with bipartisan support in both Houses and has removed numerous provisions to which my Administration strongly objected.

The Act will create or improve almost 120 national parks, trails, rivers, or historical sites in 41 of our States. As President Teddy Roosevelt said: "[t]he nation behaves well if it treats the natural resources as assets which it must turn over to the next generation increased, not impaired, in value." This Act will help ensure that we follow that advice and protect for the next generation some of our most valuable natural and historical resources.

One of the most important provisions that my Administration supported would improve the management of the Presidio in San Francisco. This military post, dating from 1776, includes both beautiful open spaces appropriate for National Park Service management and hundreds of unused buildings requiring a more innovative approach. This Act establishes a government corporation, known as the Presidio Trust, to refurbish and lease these buildings quickly and efficiently, but in a manner consistent with overall park management requirements.

Another laudable provision authorizes appropriations of $17.5 million to help the New York-New Jersey Palisades Interstate Park Commission to acquire lands within the Sterling Forest Reserve, just 40 miles from midtown Manhattan. This is one of the last areas of pristine forest in the Northeast and the area is critical for supplying safe drinking water to northern New Jersey.

I am also pleased that the Act establishes the Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve in Kansas. The North American Continent was once covered by over 400,000 square miles of tallgrass prairie. Today, less than 1 percent remains. This Act will help to restore 11,000 acres of tallgrass prairie, an ecosystem of grass as tall as 9 feet, and includes trees, flowers, birds and other wildlife. This ecosystem is nationally significant and the Preserve is a welcome addition to the National Park System.

My Administration supports many other provisions in this omnibus legislation, including designation of 10 separate nonfederal national heritage areas in Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Iowa, Ohio, and New York. Other provisions would help to preserve the Nation's cultural heritage by authorizing memorials, protecting historic areas, designating the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail in Alabama, and authorizing the establishment of a Martin Luther King, Jr., memorial in the District of Columbia.

This Act also includes scores of park boundary adjustments, land exchanges, and provisions to assist agencies in protecting national parks, forests, and public lands.

At the same time, the bill deletes almost all of the provisions of the earlier conference agree-

ment that my Administration had found objectionable. These provisions include those that would have adversely affected the Tongass National Forest in Alaska, the Shenandoah National Park and Richmond Battlefields National Park in Virginia, the Sequoia National Park in California, and other national parks and Federal lands. Unfortunately, the Act still includes a few objectionable provisions. Among them is a provision that changes the status of about 70 acres of fragile land that was previously protected as part of the Coastal Barrier Resources System. Prior to my signing of the Act this land could only be developed at private expense. Now, this land will be eligible for Federal development subsidies in the form of infrastructure funding and flood insurance. The taxpayer should not bear the risk of development in these damage-prone areas, and my Administration will strongly resist any similar legislative efforts in the future. In addition, several provisions exempt specific land transactions from environmental laws. Where these provisions allow, my Administration will work to complete the transactions in full compliance with our environmental laws.

I must also note that two sections of the Act require careful construction and application to avoid violating the Appointments Clause of the Constitution. First, to avoid an unconstitutional limitation on the President's power to appoint officers, I will regard the limitations on my ability to make appointments to the Board of Directors of the Presidio Trust as advisory. The second issue involves officers of the National Park Service (NPS). To avoid an unconstitutional congressional removal of an officer, I will not construe the Act to require that the current NPS Director be subjected to the new appointment process established by the bill. Further, appointments to the NPS Deputy Director positions created by the Act must be made in a manner consistent with the Appointments Clause in order for them to exercise significant governmental authority.

As I said on September 29th following House passage of this legislation, this is not a perfect bill. But overall, the Act represents a significant step forward in the conservation and management of our national parks and other Federal lands for the benefit of this and future generations.

I am pleased to sign H.R. 4236 into law.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

The White House,
November 12, 1996.

NOTE: H.R. 4236, approved November 12, was assigned Public Law No. 104–333.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

November 12, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

On November 14, 1994, in light of the dangers of the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons ("weapons of mass destruction"—(WMD)) and of the means of delivering such weapons, I issued Executive Order 12938, and declared a national emergency under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*). Under section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), the national emergency terminates on the anniversary date of its declaration, unless I publish in the *Federal Register* and transmit to the Congress a notice of its continuation.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. Therefore, I am hereby advising the Congress that the national emergency declared on November 14, 1994, and extended on November 14, 1995, must continue in effect beyond November 14, 1996. Accordingly, I have extended the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12938 and have sent the attached notice

of extension to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The following report is made pursuant to section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703) and section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), regarding activities taken and money spent pursuant to the emergency declaration. Additional information on nuclear, missile, and/or chemical and biological weapons (CBW) nonproliferation efforts is contained in the most recent annual Report on the Proliferation of Missiles and Essential Components of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Weapons, provided to the Congress pursuant to section 1097 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 (Public Law 102–190), also known as the "Nonproliferation Report," and the most recent annual report provided to the Congress pursuant to section 308 of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991 (Public Law 102–182).

During the last 6 months, the three export control regulations issued under the Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative (EPCI) remained fully in force and continue to be applied in order to control the export of items with potential use in chemical or biological weapons or unmanned delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction.

The threat of chemical weapons is one of the most pressing security challenges of the post-Cold War era. With bipartisan support from the Congress, the United States has long been a leader in the international fight against the spread of chemical weapons. Democrats and Republicans have worked hard together to strengthen our security by concluding the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction (the Chemical Weapons Convention or CWC).

The CWC bans an entire class of weapons of mass destruction. It is both an arms control and a nonproliferation treaty that requires total elimination of chemical weapons stocks, prohibits chemical weapons-related activities, bans assistance for such activities and bars trade with non-Parties in certain relevant chemicals. This treaty denies us no option we would otherwise wish to exercise and is a critical instrument in our global fight against the spread of chemical weapons.

The CWC provides concrete measures that will raise the costs and risks of engaging in chemical weapons-related activities. The CWC's declaration and inspection requirements will improve our knowledge of possible chemical weapons activities, whether conducted by countries or terrorists. The treaty's provisions constitute the most comprehensive and intrusive verification regime ever negotiated, covering virtually every aspect of a chemical weapons program, from development through production and stockpiling. These provisions provide for access to declared and undeclared facilities and locations, thus making clandestine chemical weapons production and stockpiling more difficult, more risky and more expensive.

Countries that refuse to join the CWC will be politically isolated and banned from trading with States Parties in certain key chemicals. Indeed, major chemical industry groups have testified before the Senate that our companies stand to lose millions of dollars in international sales if the United States is not a State Party when the treaty enters into force.

That could happen if we fail to ratify the CWC promptly. It is nearly four years since the Bush Administration signed the Convention and three years since this Administration submitted the CWC to the Senate for its advice and consent. All our major NATO allies have deposited their instruments of ratification, as have all other G–7 members. The CWC will enter into force 180 days after it has been ratified by 65 countries. By mid-October 1996, 64 of the 160 signatory countries had done so. It therefore seems likely the CWC will enter into force as early as April 1997.

Further delay in securing U.S. ratification of this vital treaty serves only the interests of proliferators and terrorists. Delay may well also endanger the international competitiveness of the chemical industry, one of our largest exporters. In the interim, pressures are increasing in unstable regions to acquire and use chemical weapons. We need to ratify this convention urgently to strengthen our own security, affirm our leadership in nonproliferation and to protect our chemical industry. Ratification must be a top priority of the new Congress in early 1997.

During the reporting period, the United States continued to be active in the work of the CWC Preparatory Commission (PrepCom) in The Hague. The Prepcom is developing the vital technical and administrative procedures for

implementation of the CWC through a strong organization to ensure compliance when the convention enters into force.

The United States is working hard with the international community to end the threat from another terrible category of weapons of mass destruction—biological weapons. We are an active member of the Ad Hoc Group striving to create a legally binding instrument to strengthen the effectiveness and improve the implementation of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (The Biological Weapons Convention or BWC). The Ad Hoc Group was mandated by the September 1994 BWC Special Conference. The Group held meetings in July and September with the goal of preparing for the late November 1996 Fourth BWC Review Conference. Concluding a new BWC protocol is high on our list of nonproliferation goals. We should aim to complete such a protocol by 1998.

The United States continues to be a leader in the Australia Group (AG) chemical and biological weapons nonproliferation regime. The United States supported the entry of the Republic of Korea (South Korea)—a country with an important chemical industry—into the AG. The ROK became the group's 30th member in late September—a tribute to the continuing international recognition of the importance of the Group's effort in nonproliferation and to the commitment of the ROK to that goal.

The United States attended the AG's annual plenary session from October 14–17, 1996, during which the Group continued to focus on strengthening AG export controls and sharing information to address the threat of CBW terrorism. At the behest of the United States, the AG first began in-depth discussion of terrorism during the 1995 plenary session following the Tokyo subway nerve gas attack earlier that year.

The Group also reaffirmed the members' collective belief that full adherence to the CWC and the BWC will be the best way to achieve permanent global elimination of CBW, and that all states adhering to these Conventions have an obligation to ensure that their national activities support this goal.

Australia Group participants continue to ensure that all relevant national measures promote the object and purposes of the BWC and CWC, and will be fully consistent with the CWC upon its entry into force. The AG believes that national export licensing policies on chemical weapons-related items fulfill the obligation established under Article I of the CWC that States Parties never assist, in any way, the acquisition of chemical weapons. Inasmuch as these measures are focused solely on preventing activities banned under the CWC, they are consistent with the undertaking in Article XI of the CWC to facilitate the fullest possible exchange of chemical materials and related information for purposes not prohibited by the CWC.

The AG also agreed to continue its active program of briefings for non-AG countries, and to promote regional consultations on export controls and nonproliferation to further awareness and understanding of national policies in these areas.

During the last year, the United States imposed chemical weapons proliferation sanctions on one individual. On November 17, 1995, sanctions were imposed under the Chemical and Biological Weapons Control and Warfare Elimination Act of 1991 on Russian citizen Anatoliy Kuntsevich for knowingly providing material assistance to a foreign chemical weapons program.

The United States carefully controlled exports that could contribute to unmanned delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction, exercising restraint in considering all such proposed transfers consistent with the Guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). In May 1996, the United States imposed missile technology proliferation sanctions against two entities in Iran and one entity in North Korea for transfers involving Category II MTCR Annex items.

MTCR Partners continued to share information about proliferation problems with each other and with other potential supplier, consumer, and transshipment states. Partners also emphasized the need for implementing effective export control systems. This cooperation has resulted in the interdiction of missile-related materials intended for use in missile programs of concern.

The United States worked unilaterally and in coordination with its MTCR Partners to combat missile proliferation and to encourage non-members to export responsibly and to adhere to the MTCR Guidelines. Since my last report, we have continued our missile nonproliferation dialogue with the Republic of Korea and Ukraine. In the course of normal diplomatic relations, we also have pursued such discussions with

other countries in Central Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

In June 1996, the United States was an active participant in discussions at the MTCR's Reinforced Point of Contact Meeting on Regional Missile Proliferation Issues. This meeting resulted in an in-depth discussion of regional missile proliferation concerns and actions the Partners could take, individually and collectively, to address the specific concerns raised by missile proliferation in regions of tensions.

In July 1996, the MTCR held a Seminar on Transshipment Issues. The Seminar was held in Washington and hosted by the United States on behalf of the Regime. It brought together foreign policy makers and experts from twelve MTCR Partner countries and seven non-MTCR countries for the first joint discussion of ways to address the proliferation threat posed by transshipment. The seminar was successful in focusing attention on the transshipment problem and fostered a productive exchange of ideas on how to impede proliferators' misuse of transshipment. Seminar participants also identified several areas for possible follow-up, which the United States pursued at the 1996 Edinburgh MTCR Plenary.

The MTCR held its Eleventh Plenary Meeting at Edinburgh, Scotland, October 7–11. At the Plenary, the MTCR Partners reaffirmed their commitment to controlling exports to prevent proliferation of delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction. They also reiterated their readiness for international cooperation in peaceful space activities that could not contribute to WMD delivery systems.

The MTCR Partners also were supportive of U.S. initiatives to follow up on the success of the June 1996 Reinforced Point of Contact Meeting on the regional aspects of missile proliferation and the July 1996 Seminar on transshipment issues. The Partners undertook to be proactive in encouraging key non-Partner transshippers to adhere to the MTCR Guidelines and Annex, and in providing them with practical assistance in implementing transshipment controls on missile technology. The Partners also agreed on steps they could take to enhance the MTCR's effectiveness in impending missile proliferation in South Asia and the Persian Gulf. Finally, the MTCR Partners agreed to increase the transparency of Regime aims and activities, and to continue their efforts to develop a dialogue with countries outside the Regime to encourage voluntary adherence to the MTCR Guidelines and heightened awareness of missile proliferation risks.

We also continued vigorous pursuit of our nuclear nonproliferation goals. In May 1995, Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) agreed at the NPT Review and Extension Conference to extend the NPT indefinitely and without conditions. Since the conference, more nations have acceded to the treaty. There now are more than 180 parties, making the NPT nearly universal.

In a truly historic landmark in our efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons, the 50th UN General Assembly on September 10, 1996, adopted and called for signature of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) negotiated over the past two and a half years in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The overwhelming passage of this UN resolution (158–3–5) demonstrates the CTBT's strong international support and marks a major success for United States foreign policy. On September 24, I and other national leaders signed the CTBT in New York.

The United States played a leading role in promoting the negotiation of this agreement by declaring a moratorium on nuclear testing in 1992 and calling on all the other declared nuclear weapons states to enact their own moratoria, and by announcing in August of 1995 our support for a complete ban on all tests no matter how small their nuclear yield—a so-called "zero-yield" CTBT. The United States also insisted on an effective verification regime to ensure that the treaty enhances rather than reduces the security of its adherents.

The CTBT will serve several United States national security interests in banning all nuclear explosions. It will constrain the development and qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons; end the development of advanced new types of nuclear weapons; contribute to the prevention of nuclear proliferation and the process of nuclear disarmament; and strengthen international peace and security. The CTBT marks an historic milestone in our drive to reduce the nuclear threat and to build a safer world.

The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) continues efforts to upgrade control lists and export control procedures. By October 1996, NSG members confirmed their agreement to clarifications to the nuclear trigger list to accord with trigger list changes agreed to by the members

of the NPT Exporters (Zangger) Committee. The NSG also is actively pursuing steps to enhance the transparency of the export regime in accordance with the call in Principles 16 and 17 of the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference. The NSG is also continuing efforts to enhance information sharing among members regarding the nuclear programs of proliferant countries.

NSG membership increased to 34 with acceptance of Brazil, the Republic of Korea and Ukraine at the 1996 Buenos Aires Plenary. Members continued contacts with Belarus, China, Kazakstan and Lithuania regarding NSG activities and guidelines. The ultimate goal of the NSG is to obtain the agreement of all suppliers, including nations not members of the regime, to control nuclear and nuclear-related exports in accordance with the NSG guidelines.

Pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), I report that there were no expenses directly attributable to the exercise of authorities conferred by the declaration of the national emergency in Executive Order 12938 during the period from May 14, 1996, through November 14, 1996.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. The notice is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Statement on the Death of Joseph Cardinal Bernardin

November 14, 1996

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death last night of Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, the Archbishop of Chicago, one of our Nation's most beloved men and one of Catholicism's great leaders.

Hillary and I loved and admired Cardinal Bernardin very much. In my conversation with him yesterday, I had the opportunity to remind Cardinal Bernardin of our deep feeling for him and of our admiration for his life's work. I am grateful today that I had that opportunity. Our conversation reminded me of the strength, grace, and dignity with which he lived his life on Earth and with which he prepared to leave this life for the next.

Throughout his life, Cardinal Bernardin devoted himself to bringing out the best in humanity and to bringing together those who were divided. He fought tirelessly against social injustice, poverty, and ignorance. As I said in September when I had the honor of presenting Cardinal Bernardin with the Medal of Freedom, Cardinal Bernardin was both a remarkable man of God and a man of the people.

Both in life and in death, he taught us the important lessons of community, caring, and common ground. To quote the Archbishop himself from one of his last public appearances on October 24 of this year: "A dying person does not have time for the peripheral or the accidental. He or she is drawn to the essential, the important. And what is important is that we find that unity with the Lord and within the community of faith for which Jesus prayed so fervently on the night before he died. To say it quite boldly, it is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

Statement on the Resignation of Deval Patrick as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights

November 14, 1996

It was with regret that I accepted today the resignation of Deval Patrick, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights at the Department of Justice, who has decided to return to private life. Throughout his tenure, Deval was one of my closest and most trusted advisers in the area of civil rights. He brought to his job a love of his country and an unflagging commitment to equal opportunity for all Americans.

The country will miss his able service, but we can all be proud of the many accomplishments he leaves behind, including his work at the forefront of my administration's effort to reform affirmative action programs in Federal procurement. Deval took to heart my admonition to mend affirmative action, not end it. The intelligence and sensitivity he brought to this difficult job has paid off with solid results.

Another hallmark of his tenure was his stewardship of the interagency task force created to investigate the rash of fires threatening our Nation's places of worship. Deval was instrumental in leading the fight to protect these institutions and to bring perpetrators of the burnings to justice.

I will always appreciate the sacrifice Deval's wife, Diane, and their children made so that Deval could provide this service to his country.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Iran

November 14, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since the last Presidential report of May 16, 1996, concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order 12170 of November 14, 1979. This report is submitted pursuant to section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c). This report covers events through September 16, 1996. My last report, dated May 16, 1996, covered events through March 1, 1996.

1. The Iranian Assets Control Regulations, 31 CFR Part 535 (IACR), were amended on August 22, 1996, to add the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (Public Law 104–132; 110 Stat. 1214–1319 (the "Antiterrorism Act") as an authority for the Regulations (61 Fed. Reg. 43460, August 23, 1996). On April 24, 1996, I signed into law the Antiterrorism Act. Section 321 of the Antiterrorism Act (18 U.S.C. 2332d) makes it a criminal offense for United States persons, except as provided in regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury in consultation with the Secretary of State, to engage in a financial transaction with the governments of countries designated under section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act (50 U.S.C. App. 2405) as supporting international terrorism. United States persons who engage in such transactions shall be fined under title 18, United States Code, or imprisoned for up to 10 years, or both. Because the IACR already prohibited such transactions with minor exceptions found to be in the public interest, no substantive change to the prohibitions of the IACR was necessary. A copy of the amendment is attached.

2. The Iran-United States Claims Tribunal (the "Tribunal"), established at The Hague pursuant to the Algiers Accords, continues to make progress in arbitrating the claims before it. Since the period covered in my last report, the Tribunal has rendered additional awards, in which the claims of dual nationals were dismissed for lack of jurisdiction. This brings the total number of awards rendered to 571, the majority of which have been in favor of U.S. claimants. As of September 16, 1996, the value of awards to successful U.S. claimants from the Security Account held by the NV Settlement Bank was $2,376,010,041.91.

On July 24, 1996, Iran directed the transfer of $37,700,000 to the Security Account, established by the Algiers Accords to ensure payment of awards to successful U.S. claimants, from the Interest Account. However, the Security Account has remained continuously below the $500 million balance required by the Algiers Accords since November 12, 1992. As of September 23, 1996, the total amount in the Security Account was $233,070,127.71, and the total amount in the Interest Account was $5,494,387.30.

Therefore, the United States continues to pursue Case A/28, filed in September 1993, to require Iran to meet its obligations under the Algiers Accords to replenish the Security Account. Iran filed its Statement of Defense in that case on August 30, 1995, and the United States filed a Reply on December 4, 1995. Iran is scheduled to file its Rejoinder on December 4, 1996.

The United States also continues to pursue Case A/29, filed in July 1994, to require Iran to meet its obligations under the Algiers Accords to pay its equal share of advances for Tribunal expenses when directed to do so by the Tribunal. Iran filed its Statement of Defense on July 5, 1996. The United States filed its Reply on October 11, 1996.

3. The Department of State continues to present other United States Government claims against Iran and to respond to claims brought against the United States by Iran, in coordination with concerned government agencies.

In May 1996, the United States filed comments in response to a Tribunal inquiry whether experts meetings could facilitate the resolution of the United States Request to Dismiss Certain Claims from Case B/61, filed in August 1995 as part of the United States consolidated submission on the merits of that case. The United States stated that experts meetings were inadvisable. Case B/61 involves a claim by Iran for compensation with respect to primarily military equipment that Iran had sought to purchase or have repaired under commercial contracts with more than 50 private American companies, but that Iran alleges it did not receive. Iran alleges that it suffered direct losses and consequential damages in excess of $2 billion because of the United States Government refusal to allow the export of the equipment after January 19, 1981, in alleged contravention of the Algiers Accords. Iran's rebuttal of the United States consolidated submission in Case B/61 is due December 9, 1996.

On May 6, 1996, in connection with Cases A/4, A/7, and A/15 (I: F and III), Iran requested that the Tribunal order the United States to terminate its leases of two former diplomatic properties of Iran to its current tenants. The United States responded by submitting comments to the Tribunal on May 31, 1996. The Tribunal has not yet issued a decision on Iran's request. A hearing of these cases has remained postponed by the parties' mutual agreement and under Tribunal order since October 11, 1994.

On May 10, 1996, Iran made a request for interim measures in Cases A/15(IV) and A/24, brought against the United States for its alleged failure to terminate litigation in U.S. courts in violation of the Algiers Accords. Iran requested that the Tribunal order the United States to stay the McKesson-OPIC litigation against Iran in U.S. district court. On June 20, 1996, after briefing by both parties, the Tribunal denied Iran's request for interim measures. The parties await the Tribunal's award on the merits of the cases, which were heard more than a year ago before the Full Tribunal.

On June 27, 1996, in connection with Case B/1, the United States renewed a request for a Tribunal order directing Iran to produce seized United States Government documents and suspending the proceedings until Iran complies with the order. In this renewal of the pending request, the United States identified nine exhibits recently submitted to the Tribunal by Iran that appeared to have been seized from U.S. facilities in Iran.

The United States pointed out to the Tribunal that Iran had previously informed the Tribunal on several occasions that the Iranian government does not possess any of the documents that were once stored in the U.S. facilities in Iran. Iran submitted a response to the Tribunal on September 5, 1995, asserting that the documents were handed over to Iranian representatives in the normal course of the Foreign Military sales program operations.

In August 1996, Iran filed a Statement of Claim in a new case, number A/30, alleging that the United States has violated paragraphs 1 and 10 of the General Declaration of the Algiers Accords. Iran bases its claim, *inter alia*, on press statements about an alleged covert action program aimed at Iran and U.S. economic sanctions, including the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act of 1996. The United States is currently prepar-

ing its Statement of Defense in response to Iran's claim.

In Case A/11, Iran alleges that the United States violated the Algiers Accords by failing to assist Iran in obtaining the return of the Shah's assets. The Department of State is currently in the process of preparing the United States Hearing Memorial, which is due to be filed on December 13, 1996.

Under the procedures established by the settlement reached February 22, 1996, on which I reported previously, the United States has begun to pay *ex gratia* amounts to the survivors of Iranian victims of the July 3, 1988, shootdown of Iran Air 655. As of the closing day for this report, 34 beneficiaries representing 12 of the deceased passengers had received payments totaling $2,850,000.00. Under the terms of the settlement, no money will be paid to the Government of Iran.

4. Since my last report, the Tribunal conducted hearings in two cases involving U.S. nationals, considered dual U.S.-Iranian nationals by the Tribunal. On May 16, 1996, Chamber Three held a one-day hearing in Claim No. 266, *Aryeh v. The Islamic Republic of Iran,* which involves the alleged expropriation by Iran of claimant's property in Iran. On June 12–14, 1996, Chamber Two held a hearing in Claim No. 953, *Hakim v. The Islamic Republic of Iran,* another claim for the expropriation of property in Iran.

In August 1996, the United States submitted a brief on behalf of private dual national claimants in a proceeding before Chamber One of the Tribunal. The United States argued that the Tribunal erred in a previous decision when it denied a dual national's claim on the ground that the claimant had acquired his property in his capacity as an Iranian national. The brief takes issue with the rationale of the Tribunal's decision and urges the Tribunal not to extend this approach to the other pending dual national cases.

5. The situation reviewed above continues to implicate important diplomatic, financial, and legal interests of the United States and its nationals and presents an unusual challenge to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. The Iranian Assets Control Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order 12170 continue to play an important role in structuring our relationship with Iran and in enabling the United States to implement properly the Algiers Accords. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 15.

Remarks Announcing Participation in Missions in Bosnia and Zaire and an Exchange With Reporters

November 15, 1996

The President. Good morning. One year ago in Dayton, the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia turned from the horror of war to the promise of peace. Their historic decision came after nearly 4 years of horrible bloodshed, the bloodiest conflict Europe has seen since World War II, after a quarter million deaths, after 2 million people were made refugees, after countless atrocities that shocked the conscience of the world.

When the Balkan leaders chose peace, I asked the American people to help them by supporting the participation of our troops in a NATO-led implementation force to secure the Dayton agreement. I promised that the mission would be carefully defined with clear and realistic goals. I said it would be completed in about a year.

IFOR has succeeded beyond our expectations. As a result, its mission will end as planned on December 20th, and every single item on IFOR's military checklist has been accomplished. It has maintained the cease-fire and separated the parties along a new demilitarized

zone. It has monitored the placement of thousands of heavy weapons in holding areas, overseen a massive troop demobilization and the transfer of hundreds of square miles of territory from one side to another, and allowed the people of Bosnia to vote in free national elections.

That has been a remarkable achievement. In the process we have seen how important and effective the NATO alliance remains. And we have seen the possibilities for cooperation with Russia and the other members of the Partnership For Peace. Today, the Bosnian people are far better off than they were a year ago; their prospects for a future of peace and freedom are much brighter.

Already, the change in the day-to-day lives of the people there is dramatic: Marketplaces are full of life, not death; more people have roofs over their head, food on their tables, heat and hot water. The routines of normal life—going to work, coming home from school—are slowly becoming a reality. Bosnia's bitter harvest of hatred, however, has not yet disappeared.

For the last 12 months, the killing has stopped, and with time, the habits of peace can take hold. This success we owe to IFOR. But its achievements on the military side have not been matched, despite all our efforts, by similar progress on the civilian side. Quite frankly, rebuilding the fabric of Bosnia's economic and political life is taking longer than anticipated.

Economic activity is only just resuming. Its pace must be quickened and its reach extended. The Presidency, the Parliament, the constitutional court, created by the elections, are still in their infancy. They need time to work. Civilian police forces must be better trained. We must complete training and equipping the Bosnian Federation military so that a stable balance of power can take hold and renewed aggression is less likely. And municipal elections remain to be organized and held. Let me emphasize that the Bosnian people, with the help of international civilian groups, will be responsible for all this work. But for a time, they will need the stability and the confidence that only an outside security force can provide.

NATO has been studying options to give them the help that time will provide by providing a new security presence in Bosnia when IFOR withdraws. That study is now complete. I have carefully reviewed its options, and I have decided to instruct the United States representative to NATO to inform our allies that, in principle, the United States will take part in a follow-on force in Bosnia.

For my agreement in principle to become a commitment, however, I must be satisfied that the final recommendation NATO adopts and the operational plan it develops are clear, limited, and achievable. The new mission's focus should be to prevent a resumption of hostilities so that economic reconstruction and political reconciliation can accelerate. That will require a strong but limited military presence in Bosnia, able to respond quickly and decisively to any violations of the cease-fire.

The new mission will be more limited than IFOR and will require fewer troops. It will not face the fundamental military challenge of separating two hostile armies, because IFOR has accomplished that task. It will be charged with working to maintain the stability that IFOR created. It will discourage the parties from taking up arms again, while encouraging them to resume full responsibility for their own security as quickly as possible.

IFOR plowed the field in which the seeds of peace have been planted. This new mission will provide the climate for them to take root and the time to begin growing.

Our military planners have concluded that this new mission will require fewer than half the number of troops we contributed to IFOR, about 8,500. There will be an American commander and tough rules of engagement. Every 6 months we will review whether the stability can be maintained with fewer forces. By the end of 1997, we expect to draw down to a much smaller deterrent force, about half the initial size, and we will propose to our NATO allies that by June of 1998 the mission's work should be done, and the forces should be able to withdraw.

The United States cannot and should not try to solve every problem in the world, but where our interests are clear and our values are at stake, where we can make a difference, we must act, and we must lead. Clearly, Bosnia is such an example. Every American should be proud of the difference the United States has already made in Bosnia, ending a terrible slaughter, saving thousands of lives, securing countless futures. We have a responsibility to see that commitment through, to give the peace America helped to make in Bosnia a chance to grow strong, self-sufficient, and lasting.

Earlier this week, I also decided that, in principle, the United States should take part in an international humanitarian effort to be part of a release force that Canada will lead in Zaire. Two years ago, following genocide in Rwanda, more than a million Rwandans fled for Zaire. Recently their plight has worsened as fighting among militant forces has driven them from their camps. Violence has begun to spiral out of control, preventing relief agencies from providing food and medicine to the refugees who are now vulnerable to starvation and to disease. The world's most powerful nation must not turn its back on so many desperate people and so many innocent children who are now at risk.

The mission Canada proposes to lead, and that I believe America should take part in, would provide security for civilian relief agencies to deliver the aid these people must have and to help the refugees who so desire to return home to Rwanda. America's contribution to such a force would match our special capabilities, such as providing security at the Goma airfield and helping to airlift allied forces.

Neither the new security force in Bosnia nor the humanitarian relief effort in Zaire will be free of risk. But I will do everything in my power to minimize the risks by making sure both missions are clear and achievable before I give the green light.

American leadership places a special burden on the men and women of our Armed Forces and their families. We ask a lot from them, and without fail, they deliver for us. Now, as we contemplate calling on them again I ask us, first of all, to remember the astonishing job that they have done, remarkably free of violence, in Bosnia. And I ask that every American keep them in their thoughts and prayers.

Second Bosnia Mission

Q. Mr. President, what do you say to critics who say that you waited till after the election to make the announcement that you're sending troops abroad or keeping troops in Bosnia?

The President. Well, I would say two things. First of all, it was well before the election that the NATO allies in Europe most closely concerned with this came to us and said, we do not believe that the civilian and political and economic functions have developed to the point where there can be no security presence in Bosnia, even though IFOR has done everything it was asked to do. And I said that I would consider American participation if there were a clear mission with an achievable goal. And that was clear before the election.

But more importantly, I would say that the NATO ministers met and made their recommendation to me just last week. We needed some time to study it. I had a meeting last evening, quite an extensive one, with General Shalikashvili making the military case and with Secretary Christopher and Secretary Perry. And the whole national security team met with the Vice President and me. We have done this in a timely fashion following the NATO timetable.

The most important thing the American people need to know is that mission succeeded; it did do what it was supposed to do in 12 months. But we, frankly—when I say "we," I mean all the people involved in NATO—believed that we could make more economic and political progress than we were able to make. So, we believe there should be a new but much more limited mission simply to maintain the security that has been established and to maintain the conditions in which the political and economic progress can be made.

Q. Don't you think you should have laid this idea out, though, while you were campaigning so that people had a sense that part of what they got when they got your reelection was the extension of this mission?

The President. Well, I believe that they did believe that. Keep in mind, before the election it was said that the Europeans thought we ought to stay in a more limited way, and I said I would consider doing that. Frankly, I want to pay a compliment to Senator Dole—I think because he said, in a very statesmanlike way, that he would support doing that, that we had too big an investment in the success of the process, there was not a difference of opinion on it. So, that it did not—I think that it did not become more hotly debated in the campaign, and therefore it maybe wasn't focused on by as many people. But the issue was out there.

I couldn't agree and describe a mission that had not yet been developed by the NATO military planners or recommended to us. So, I would say that it maybe didn't get the attention that it otherwise would have gotten, and it may be because Senator Dole made what I thought was a very statesmanlike statement early on that, of course, if it had to be done, that he would agree.

Zaire Mission

Q. Mr. President, there are some reports of refugees in quite large numbers moving within Zaire back toward the Rwandan border and across, relief agencies in Rwanda saying that they have plenty of food and equipment and so forth once they're back across the border. Is there a chance, sir, that this mission may not be needed?

The President. Well, let me say we have some very good preliminary news about the prospects that the refugees will be able to go back to Rwanda, and then it may work out better than we had originally thought. But I would say first of all it is preliminary, and secondly—obviously, the dimensions of what has to be done could change based on the realities on the ground; we're watching it every day. I think we have to be prepared for the prospect that we will still have to have some presence there to facilitate this and to make sure that as quickly as possible we get everything that is needed to them.

I don't think we know enough yet, Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], to say that the mission won't be needed. It's a hopeful sign, but that's all I can say right now.

Second Bosnia Mission

Q. Mr. President, on Bosnia, do you technically consider this to be a different mission, and will there be a wholesale change of forces over there?

The President. Yes, we are withdrawing the IFOR forces, and this is a different mission.

Q. American forces—I'm sorry.

The President. That's correct. This will be a different mission. And there will be some overlap there because, if you remember, the planning I think called for a phased drawdown that would run into early next year anyway. But we believe the size of this will be about 8,500—what will be required—and it will be different.

Second Term Transition

Q. Mr. President, you have your international policy team here standing with you, and we were led to believe, at least a little while ago, that you would be naming people rather quickly to that. That process seems to have slowed down. Can you tell us why?

The President. Yes. One of the things that all of the people who are here with me have said, including Secretary Perry and Secretary Christopher, and that a lot of people I have talked to about this, including people who might be a part of it and others—they have reminded me that the thing that has really made our work as successful as it has been in so many ways is that we've had a remarkable amount of teamwork, remarkably free of rancor and remarkably free of the kind of undercutting that has too often happened in our national politics.

Several people have said if you have to take a little more time to feel good about the composition of the team you put together, by all means do it, because it is the team that will rise or fall and that will advance America's cause. And so I have been thinking, obviously with a lot of gratitude, of the level of teamwork we've had, the level of cooperation, how we've worked together. And what I concluded after talking about this extensively with the Vice President in particular is that we needed to make absolutely sure that we knew what the team was going to be.

Now let me also tell you that all of us on the transition team, the Vice President and Mr. Panetta and Mr. Bowles and all the rest of us, are working very hard. I have never worked any harder than I have in the days since the last election to make sure that we make the most of this transition. I need a little bit of vacation, and I hope those of you who are going with me will get a little one, too. But we will make timely appointments; they will be ready well in advance of the Congress beginning. And they will have adequate opportunity for the Senate to review them, and I think we will be in very good shape.

But the specific answer to your question is that I want to make sure that the team works.

Yes, go ahead.

Zaire Mission

Q. We're told that one of the conditions for sending U.S. troops into Zaire as part of this humanitarian mission is that the U.S. gets some kind of assurances from these rival militias that they will cease their hostilities so American GI's don't have to shoot their way in. Is that really a realistic expectation, or do you suspect that there will be so much firepower that that will be sufficient to stop the hostilities?

The President. Well, I might ought to let Secretary Perry answer this question, but I'll take a crack at it.

We will have, as we always do, very tough rules of engagement if somebody takes action against us. It is having that kind of rules, that kind of strength—that's one of the reasons that we had the almost incredible experience we've had in Bosnia so far in terms of there not being conflict.

But on the other hand, when we send a mission in of peace like that, we don't believe that we should have to assume on the front end that we'll have to shoot our way in. So what we want to know is at least that there is a receptivity to our coming in there, all of us in the multinational force. We obviously understand if you've got a lot of people around there with guns, somebody might shoot at you, and you have to be able to shoot back. But that's different from having an official policy that if this international mission goes in, they're going to be considered an invading force and be subject to attack from the minute that the airplane lands. That's the difference, I think.

Do you think that's—is that a fair statement? Would you like to add to that?

Secretary of Defense William J. Perry. That is exactly right. We require cooperation from the governments, because we do not want to make forced landings at the airport. On the other hand, the guerrilla forces that are located in that area, whatever they tell us, we want acquiescence. We do not expect to have any formal agreement from them or would not have any confidence they can carry out any formal agreement.

It is important, however, that both the Government of Rwanda and the Government of Zaire give us not only acquiescence but cooperation. We need that. They also have a lot of influence on those guerrilla forces. That's important.

The President. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Encryption Products Export Controls

November 15, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In order to take additional steps with respect to the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order 12924 of August 19, 1994, and continued on August 15, 1995, and August 14, 1996, necessitated by the expiration of the Export Administration Act (EAA) on August 20, 1994, I hereby report to the Congress that pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(b) (the "Act"), I have today exercised the authority granted by the Act to issue an Executive order (a copy of which is attached) to revise the provisions that apply to the administration of the export control system maintained by Department of Commerce in the Export Administration Regulations, 15 CFR Part 730 *et seq*.

The new Executive order relates to my decision to transfer certain encryption products from the United States Munitions List administered by the Department of State to the Commerce Control List administered by the Department of Commerce. When I made that decision I also decided to amend Executive Order 12981 of December 5, 1995, which sets forth procedures for the interagency review and disposition of dual-use export license applications, to include the Department of Justice among the agencies that have the opportunity to review such applications with respect to encryption products transferred to Department of Commerce control.

Also, in issuing the new order, I provided for appropriate controls on the export and foreign dissemination of encryption products transferred to the Department of Commerce. Among other provisions, I determined that the export of encryption products transferred to Department of Commerce control could harm national security and foreign policy interests of the United States even where comparable products are or appear to be available from foreign sources. Accordingly, the new order makes clear that any EAA provision dealing with issuance of licenses or removal of controls based on foreign availability considerations shall not apply with respect to export controls on such encryption products.

Notwithstanding this, the Secretary of Commerce retains the discretion to consider the foreign availability of comparable encryption products in any particular case.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. The Executive order is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Memorandum on Encryption Export Policy
November 15, 1996

Memorandum for the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, United States Trade Representative, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Chief of Staff to the President, Director of Central Intelligence, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director, National Security Agency, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, Assistant to the President for Science and Technology Policy

Subject: Encryption Export Policy

Encryption products, when used outside the United States, can jeopardize our foreign policy and national security interests. Moreover, such products, when used by international criminal organizations, can threaten the safety of U.S. citizens here and abroad, as well as the safety of the citizens of other countries. The exportation of encryption products accordingly must be controlled to further U.S. foreign policy objectives, and promote our national security, including the protection of the safety of U.S. citizens abroad. Nonetheless, because of the increasingly widespread use of encryption products for the legitimate protection of the privacy of data and communications in nonmilitary contexts; because of the importance to U.S. economic interests of the market for encryption products; and because, pursuant to the terms set forth in the Executive order entitled Administration of Export Controls on Encryption Products (the "new Executive order") of November 15, 1996, Commerce Department controls of the export of such dual-use encryption products can be accomplished without compromising U.S. foreign policy objectives and national security interests, I have determined at this time not to continue to designate such encryption products as defense articles on the United States Munitions List.

Accordingly, under the powers vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, I direct that:

1. Encryption products that presently are or would be designated in Category XIII of the United States Munitions List and regulated by the Department of State pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2778 *et seq.*) shall be transferred to the Commerce Control List, and regulated by the Department of Commerce under the authority conferred in Executive Order 12924 of August 19, 1994 (as continued on August 15, 1995, and August 14, 1996), Executive Order 12981 of December 5, 1995, and the new Executive order except that encryption products specifically designed, developed, configured, adapted, or modified for military applications (including command, control, and intelligence applications), shall continue to be designated as defense articles, shall remain on the United States Munitions List, and shall continue to be controlled under the Arms Export Control Act. The transfer described in this paragraph shall be effective upon the issuance of final regulations (the "Final Regulations") implementing the safeguards specified in this directive and in the new Executive order.

2. The Final Regulations shall specify that the encryption products specified in section 1 of this memorandum shall be placed on the Commerce Control List administered by the Department of Commerce. The Department of Commerce shall, to the extent permitted by law, administer the export of such encryption products, including encryption software, pursuant to the requirements of sections 5 and 6 of the

former Export Administration Act (50 U.S.C. App. 2405 and 2406), and the regulations thereunder, as continued in effect by Executive Order 12924 of August 19, 1994 (continued on August 15, 1995, and on August 14, 1996), except as otherwise indicated in or modified by the new Executive order, Executive Order 12981 of December 5, 1995, and any Executive orders and laws cited therein.

3. The Final Regulations shall provide that encryption products described in section 1 of this memorandum can be licensed for export only if the requirements of the controls of both sections 5 and 6 of the former Export Administration Act (50 U.S.C. App. 2405 and 2406), and the regulations thereunder, as modified by the new Executive order, Executive Order 12981 of December 5, 1995, and any Executive orders and laws cited therein, are satisfied. Consistent with section 742.1(f) of the current Export Administration Regulations, the Final Regulations shall ensure that a license for such a product will be issued only if an application can be and is approved under both section 5 and section 6. The controls on such products will apply to all destinations.

Except for those products transferred to the Commerce Control List prior to the effective date of the Final Regulations, exports and reexports of encryption products shall initially be subject to case-by-case review to ensure that export thereof would be consistent with U.S. foreign policy objectives and national security interests, including the safety of U.S. citizens. Consideration shall be given to more liberalized licensing treatment of each such individual product after interagency review is completed. The Final Regulations shall also effectuate all other specific objectives and directives set forth in this directive.

4. Because encryption source code can easily and mechanically be transformed into object code, and because export of such source code is controlled because of the code's functional capacity, rather than because of any "information" such code might convey, the Final Regulations shall specify that encryption source code shall be treated as an encryption product, and not as technical data or technology, for export licensing purposes.

5. All provisions in the Final Regulations regarding *"de minimis"* domestic content of items shall not apply with respect to the encryption products described in paragraph 1 of this memorandum.

6. The Final Regulations shall, in a manner consistent with section 16(5)(C) of the EAA, 50 U.S.C. App. 2415(5)(C), provide that it will constitute an export of encryption source code or object code software for a person to make such software available for transfer outside the United States, over radio, electromagnetic, photooptical, or photoelectric communications facilities accessible to persons outside the United States, including transfer from electronic bulletin boards and Internet file transfer protocol sites, unless the party making the software available takes precautions adequate to prevent the unauthorized transfer of such code outside the United States.

7. Until the Final Regulations are issued, the Department of State shall continue to have authority to administer the export of encryption products described in section 1 of this memorandum as defense articles designated in Category XIII of the United States Munitions List, pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act.

8. Upon enactment of any legislation reauthorizing the administration of export controls, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General shall reexamine whether adequate controls on encryption products can be maintained under the provisions of the new statute and advise the Secretary of Commerce of their conclusions as well as any recommendations for action. If adequate controls on encryption products cannot be maintained under a new statute, then such products shall, where consistent with law, be designated or redesignated as defense articles under 22 U.S.C. 2778(a)(1), to be placed on the United States Munitions List and controlled pursuant to the terms of the Arms Export Control Act and the International Traffic in Arms Regulations. Any disputes regarding the decision to designate or redesignate shall be resolved by the President.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: The Executive order is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

The President's Radio Address
November 16, 1996

Good morning. As I've said many times, America is the world's indispensable nation, the one the world looks to for leadership because of our strength and our values. This week I've taken two important decisions that are part of America's responsibilities in the world. The first is agreement, in principle, for our troops to take limited part in a mission to ease the suffering in Zaire. The second is approval, again in principle, for our troops to be part of a follow-on security presence in Bosnia. Today I want to tell you why our role in these missions matters.

Two years ago, following genocide in Rwanda, more than a million Rwandan refugees fled for Zaire. Recently their plight has worsened as fighting among militant forces has driven them from their camps. Relief agencies have been unable to provide food and water. Disease is breaking out.

As the world's most powerful nation, we cannot turn our back when so many people, especially so many innocent children, are at mortal risk. That is why, when Canada proposed to lead an international humanitarian force, I agreed that, under appropriate circumstances, America would participate. I've set out clear conditions for American participation to minimize risk and give our troops the best possible chance to make a difference.

The mission's aim must be to speed delivery of humanitarian aid and to help refugees who want to go home. Our contribution will reflect our special capabilities, such as providing airport security and helping to airlift forces. We know the mission is not risk-free, but hundreds of thousands of people are in desperate need. This is the right thing to do.

In Bosnia, because of our leadership, nearly 4 years of brutal war are over, and American troops, through the NATO-led force called IFOR, have helped to create conditions in which the Bosnians could start to rebuild. IFOR has completed its mission more successfully than anyone expected, ending the fighting, separating the forces, creating security for democratic elections. But these remarkable achievements on the military side have not been matched, despite all our efforts, by similar progress on the civilian side.

Rebuilding the fabric of Bosnia's political and economic life is taking more time than anticipated. NATO has been studying options to help give the Bosnian people more time with a new security presence in Bosnia when IFOR withdraws. Having carefully reviewed these options, I have agreed that America should take part.

Before making a commitment, I must be satisfied that the new mission is clear, is limited, and is achievable. Its focus should be preventing a renewal of fighting so that reconstruction and reconciliation can accelerate. That will require a strong but limited military presence in Bosnia, able to respond quickly and decisively to any cease-fire violations. This new mission will be more limited than IFOR, charged with maintaining the stability that IFOR created.

Our military planners believe the mission will require less than half the troops our Nation contributed to IFOR, about 8,500. There will be an American commander and tough rules of engagement, and every 6 months we will review whether stability can be upheld with fewer forces.

By the end of 1997, we expect to draw down to a much smaller deterrent force, half the initial size. We will propose to our NATO allies that by June 1998 the mission's work should be done and the force should be able to withdraw.

As Zaire and Bosnia remind us, differences among people can fuel the most vicious and violent hatreds. Whether these differences are ethnic, tribal, or religious, the result is tragedy and despair. In our own country, we have seen the price we all pay whenever discrimination and hatred occur. But we also know how much is possible when people find unity and strength in their diversity. The world looks to America as a living example of how people can triumph over hatred and fear and come together as one nation under God.

This week, we lost a great American who taught us the importance of this lesson and whom people all over the world looked up to as the embodiment of the values that keep America strong, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of

Chicago. As one of the most influential Roman Catholics in modern history, Cardinal Bernardin devoted himself to bringing out the best in humanity. He taught us that what unites us is more important than what divides us, that we can meet our challenges, but only by coming together across our differences. As he said shortly before he died, "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

This true man of God spent his entire life helping people to find their way to common ground. That was, in fact, the project he was most involved with when he died, the common-ground project to unite Catholics of different views. Hillary and I counted him as our friend, and we'll miss him very much.

So let us all strive to find that common ground where all Americans can stand in dignity and help one another make the most of their dreams, and let us be ready to share our strength, when our values and our interests demand it, with others around the world who need a hand to help themselves to reach their dreams.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 1:02 p.m. on November 15 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 16.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister John Howard of Australia in Canberra

November 20, 1996

President's Cup Golf Tournament

[*The exchange is joined in progress.*]

Prime Minister Howard. ——I signed off a letter the other day trying to—and we're very keen for it to come here.

The President. I've told the PGA that I thought it was a good idea not to keep it always in the United States, that I thought it would be a good idea to bring it here.

Prime Minister Howard. And we're rather hoping it will actually come to the ACT right here in Canberra because they have—well, they have one really outstanding course in Canberra, as you'll find——

The President. I saw it today.

We're talking about the President's Cup; you know, the golf tournament. The PGA is trying to arrange to have it in Australia 2 years from now.

Prime Minister Howard. In '98. And naturally, in the lead-up to the Olympic games, if we can pull it off we'll be delighted—and very delighted to have the President's endorsement of the idea, too.

The President. I'm for it.

Q. Will that change the rules to allow it?

Prime Minister Howard. No.

The President. No. The Ryder Cup is an American-European contest, and it alternates. So we just had the President's Cup in the alternating years—in the alternating 2 years we don't have Ryder Cups. It's the American team against teams essentially from Australia, Japan, and the southern part of Africa and anyplace else in the Asia-Pacific region. So we're going to alternate it.

Q. Who's the golf pro in your entourage, Mr. President?

The President. What do you mean?

Q. There were reports——

Q. [*Inaudible*]—golf and you brought a golf pro with you on Air Force One.

The President. To my knowledge, that is not so. [*Laughter*]

Q. Would you have liked to?

The President. I would have, yes. I'm going to need all the help I can get tomorrow.

Zaire

Q. Will you all talk about Zaire? Is that something that——

The President. Yes. And we will have a press conference later and answer all your questions. We want to.

Prime Minister Howard. Yes, you'll have a good run. [*Laughter*]

President's Visit

The President. And I want you to have fun tonight.

Q. We did the boat tour last night.

The President. You did?

Q. You get to do it tonight. The press was taken out on the same boat last night.

The President. Good.

Q. The view was spectacular.

The President. Did they tell you there were sharks in the water?

Q. They told us they had sharks on deck. [*Laughter*]

Prime Minister Howard. A lot in the water, too.

The President. In Sydney Harbor?

Prime Minister Howard. Yes, seriously.

The President. So you don't want to fall in.

NOTE: The exchange began at 10:50 a.m. in the Prime Minister's Office at Parliament House. In his remarks, the President referred to his scheduled golf game with Australian professional golfer Greg Norman. The exchange released by the Office of the Press Secretary did not include the complete opening remarks of the President and the Prime Minister. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's News Conference With Prime Minister John Howard of Australia in Canberra

November 20, 1996

Prime Minister Howard. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say on behalf of my Government how much I have appreciated the opportunity of talking to President Clinton so soon after his reelection. I would like to repeat publicly the congratulations I extended to the President privately on his reelection.

This is a marvelous opportunity for both of us to reaffirm the importance of our longstanding, deep, and rich association. It's an association that goes beyond the more formal elements of a treaty or an alliance. It's an association of like-minded people committed to common values with many shared historical experiences, many common cultural attitudes, and above all, a very deep commitment to democratic institutions, values, and freedoms of the individual.

It was also for both of us an opportunity to affirm the importance, the contemporary relevance of our partnership in the context of our common involvement in the Asia-Pacific region, where I have said on a number of occasions we share a common future and a common destiny. The President and I had the opportunity in our discussion this morning to canvass many global issues but ones of particular relevance to our region, and we also touched upon a number of trade issues which are of ongoing importance in the bilateral relationship.

I want to say how pleased I am personally to have the opportunity with my wife, Janette, of welcoming the President and Mrs. Clinton to our country. They are very welcome not only for themselves and the great leadership that they're giving to their country but also as the President and the wife of the President of the United States.

The President of the United States is always welcome in Australia. And I will take the opportunity over the next couple of days in an informal manner to continue the discussion that both of us had this morning.

But to you, Mr. President, again, publicly, my very warm welcome. You are here as a very welcome guest and with the good will of all of the Australian people.

The President. Thank you very much, Prime Minister. Ladies and gentlemen, I have wanted to come to Australia for a very long time. I am glad that I have finally come; I wish I could have come earlier. And I've had so much fun in the last day, I'm amazed that only three American Presidents have come here. I think it ought to be a habit because of the unique partnership that the United States and Australia have enjoyed throughout the 20th century and indeed going back long before that.

The Prime Minister and I had our first personal meeting today. It was a very good one.

We talked about a lot of the things that we share in common as nations. We talked about our common agenda to expand global trade through the World Trade Organization and APEC, where we'll both be going in just a couple of days. We talked about the work we have done to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction. And again, I want to thank in this press conference, Mr. Prime Minister, on behalf of all the American people, Australia for the leadership that Australia exhibited in securing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and for your support in helping us all defuse the North Korean nuclear program.

We also share a commitment to advance democratic values. We have worked on it side by side throughout the wars of the 20th century, throughout the cold war, and now in this new era. We've joined together in supporting human rights in Burma, promoting the rule of law in Cambodia, helping to keep the peace in troubled corners of the world.

We are working hard to build on the partnership between the United States and Australia. We talked about our security cooperation. We're moving forward on the Sydney statement of July which bolstered our security ties.

I made a little bit of a joke about the U.S. marines who will soon take part in joint training exercises in north Australia. They are, seriously, a powerful symbol and a concrete manifestation of our pledge to protect stability in the Pacific. But they're also, I think, apprehensive about seeing what that vast and not very populated area holds for them. There's a lot of talk about it, Mr. Prime Minister, already in the Defense Department, and we're certainly glad that there was no extra spaceship up there the other day. [*Laughter*] And let me say in the Prime Minister's defense, when we started out yesterday morning, we thought that it might land in the United States. So no one quite knew where it was going to come down, but we're glad it wound up in the ocean.

Let me also say that on a very serious note for the future, I was deeply impressed by the comments that the Prime Minister had about the upcoming APEC leaders meeting in Subic Bay in the Philippines. We know we have to keep this group working together to push the barriers that still restrain global trade and to look especially for opportunities that will enable our people to get better jobs, to lead better lives, and in so doing, to advance the cause of the other APEC nations as well. So I am looking forward to the Philippines.

Australia really started the APEC organization. Then I convened the world leaders of the APEC nations in Seattle in 1993, and we've been building on it ever since. It is very, very important, now that we have a goal of free trade in the area by 2020, now that we have a blueprint for achieving it, it is important that we actually take some concrete steps toward implementation of our goal, from tariff cuts to other deregulation measures. And I will be working hard for that.

Let me say that the area that I would like to see the most progress in is in information technology. Currently, trade in that area is valued at a trillion dollars. It's projected to grow over 250 percent in the next 10 years. And we need to do more to open up those markets in a way that enables more people in the world to do what I saw last night when Hillary and I came in from the airport and all the people were waving to us. It seemed to me about one in every third person who was waving to us also had a cellular telephone in his or her ear, talking to someone back home and telling them about it. As I said to the Prime Minister, half the people in the world are still 2 days' walk from a telephone. And we have a lot of work to do if we're going to bring the world together to minimize misunderstanding, to minimize disruption, and to maximize human opportunity.

Let me lastly say another word about the special relationship between the United States and Australia. We're proud to be Australia's largest foreign investor, its second largest trading partner. Trade between our nations was about $16 billion last year. We're also proud to have stood side by side with Australia in the conflicts and the struggles for peace and freedom and prosperity in this last century. And I believe that this remarkable and wonderfully unique relationship between our two countries is on even more solid ground as we look to the 21st century. And I thank the Prime Minister for the reception he has given me today.

Thank you, sir.

Prime Minister Howard. Thank you. Questions?

Australia-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. President, you mentioned that you talked about multilateral trade issues. Can I ask, did you specifically raise

Australia's trade concerns with the United States? And Mr. President, Australian farmers are hoping for some sort of commitments from the U.S. that the EEP and DEIP programs won't be specifically targeted on Australia.

Prime Minister Howard. Could I say that I certainly did raise with the President the ongoing concern of Australia, as a major exporter of primary produce, about the practice of export support and export subsidies in the area of agriculture. And the President responded to that, and he will do so in his own words.

But I certainly made it very clear that that remained one of those areas in the bilateral relationship that needed continuous attention. And it is the fact that the Australian Government believes that the existing arrangements do work against the interests of major primary producers such as Australia. I think it is fair to add that the prime source of the problem is not to be found in the United States but rather within the European Union. And that is a view that I have expressed before, and it's not a view or a reflection on the issue that I have invented for the purposes of today's discussions. I've frequently expressed that view, and I do see many of the United States' actions taken in the past as being in the context of responses to the activities of the European Union.

But our concerns on that were certainly raised, as they have been in the past, and they will be in the future. But I was quite reassured by the responses that were made by the President. But he will naturally deal with that in his own words.

The President. The Prime Minister actually raised two trade issues, and I'd like to tell you very briefly about both of them. The first, with regard to the EEP and the DEIP programs in agriculture, as I'm sure you know, the United States just adopted a new 5-year farm bill which eliminated specific program-by-program or crop-by-crop supports and reduced overall trade subsidies. We did retain the export enhancement options because of the problems, as the Prime Minister said, that we have with the European Union.

And I committed to the Prime Minister and I commit to you and, through you, the people of Australia that we are going to do everything we can to make sure that any future use of these programs is not either directly or indirectly working to the disadvantage of a country that is innocent of any wrongdoing, in this case, Australia. And I look forward to the day when we will have a genuinely open market in agriculture, which would help your agricultural interests and the American agricultural interests and I believe would work to the benefit of the entire world.

The second thing the Prime Minister mentioned was the leather dispute, and let me just reemphasize where that is. Mr. Fischer and Ambassador Barshefsky have been working hard to resolve this. I very much want it resolved. We are very close to a resolution, and we're going to do everything we can to resolve it so that when we leave Manila we'll both have smiles on our face about that. Besides that, I don't want any more cartoons like the one I saw in the morning paper where I hooked a golf ball way left and broken the window of the leather goods store. You need to build up my confidence for this golf game tomorrow, not tear it down. [*Laughter*] I need all the help I can get.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

Harold Nicholson Espionage Case

Q. Mr. President, the arrest of the CIA's former station chief in Moscow is the second major spy scandal involving Russia in the last 2 years. Is there going to be any retaliation for this incident, and do you think that the CIA needs to tighten its internal watchdog system?

The President. Well, Deputy Secretary Talbott has already met with the Russians about this, number one. Number two, this is the direct result of the tightening of the system. This arrest comes because of the new cooperation that I ordered between the CIA and the FBI. And I want to compliment Mr. Deutch and Mr. Freeh for the work that they did and the work their people did, and I think it's a very good thing. And I'm glad that it happened, and I think that it ought to be a signal that we're going to continue to do this, and we will do what we think we have to do in intelligence, and we don't want any people in our intelligence agency spying for other countries, and we're going to take appropriate action when we find it.

Q. [*Inaudible*]—against Russia—are you going to take any—[*inaudible*]?

The President. Well, we've already had conversations with Russia, and I think I shouldn't say any more than that at this time.

China

Q. Mr. President, is your foreign policy priority in this region China and trying to, if you want to, ease concerns that countries such as the U.S. and Australia are trying to contain China? And what can Australia and the U.S. realistically do in partnership in the region?

The President. China first. I think China has to be a big priority for all of us. If I ask everyone in this room to go by yourselves and take out a pad and write the five big questions down that will determine the shape of the world 50 years from now, one of those questions would surely be, how will the Chinese define their greatness in the 21st century? Will they define their greatness in terms of the incredible potential of their people to learn, to produce, to succeed economically and culturally and politically? Or will they define their greatness in terms of their ability to dominate their neighbors and others perhaps against their will or to take other actions which could destabilize the march toward democracy and prosperity of other people?

The United States has no interest in containing China. That is a negative strategy. What the United States wants is to sustain an engagement with China, along with our friends like the Australians, in a way that will increase the chances that there will be more liberty and more prosperity and more genuine cooperation in the future. So I intend to spend a lot of time, a lot of energy, a lot of effort on that, but not with a view of containing the Chinese but with a view of making them a genuine partner with ourselves and others as we move forward.

What can we and the Australians do? Number one, we can continue to push open trading systems that work to the benefit of all involved. Number two, we can continue to work together as we did with the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to continue to reduce the dangers of serious weapons. And number three, we can lead other freedom-loving nations in standing up against the new threats of the 21st century, terrorism and the proliferation of other weapons—biological and chemical weapons. There are a lot of things we can do together that will make a big difference. But I see this in the context of building a partnership with China, not isolating it.

Who's next? Lori [Lori Santos, United Press International].

Zaire

Q. The crisis in Zaire appears to be easing significantly. Is it still necessary to dispatch American troops?

The President. The real answer to that question is that we have not made a final decision. Tony Lake went to Canada yesterday to confer with the Prime Minister and others. We are very pleased, obviously, that so many of the refugees are able to move freely back into Rwanda. We are urgently concerned about the continuing humanitarian problems there and have allocated about $140 million in U.S. AID funds to try to deal with those problems. And I expect to receive a recommendation shortly. We are continuing to explore with our allies what sort of mission needs to go there, what its composition should be, what the remaining problems should be.

There's no question that the situation looks better than it did a couple of days ago. It's also no question that the possibility of serious human loss is still there. So we're working it hard. We'll try to resolve what we ought to do. We're working with our allies, and I will give you an answer just as quickly as I can. But we have already allocated a significant amount of money to try to alleviate the nutritional and other problems that we know the refugees are going to have.

East Timor

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned the shared commitment of Australia and the United States to human rights. A number of members of your party have proposed that you raise in discussions with President Soeharto the idea of a U.N.-sponsored act of self-determination or referendum in East Timor. What is your view of that proposition? And I'd like to ask Mr. Howard the same question: What is your view of a U.N.-sponsored act of self-determination in East Timor?

The President. You said people in my party have said that I should do that? They haven't discussed that with me yet. [*Laughter*]

Let me say, without answering the specific question because I haven't made a decision about that, let me say I have been concerned about the whole question of East Timor from the first time I first heard about it. The United States has, while maintaining basically constructive and friendly relationships with Indonesia

and working with Indonesia on a whole wide array of shared foreign policy concerns, has consistently done more in the last 3 years than we have previously. We changed our arms export policy to try to not sell those arms which could be most likely to be used to put down a civilian rebellion or to oppress people's human rights, not in any country but with our sales toward Indonesia. We have cosponsored the resolution on East Timor in the United Nations.

And Indonesia is a very large, very great, very rapidly growing country with a massive amount of diversity, both ethnic diversity and religious diversity. This is one area where they have not been able to manage it successfully. And we will continue to try to work to do what we can to resolve this in a way that is consistent with what I believe are universal values with regard to human rights and human dignity.

Prime Minister Howard. As far as we are concerned, that's not an issue that I previously addressed my mind to, so like the President I won't specifically try and respond to it. But let me say that the East Timor issue is obviously a sensitive element of the relationship between Australia and Indonesia and, indeed, the relationship between Indonesia and other countries. You will all be aware of the great importance of the bilateral relationship between both Australia and Indonesia. There will always be differences of view about how different issues should be handled between our two countries. But my government and governments before mine of both political persuasions have shown a determination not to allow that issue to contaminate or undermine the broader relationship.

And the significance of the bilateral relationship between Australia and Indonesia is only surpassed by our bilateral relationships with one or two other countries. And it's therefore important in everything that we do to try and keep a proper balance between our desire to foster that relationship, but by the same token, to properly put down markers of error in values and error in attitudes and also, of course, to fully respect the fact that within a democracy such as Australia, people will openly and vigorously express their views on this issue and it is no part of the role of the Australian Government to prevent or discourage that. That is a point that I made in my own personal discussions with President Soeharto when I saw him in Jakarta a couple of months ago.

Thank you.

Q. Thanks very much.

The President. One more.

Democratic Fundraiser John Huang

Q. Mr. President, if I could just follow up on the Indonesia question—with your indulgence, Mr. Prime Minister. These stories now coming out back home in the United States, dribs and drabs about John Huang's phone calls to his former business associates at the Lippo Group when he was a Commerce Department official—70 phone calls, we're now told—information that was available before the election but only coming out now, and other suggestions that some of your aides were urging other aides over their objections not to release all of this information once you had it—aren't you concerned that the impression is going to be created that you're trying to stonewall, that you do have something to hide? Isn't it better just to come clean and release everything right away instead of letting it just come out piecemeal like this?

The President. Well, for one thing, one of the things that we have learned the hard way is that when you release something as soon as you have it, then somebody is always saying, "Well, why didn't you release something else?" I don't personally see any problem with any of the information that I've seen so far. I think we should answer whatever questions are asked. I've told everybody else to do the same thing. But you know, personally, I've answered the questions that were asked of me in a way I think are entirely appropriate, and I think that's what everybody else should do. And I don't think there's a real issue there.

Q. Do you think John Huang should come forward and answer these questions publicly?

The President. I believe that—let me just say this. I believe that everyone will have to deal with that in his or her own way. But one of the things I would urge you to do, remembering what happened to Mr. Jewell in Atlanta, remembering what has happened to so many of the accusations over the last 4 years made against me that turned out to be totally baseless, I just think that we ought to make sure we've got—we ought to just get the facts out, and they should be reported. That's what I've encouraged everybody to do, and that's what we'll do.

Thank you very much.

Prime Minister Howard. Thanks very much.

NOTE: The President's 131st news conference began at 12:45 p.m. at Parliament House. In his remarks, he referred to Australian Minister for Trade Timothy Fischer; Prime Minister Jean Chretien of Canada; President Soeharto of Indonesia; and Richard Jewell, former suspect in the July bombing at Olympic Centennial Park. The President also referred to the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Export Enhancement Program (EEP) and Dairy Export Incentive Program (DEIP).

Remarks at a Luncheon at Parliament House in Canberra
November 20, 1996

Thank you very much. Prime Minister and Mrs. Howard, Mr. Speaker and Mrs. Halverson, Madam President, Mr. Reid, Mr. Beazley, Ms. Annus, Ambassador McCarthy: Let me say that Hillary and I and all of us in our delegation have very much looked forward to coming here. So far, our experiences have even exceeded our hopes. We have loved every minute of it. I loved the crowds welcoming us in last night. I think I like Mr. Beazley reminding me that I'm the first Southern Democrat since Appomattox to be elected twice. But I'll have to wait until I get home to see how that plays at home. [*Laughter*]

We're grateful to be here in Canberra, where there is clearly a touch of America in the planning of Walter Burley Griffin, who came from Hillary's home State of Illinois. We feel very much that we are at home and among friends.

This morning I had a good meeting with the Prime Minister. I was honored to meet your Cabinet. I was honored to reaffirm our remarkable security relationship, to review our common efforts to reduce the danger of weapons of mass destruction, an effort in which Australian leadership has been so vital.

We're working to provide peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region together. And together we're going to make a big difference in building the prosperity of tomorrow, increasing the ties of trade and investment not only between our two nations but throughout the area.

The scope and depth of our cooperation for a long time now is truly extraordinary but not surprising. It is the hallmark of a relationship between two democracies that has grown through struggles of five wars and a whole century's hard labors of peace. Half a world of oceans separates us, but the currents of friendship and commerce and culture flow constantly between our shores, and they are more binding than the land bridges that connected the continents eons ago.

We have always looked to Australia with great hope, with great trust, with great admiration. We see those expectations from what may be the very first official United States act dealing with Australia. In 1779, Benjamin Franklin issued an unusual passport for Captain Cook who was then returning from one of his explorations here in the South Pacific. That was, of course, during our War of Independence. And Franklin sent special orders to the commanders of all American ships not to attack the ships of the British captain but to treat him and his crew with all civility and kindness. He wrote that Cook's explorations would facilitate communication between distant nations to the benefit of mankind in general.

Franklin was a prophet. From our common struggle in five wars to the trade we have created, to our shared efforts to reduce the nuclear threat, the bonds between our distant nations have indeed been an immense benefit not only to ourselves but to mankind in general. The United States is profoundly grateful for this relationship, for the affection and the warmth that has grown between our citizens.

For many reasons our ties have grown. One of the most important is that we see in each other qualities that we prize and hope for in ourselves. We admire in each other the pioneering spirit that our forebears brought to the tasks of pushing back the frontiers and building nations.

As we move into a new century, we face new and very different frontiers. We are called upon not to homestead in the wilderness but to build for the security and the prosperity of a new era, to deal with the challenges of this

new explosion in the global economy and information technology and the diversity within all of our own societies. But we still need that frontier spirit. We still need to believe that with courage and vision and daring and a firm adherence to our shared and unshakable values, we can make the future better than the present and leave a world worthy of our children and our heritage.

I want all of you to know how very much we Americans like and admire and value Australia and her people. We want the 21st century to be a large partnership between ourselves for the betterment of all of humankind. I believe that we are entering the era of greatest possibility in human history. I believe there will be more people able to live out their dreams than any time in all of human existence if the values, the record, the partnership we have established can chart the way to the future we long to build. And I promise you that we in the United States will do our best to be worthy of our friendship and that kind of future.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:25 p.m. in the Great Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Howard's wife, Janette; Speaker of the House Bob Halverson and his wife, Maggie; President of the Senate Margaret Reid and her husband, Thomas; Opposition Leader Kim Beazley and his wife, Suzie Annus; and Australian Ambassador to the United States John McCarthy.

Remarks to the Australian Parliament in Canberra
November 20, 1996

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker, Madam President of the Senate, to the leader of the opposition and all the Members of the Senate and House and ladies and gentlemen here assembled. Let me begin, Prime Minister, by thanking you, the people of Canberra, and all of Australia for the absolutely tremendous welcome that Hillary and I and the entire American delegation have received. I know this is called the Land Down Under, but after only a day we all feel like we're on top of the world, and I thank you for that. [*Laughter*]

I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you in this great hall of democracy. Your Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, was one of the very few world leaders to address our United States Congress twice. Now, I give you that fact as a point of interest, not a pitch for a return engagement here. [*Laughter*] Forty-one years ago today—not today, 41 years ago this year—here is what he said to our people: "We have, with your great country, as a result of war as well as of peace, a tie which I believe to be unbreakable and a degree of affectionate, simple understanding which I do not believe can be surpassed between any two countries of the world."

Today, 41 years later, the Prime Minister's insight still holds. The ties between us span more than 200 years. In 1792, an American ship named for brotherhood, the *Philadelphia*, arrived at Port Jackson with supplies that helped to save the colonists from starvation. Former Prime Minister Fraser noted that the beef that the *Philadelphia* carried had been on board for 9 months; "well-cured," he called it. [*Laughter*]

Well, my friends, two centuries later, our friendship, tested in war and seasoned in peace, has also become well-cured. Our people have built bridges of commerce and culture, friendship and trust, reaching over the greatest expanse of ocean on Earth. The United States is proud to be Australia's largest foreign investor and largest trading partner. We are also proud of the wars we have fought together and the peace we have fought to sustain together.

The great diversity of our ties was born of shared experience and common values. Our pioneers both settled vast frontiers and built free nations across entire continents. In one another, I really believe we see a distant mirror of our better selves, reflections of liberty and decency, of openness and vitality. In this century, our bonds have truly been forged in the fires of wars, war after war after war. Together we carried liberty's torch in the darkest nights of the 20th century.

My message to you today is that together we must embrace the dawn of this new century together, and we must make the most of it together. We carried a torch through the night; now we can create the dawn our children deserve.

For Australia's strength and sacrifice through these many struggles, for your fierce love of liberty and your unfailing friendship to the United States, the American people thank you. And the American people look forward with you to this new era of freedom and possibilities. After all, our nations are at peace; our economies are strong. The ideas we have struggled for—freedom of religion, speech, and assembly, open markets, tolerance—they're more and more the habits of all humanity. For the first time in all history, two-thirds of all the nations on this Earth and more than half the people alive today are ruled by governments picked by their own people. The rigid blocs and barriers that too long defined the world are giving way to an era of breathtaking expansion of information technology and information.

And because of these things, we now have a chance, greater than any generation of people who ever lived before us, to give more and more people the opportunity to realize their God-given potential, to live their own dreams, not someone else's plan.

But this chance we have is nothing more than that. It is a chance, not a guarantee. For all its promise, we know this new century will not be free of peril, and therefore, we know that our freedom still requires our responsibility. Nations and people still will be tempted to fight wars for territory or out of ethnic, religious, or racial hatred. As I told the American people over and over again during the recent election campaign, it was literally heartbreaking to me to think of how much of their time I had to spend dealing with people who still believe it's all right to murder each other and each other's children because of their racial, their religious, their ethnic, their tribal differences. We must stand against that, and the example of how we live together must be a rebuke to that in the 21st century.

And make no mistake about it, there is a nexus of new threats: terrorists, rogue states, international criminals, drug traffickers. They, too, menace our security, and they will do more of it in the new century. They will be all the more lethal if they gain access to weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical, or biological.

Because of our size, our strength, our prosperity, and the power of our example, Australia and the United States have a special responsibility, not only to seize the opportunities but to move against the new threats of the 21st century. Together we can reduce even more the danger of weapons of mass destruction. We can take the fight to the terrorists and the drug traffickers. We can extend the reach of free and fair trade. We can advance democracy around the world. And yes, we can prove that free societies can embrace the economic and social changes, and the ethnic, racial, and religious diversity this new era brings and come out stronger and freer than ever.

The threat of nuclear weapons born a half century ago finally is diminishing as a new century begins. The United States and Russia are reducing our arsenals, pointing our weapons away from one another, working to safeguard nuclear materials and facilities. Every single Australian should be very proud of the role your country has played in guiding the world toward a more secure future. You helped lead the fight to extend the nonproliferation treaty. Your determined diplomacy brought the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to reality and the world to the verge of banning all nuclear testing for all time. Every nation is in your debt for that achievement. And on behalf, again, of the people of the United States, I say thank you.

Now we must pursue together our remaining arms control agenda: further reductions in Russia's and America's arsenals once Russia ratifies START II; a chemical weapons convention, so that our troops never face poison gas in the battlefield and our people never fall victim to it in a terrorist attack; a stronger biological weapons convention, so that disease is never used as a weapon of war; a worldwide ban on landmines, so that all our children can walk with confidence on the earth beneath them.

As we deal with these challenges to our security, we must recognize the new ones which are emerging and the new approaches they require. Terrorism, international crime, and drug trafficking are forces of destruction that have no tolerance for national borders. Together we must show zero tolerance for them. That means putting pressure on rogue states, not doing business with them. It's very difficult to do business by day with people who kill innocent civilians

by night. It means giving no aid and quarter to terrorists who slaughter the innocent and drug traffickers who poison our children. It means, in short, pursuing a concerted strategy: intelligence and police cooperation worldwide; coordinated legal action in every country to stop money laundering, shut down gray markets for guns and false documents; and increase of extraditions. It means security coordination in our airports and airplanes, in giving each in our own nations our law enforcement officials the tools they need to cooperate and to succeed.

The measure of our people's security includes not only their physical safety, however, but as we all know, their economic well-being. Our two countries have led in opening markets around the world, and we can be pleased with our progress. Through GATT, the WTO, APEC, and literally hundreds of smaller accords, we are moving to extend the reach of free and fair trade. But we can do more, issue by issue, agreement by agreement.

I am determined to work with Congress in my second term to move ahead boldly on market-opening initiatives around the world. Decades from now I want people to say that our generation rose to the challenge of creating a new, open trading system for the 21st century. If we do, more people will have good jobs and better lives as they share in humanity's genius for progress.

Over the long term, we can best advance the security and prosperity we seek by expanding and strengthening not only trade but the community of free nations. The tide of democracy is now running strong and deep. Consider this: In just the past few weeks the people of Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Nicaragua, and Thailand have freely elected their leaders, a prospect literally unimaginable not very long ago. In my own hemisphere, every nation but one has raised freedom's flag. In Central Europe and in Russia, Ukraine, and the other New Independent States, the forces of reform have earned our respect and deserve our continued support.

For the first time since the rise of nation-states on the continent of Europe, it is literally conceivable that we have an opportunity, a real and tangible opportunity, to build a continent that is democratic, undivided, and at peace. It has never been possible before, and together we can achieve it now.

Now, I know that some people on both sides of the Pacific are concerned that America's continuing involvement with Europe and our intense renewed involvement with our neighbors in Latin America will lead to disengagement from the Asia-Pacific region. They are wrong. Mr. Prime Minister, if I could borrow your eloquent phrase—at least I'm giving you credit, as we politicians don't often do—[*laughter*]—the United States does not need to choose between our history and our geography. We need not choose between Europe and Asia. In a global economy with global security challenges, America must look to the East no less than to the West. Our security demands it. After all, we fought three wars here in living memory. The cold war's last frontier lies now on the Korean Peninsula. The region as a whole is in the midst of profound change, so our security demands it. Our prosperity requires it. One-third of our exports and more than 2 million American jobs depend upon our trade with Asia. Over the next decade, Asia's remarkable growth will mean ever-expanding markets for those who can compete in them. Our future cannot be secure if Asia's future is in doubt.

As we enter the 21st century, therefore, I say to you that America not only has been, she is and will remain a Pacific power. We want America's involvement and influence to provide the stability among nations which is necessary for the people of the Asia-Pacific region to make the routines of normal life a reality and to spur the economic progress that will benefit all of us. To meet those challenges of stability, we are now pursuing three objectives: stronger alliances, deeper engagement with China, and a larger community of democracies.

First, we share the view of almost every nation in Asia that a strong American security presence remains the bedrock for regional stability. We will maintain about 100,000 troops across the Pacific, just as we maintain about 100,000 troops in Europe. We will keep them well-trained, well-equipped, and well-prepared. We will continue to revitalize our core alliances, both bilaterally and regionally. These efforts, let me say clearly, are not directed against any nation. They are intended to advance security and stability for everyone so that we can grow together and work together, all of us, in the new century.

Our alliance with a democratic, prosperous Japan has been one of the great achievements

of the postwar period. Last spring, after more than a year's hard study and work, Prime Minister Hashimoto and I signed a new security charter. Japan's continued support for our military presence and even closer links between our armed forces will enable us to deepen our cooperation on behalf of peace and stability in this region and beyond.

With our close ally in South Korea, we're working to reduce tensions on the Korean Peninsula that threaten all of northeast Asia. We must give new momentum now to the four-party peace talks President Kim and I proposed last spring. And we must continue our work to dismantle North Korea's frozen nuclear program.

We are reinforcing our security ties with the Philippines and Thailand, while multiplying the power of our troops through greater access to regional military facilities.

And finally and simply put, the defense links between the United States and Australia have never been stronger in peacetime. Mr. Prime Minister and Members of Parliament, the agreements our foreign and defense ministers signed this summer in Sydney authorized the largest exercises involving our troops since World War II. American marines will soon begin training in northern Australia. And we are deepening our already strong security cooperation. Today I say, again, with utter confidence, our alliance is not just for this time, it is for all time.

As we work nation to nation, let us continue to build a new architecture for regional security as well, an architecture through ASEAN that will strengthen our ability to confront common challenges. Already this effort is helping to defuse tensions in the South China Sea and to dispel distrust across the region. We must pursue it to its full potential.

Our second stabilizing objective is deeper engagement with China. The direction China takes in the years to come, the way it defines its greatness in the future, will help to decide whether the next century is one of conflict or cooperation. The emergence of a stable, an open, a prosperous China, a strong China confident of its place in the world and willing to assume its responsibilities as a great nation is in our deepest interest.

True cooperation is both possible and plainly productive. We worked closely with China to extend the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to secure the passage of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. We joined to shore up peace in Cambodia and increase stability on the Korean Peninsula. We're making progress together on some tough issues, from nuclear technology to intellectual property rights.

The United States and China will continue to have important differences, especially in the area of human rights, and we will continue to discuss them candidly. But by working together where possible and dealing with our differences openly and respectfully where necessary, we can deepen our dialog and add to Asia's stability. I look forward to doing just that when I meet for the fourth time with President Jiang in the Philippines next week.

The third part of our work for stability is support for the advance of democracy. Our two nations know that democracy comes in many forms. Neither of us seeks to impose our own vision on others, but we also share the conviction that some basic rights are universal. We have to decide whether we believe that. I believe everywhere people aspire to be treated with dignity, to give voice to their opinions, to choose their own leaders. We have seen these dreams realized in the democratic odyssey of the Asia-Pacific, from Japan to South Korea to Thailand and Mongolia.

In this century we have sacrificed many of our sons and daughters, your nation and ours, for the cause of freedom. And so we must continue to speak for the cause of freedom in this new age of commerce and trade and technology. We must push repressive regimes in places like Burma to pursue reconciliation and genuine political dialog. We must assist new democracies like Cambodia by encouraging the development of political parties and institutions.

We know that the freer and better educated people are, the more creative they become, the better able they are to compete, the more able they are to satisfy each other's deepest wants and needs. We can look at the economic vitality of the Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, and South Korea to see the proof of this assertion.

As stability extends its reach and strengthens its grip, the Pacific may finally be able to live up to its name. In Cambodia, farmers once again till the land that had become horrific killing fields. In Vietnam, schoolchildren can worry more about their exams than about the war. From Bangkok to Manila, power is no longer used against the people, it is in the hands of the people.

A generation ago, it was hard to imagine how rapidly freedom could come to these nations, how rapidly their economies could grow. But freed from the threat of war, unleashed by their newfound freedoms, the people of this region have built among the greatest success stories the world has ever seen. They have transformed economic wastelands into powerful engines for growth, enriched the lives of millions by harnessing the technology of change. Today, the economies of the Asia-Pacific are clearly the most dynamic on Earth.

More than 7 million Americans trace their roots to Asia. Five of our States touch the Pacific. We are inexorably linked to the promise of the Asia-Pacific region. That's why in the first year of my term I sought to elevate the APEC forum, that began right here in Canberra, into the first-ever meeting of Asian-Pacific leaders. At our inaugural summit in Seattle, working closely with your former Prime Minister Paul Keating, we agreed to give this extraordinarily diverse region a common goal, to work as a community of nations committed to economic integration.

A year later in Jakarta, we made a historic commitment: free trade and investment in the region by 2020. Some said that was an illusory vision. But already that vision is becoming a blueprint, a blueprint taking shape as concrete commitments. At next week's leaders' meeting, Prime Minister Howard and I hope and expect that APEC will give a boost to specific market-opening initiatives. For me, I hope that means unshackling trade in computers, semiconductors, and telecommunications, the high-tech sectors of the future. We have an opportunity to set an example for the rest of the world, and we ought to seize it. If we do, the nations of the region will benefit, those who provide the services and those who receive them.

Progress, after all, is not yet everyone's partner, and we have a responsibility to open the doors of opportunity to those who remain outside the global economy. For example, some two-thirds of the people on our planet have no access to a telephone. I found that hard to believe when I saw so many of your fellow citizens with their cell phones in their hands as I drove up and down your streets. [*Laughter*]

More than half the people of the world are 2 days' walk from a telephone. They are totally disconnected from the communications and information revolution that is the present vehicle for human progress and possibility. If we add their creative energies to the mix which now exists, of course, they will gain skills and jobs and greater wealth, but we also will benefit from the higher growth rates, from the expanded markets, and from the increasing likelihood that those people will find peaceful rather than warlike ways to release their energies. We can do this if we have the courage not to retreat but, instead, to compete.

At this year's meeting at APEC and everywhere I go, I will also deliver again a simple, loud, and clear message: The United States is more determined than ever to create an Asian-Pacific community of shared efforts, shared benefits, and shared destiny. The interests that compel our engagement have grown, not shrunk, and so has our commitment to a Pacific future.

We know from our past that we can succeed, that we are equal to the difficulties ahead. I began today by quoting Prime Minister Menzies, so let me conclude by returning to his words. He said, "The world needs every scrap of democratic strength that can be found in it because nobody, however optimistic, need underestimate the measure or the character of danger that always confronts us. It is not merely our privilege to be strong, it is our duty to be strong."

The world needs Australia. The world needs the United States. It needs us together as partners and friends and allies. We have stood together in the hard times as partners and friends. Let us stand together and work together now for a new future of peace and possibility that extends to our children and our grandchildren and to all the children of the world.

May God bless Australia, the United States, and the great friendship between our nations. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:10 p.m. at Parliament House. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister John Howard, Speaker of the House Bob Halverson, President of the Senate Margaret Reid, Opposition Leader Kim Beazley, and former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser of Australia; Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan; President Kim Yong-sam of South Korea; and President Jiang Zemin of China.

Remarks in Sydney, Australia
November 21, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you, Prime Minister. Thank you, Premier Carr. Mr. Lord Mayor, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Carr. Andrew Hoy, thank you very much for reminding us how you defeated us in Atlanta—[*laughter*]—and thank you for what you said about the Olympics.

Premier, you invited me to come back in the year 2000 to the Olympics. I have to make full disclosure—this morning when I woke up, the very first thing Hillary said to me was, "Now, in 2000, I think you ought to make me your official representative to the Olympics in Sydney," which means I suppose I'll have to come back as her valet if I wish to come. [*Laughter*] But I've had such a good time here, I'd like to come back in any capacity.

I thank you all very much for your hospitality. It's a great privilege for me to stand here in Sydney Harbor, to be in these beautiful botanical gardens, where I had the privilege this morning to go on my morning run right by this site; to see the magnificent opera house, where I had the chance to tour on an impromptu basis this morning. A wonderful and surprised guard even took me up to the organ, and I virtually got to count all 10,500 pipes. [*Laughter*] This is a magnificent place. I'm also glad to be here in the shadow of Harbor Bridge. If any of you followed our campaign at all, you know I'm kind of into bridges this year. [*Laughter*] And I think that that's a bridge that will take you into the 21st century in good shape.

As the Prime Minister and the Premier have said, Americans have visited Sydney and felt welcome for a long time. You might be interested to know that almost exactly 100 years ago, our great American writer Mark Twain came to Australia. Now, Mark Twain is famous for many things, his great books "Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court," "Tom Sawyer," "Huckleberry Finn," all those books, but those of us in public life in America appreciate him because he was always puncturing the pompous and always reminding people that they should have a very sort of philosophical and good-humored attitude about their troubles in life.

And we got to talking about Mark Twain last night in this very harbor, and I told the Prime Minister—I said, "Prime Minister, you're riding high now, but the first time you get in trouble remember what Mark Twain said about dogs. Mark Twain said, 'Every dog should have a few fleas; keeps them from worrying so much about being a dog.'" [*Laughter*] Now, whenever I complain at home, that's what my staff tells me. Just once I'd like to be a flea instead of a dog, though, in this business. [*Laughter*]

Anyway, Mark Twain came here almost 100 years ago, and I found out something that I did not know until we decided to make this trip. Like all of us, he was struck by what he said was "the lavish hospitality of Sydney's people." He liked the warmth of Sydney in every way. But he said that Sydney reminded him, more than any other place, of one particular town in America, which was exactly as far north of the Equator as Sydney is south of it, my hometown, Little Rock, Arkansas. Interesting. Except Sydney got the better of the comparison—[*laughter*]—because while he said they were a lot alike and the people were very friendly, Sydney was better because it didn't have Little Rock's cold winters. He wrote, "You could cut up an Arkansas winter into a hundred Sydney winters and still have enough left for Arkansas and all the poor." Well, that's another reason for me to come back in Sydney's winter, to see if it's true.

This is a remarkable community and a remarkable nation. In this new global culture that we're all experiencing, Australia's contribution has been far out of proportion to its population in modern art, in learning, in music, in theater, in opera, in the cinema; the novels of Patrick White, Thomas Keneally, David Malouf; the paintings of Sidney Nolan, Russell Drysdale, Utopia artists; the films of Baz Luhrmann, Peter Weir, and so many others; and according to the young people in my group, bands like Midnight Oil and Silverchair; Dame Joan Sutherland; and great jazz musicians. I want to thank you, Prime Minister, for making it possible for me to hear James Morrison and Grace Knight yesterday. They were magnificent. Thank you very much.

I'm glad to stand here today with Andrew Hoy, who did lead your remarkable team to

its remarkable showing in the centennial Olympics in Atlanta. His own gold medal performance, repeating his victory in Barcelona, were one of the things that made the games such a great success. And I am very pleased that at the dawn of our new century, the Olympic torch will arrive here in Sydney. We know the Olympics will be an enormous success for Sydney, just as they were for Atlanta.

The Olympics have captured the imagination and the heart of people everywhere. I have thought a lot about why, maybe because we all love athletics and maybe because we all love competition, but I think there's more to it than that. And there's something I hope you will be able to play upon here in Sydney because you're perfectly positioned to do it. I think people yearn for the Olympics today because they work pretty much the way we think the world should work. There are rules and everybody follows them, and everybody has a chance to play without regard to their race or gender or where they start out in life, and people are valued based on their performance and their effort.

Even those who do not win medals—and most of the people who will come to Sydney won't come close to winning a medal—but everybody gets a chance to do his or her best, to reach down deep inside, and everybody's better off for having tried. Unlike so many other human endeavors, including the field of politics, no one wins by tripping his or her opponent up in the competition or standing before a microphone and bad-mouthing the other side. You only win by playing by the rules and doing well. And I think the world should work more that way.

When the world comes to Sydney for the Olympics, either literally or over the electronic media, they'll have a chance to see a city and a nation struggling to meet that ideal. We have a chance on the verge of this new century to make it possible for more people than ever in human history to live out their dreams and to live up to their God-given potential.

This city has people who traced their origins to more than 140 different nations. There are only 197 different national groups represented in the Olympics. In our largest county, Los Angeles County, we have people from over 150 of those groups. We're becoming an increasingly interconnected world. Australia has a higher percentage of immigrants who came here and built decent lives and strengthened your country through hard work than almost any other country on Earth.

When you drive down the streets of Sydney tonight and you look at all these different people making a contribution to your country, think with sadness but prayerful hope about all the people who live around the world who are still being persecuted because they are different from their neighbors, because they have different religious views or they're from different racial or ethnic or tribal groups.

Think of the terrible spectacle we have seen in Africa just in the last few days, hundreds of thousands of refugees trooping back and forth looking for a safe place to spend the night, parents losing their children along the way, just because they're in different tribes. And to those of us of untrained eyes who have never been there, they look the same as those who carry guns and would oppress them.

Think of what it's like in the Holy Land, for all of us who are either Jewish or Muslim or Christians, where people still believe they cannot live with one another because they worship only one God but in a different way.

Think of what it is like in Bosnia, where there is literally biologically no difference between the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims; where they belong to different religious groups by accident of political history; where people killed each other's children with abandon after having lived for decades in peace.

But there is a lot of evidence that we can all do better than that. And when the world comes to Sydney, they will see that. So think about that. Think about how every day in every way, when you bring in people who are those like me who trace their roots to England or Ireland or Scotland, to various Asian countries or South Asia or Latin America or the Middle East or Africa—every day you do that when the world is looking at you, you offer a rebuke to all those who would take away the lives and the futures and the fortunes of the children of this world because they are different from them.

We somehow must find a way to let our children define themselves in terms of who they are, not who they are not; in terms of what they believe, not what someone else believes; in terms of what is good inside them and what can be developed into something really beautiful, instead of what can be developed in terms of hatred, so they can know that they're better

than somebody else who's different from them. That is the single great challenge that is keeping us from making the 21st century the era of greatest possibility in human history. And I cannot think of a better place in the entire world, a more shining example of how people can come together as one nation and one community than Sydney, Australia.

I'm so grateful that you'll be here for the Olympics in 2000. I want you to know that the world is looking to you. And I also want you to know that America will keep looking to you. The Prime Minister mentioned our comradeship in World War I, the first time our soldiers ever fought together. The Australians had been in combat for more than 3 years when America's troops first went to France. And one of them asked the Americans, "Are you going to win the war for us?" The American answered, "Well, I hope we'll fight like the Australians." Ever since then the spirit of Australia has been renowned in America. We respect it, and we love working with you.

Again let me say, as I did in Canberra yesterday, the United States and people all over the world are especially in your debt for your determination to end nuclear explosions on Earth and your leadership in helping us to complete the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

We are in your debt for setting a standard of caring about people beyond your shores. Time and again you have sent peacekeepers into harm's way to end bloodshed: Rwanda, Haiti, Somalia, Cambodia. Almost two-thirds of all the United Nations peacekeeping missions have had Australian troops. Whenever the troubled places of the Earth call out, Australia has always been there to help. Throughout the Asia-Pacific region and the entire world, you are seen as a beacon of strength and freedom and democracy.

Today, when for the first time in history more than half the world's people actually are ruled by governments of their own choosing, we know it is the powerful example of Australia and other freedom-loving peoples that made it possible. Today, more people will live lives of dignity and peace because of the work that Australia has done in the historic struggle for freedom.

So let me say again, I have had a wonderful time here. I have enjoyed it immensely. I am about to go try to survive a golf game with your most famous golfer. But more than anything else, on behalf of all the American people, I want to thank you for what you have done and been for the United States and the world together. And I want to wish you well as we work through this 21st century together. And I want to ask you to remember again when the Olympics comes here, if you can live by the rules which govern the Olympics and show that light to the world, it will stand as a beacon of hope for all that everyone who lives on the face of the Earth can become in this great new century. And that can be the enduring legacy of Sydney in the year 2000.

Thank you. God bless you. God bless Australia and the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. at the Royal Botanical Gardens. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister John Howard of Australia and his wife, Janette; Premier Bob Carr of New South Wales and his wife, Helena; Lord Mayor Frank Sartor of Sydney; Andrew Hoy, equestrian Olympic Gold Medalist; and professional golfer Greg Norman.

Statement on the Anniversary of the Dayton Accords

November 21, 1996

One year ago today, American diplomacy under the leadership of Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke achieved a peace agreement that ended the worst conflict in Europe since World War II. Over the past year, American soldiers, diplomats, aid workers, volunteers, and public servants have worked tirelessly on the challenges of implementing the Dayton accords. They have made a world of difference in the lives of the Bosnian people.

The market massacres, sniper alleys, and grim campaigns of ethnic cleansing are over. Since Dayton, we and our international partners have maintained a secure peace, separated and demobilized the former warring parties, held suc-

cessful national elections, and started the work of rebuilding Bosnia's economy and civil structures. These achievements have made an immeasurable difference in the lives of people in Bosnia: parents can return to their businesses and careers, children can return to schools and playgrounds, farmers can return to fields and markets—all without fear of an incoming round or a sniper's bullet.

When the Balkan leaders chose peace one year ago at Dayton, I asked the American people to do the same by supporting the participation of our troops in a NATO-led Implementation Force to help secure the peace. Thanks to NATO's strong capabilities, together with the forces of Russia and other members of the Partnership For Peace, IFOR successfully completed its mission of implementing the military aspects of Dayton without any combat casualties. In short, IFOR exceeded our expectations in bringing an end to a war that threatened stability in Europe.

American leadership remains vital in pursuing our interests and is critical to restoring peace and stability in places like Bosnia. That is why I have decided in principle that, until political and economic efforts can gain greater momentum, a smaller follow-on NATO mission in Bosnia is necessary to complete the work that IFOR began. But in the end, it still is up to the Bosnian people, with the help of international community, to take responsibility for rebuilding their country, reconciling with their neighbors, creating a democratic national government, and laying the foundation for a self-sustaining peace.

Today, I want to personally thank the many Americans who have worked so hard to bring peace to the people of Bosnia.

Remarks on the International Coral Reef Initiative in Port Douglas, Australia

November 22, 1996

Thank you very much. Premier and Mrs. Borbidge, Mayor Berwick, Minister Hill and Mrs. Hill, members of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, and to Minister Moore and Mrs. Moore, especially to Alicia Stevens for reminding us what this is all about today.

Hillary and I and our party have had a wonderful visit to Australia. We understand now why it is called the Lucky Country. But we believe that there is more than luck involved here. Today we celebrate the commitment of the people of this country, of the United States, and people all over the world to the proposition that we must preserve the natural resources that God has given us. We are here near the biggest, best managed protected marine and coastal area in the world for a clear reason: Australia has made a national commitment to be good stewards of the land with which God blessed you.

I am especially pleased today, as has already been said, that the Government of Australia is honoring the United States by naming a section of the Great Barrier Reef after Rachel Carson. Rachel Carson was the great American environmentalist; she was a marine biologist. Vice President Gore wrote about Rachel Carson: She brought us back to a fundamental idea lost to an amazing degree in modern civilization, the interconnection of human beings and the natural environment. That interconnection clearly imposes upon all of us a shared responsibility. To preserve a future for our children and grandchildren, we must care for our shared environment. It is a practical and a moral imperative.

We are citizens not only of individual nations but of this small and fragile planet. We know that pollution has contempt for borders, that what comes out of a smokestack in one nation can wind up on the shores of another an ocean away. We know, too, that recovery and preservation also benefits people beyond the borders of the nation in which it occurs. We know that protecting the environment can affect not only our health and our quality of life, it can even affect the peace. In too many places, including those about which we read too often now on the troubled continent of Africa, abuses like deforestation breed scarcity, and scarcity aggravates the turmoil which exists all over the world.

I am very proud of the work our two nations have done to preserve our natural heritage. Just as we have been allies for peace and freedom, we must be allies in the 21st century to protect the Earth's environment. Our work together on the International Coral Reef Initiative is a shining example of what we can achieve. Founded in 1994 by Australia, the United States, and six other governments, this initiative helps nations and regions to conserve, manage, and monitor coral reefs.

Pollution, overfishing, and overuse have put many of our unique reefs at risk. Their disappearance would destroy the habitat of countless species. It would unravel the web of marine life that holds the potential for new chemicals, new medicines, unlocking new mysteries. It would have a devastating effect on the coastal communities from Cairns to Key West, Florida, communities whose livelihood depends upon the reefs.

Steadily we are making progress. In this part of the world, the ICRI has played a crucial role in slowing the use of cyanide to harvest coral reef fish. Around the world, more than 75 nations and scores of organizations have participated in ICRI programs. Today, with your knowledge and leadership, we are seeing to it that the world's reefs make it into the next century safe and secure. And I thank you for that.

Let me say that our effort to save the world's reefs is a model for the work that we can do together in other environmental areas, and there is a lot of work to do. Deforestation is claiming an area the size of South Korea every year. Let us, together with the United Nations, develop a strategy for the sustainable management of all our forests.

Toxic chemicals and pesticides banned here and in the United States can still find their way into our lives, endangering our land, our water, and our children. Rachel Carson, whom we honor here today, helped alert us in the United States to these dangers. Let us now forge a global agreement to stop these toxic substances from being released into the world around us.

Today, thanks to the Montreal Protocol, we are slowing the production and the consumption of chlorofluorocarbons, the chemicals that have been eating a hole in the Earth's ozone layer. We're on our way to closing the ozone hole that threatens Antarctica and Australia. Now we must see to it that this landmark treaty is enforced from one corner of the Earth to another. We need no more new holes in the ozone.

Finally, we must work to reduce harmful greenhouse gas emissions. These gases released by cars and power plants and burning forests affect our health and our climate. They are literally warming our planet. If they continue unabated, the consequences will be nothing short of devastating for the children here in this audience and their children.

New weather patterns, lost species, the spread of infectious diseases, damaged economies, rising sea levels: if present trends continue, there is a real risk that sometime in the next century, parts of this very park we are here in today could disappear, submerged by a rising ocean. That is why today, from this remarkable place, I call upon the community of nations to agree to legally binding commitments to fight climate change.

We must stand together against the threat of global warming. A greenhouse may be a good place to raise plants; it is no place to nurture our children. And we can avoid dangerous global warming if we begin today and if we begin together.

If we meet all these challenges, we can make 1997 a milestone year in protecting the global environment. We can do it in a way that encourages sustainable development. One thing we've learned in recent years is that protecting the environment and promoting human progress are not incompatible goals; they go hand in hand. I am very pleased that the United Nations General Assembly will have a special session in New York next year to review our progress in advancing sustainable development since the Earth summit in Rio.

An Australian folktale has it that in the beginning the sky was so close to the Earth that it blocked out all the light. Everyone was forced to crawl in the darkness, collecting with their hands whatever they could find to eat. But the birds of that land decided that if they worked together they could raise the sky and make more room to move about. Slowly, with long sticks, they lifted the sky. The darkness passed, and everyone stood upright.

If we work together as those birds did, we can preserve our environment for our children, for their children, for generations beyond. Let us lift our sights and ourselves to that great challenge.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. at Port Douglas Park. In his remarks, he referred to Queensland Premier Robert Borbidge and his wife, Jennifer; Mayor Mike Berwick of Port Douglas; Senator Robert Hill, Minister for the Environment, and his wife, Diana; John Moore, Minister for Industry, Science, and Tourism, and his wife, Jacqueline; and Alicia Stevens, Port Douglas student who introduced the President.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Locality-Based Comparability Payments
November 22, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am transmitting an alternative plan for Federal employee locality-based comparability payments ("locality pay") for 1997.

Under title 5, United States Code, Federal civilian employees would receive a two-part pay raise in January 1997: (1) a 2.3 percent base salary raise linked to the change in the wage and salary, private industry worker, part of the Employment Cost Index (ECI); and (2) a locality pay raise, based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics' salary surveys of non-Federal employers in local pay areas, costing about 5.2 percent of payroll.

But, for each part of the two-part pay increase, title 5 gives me the authority to implement an alternative pay adjustment plan if I view the pay adjustment that would otherwise take effect as inappropriate due to "national emergency or serious economic conditions affecting the general welfare." Over the past 20 years, Presidents have used this or similar authority for most annual Federal pay raises.

In evaluating "an economic condition affecting the general welfare," the law directs me to consider such economic measures as the Index of Leading Economic Indicators, the Gross National Product, the unemployment rate, the budget deficit, the Consumer Price Index, the Producer Price Index, the Employment Cost Index, and the Implicit Price Deflator for Personal Consumption Expenditures.

Earlier this year, I decided that I would implement—effective in January 1997—the full 2.3 percent base salary adjustment. As a result, it was not necessary to transmit an alternative pay plan by the legal deadline of August 31.

In assessing the appropriate locality pay increase for 1997, I reviewed the indicators cited above and other pertinent measures of our economy. Permitting the full locality pay increases to take effect would, when combined with the 2.3 percent base salary increase, produce a total Federal civilian payroll increase of about 7.5 percent. This increase would cost about $5.9 billion in 1997, $3.6 billion more than the total 3.0 percent increase I proposed in the fiscal 1997 Budget. Such an increase is inconsistent with the budget discipline that my Administration has put in place and that has contributed to sustained economic growth, low inflation and unemployment, and a continuous decline in the budget deficit.

To maintain this discipline and its favorable impact on economic conditions, I have determined that the total civilian raise of 3.0 percent that I proposed in my 1997 Budget remains appropriate. This raise matches the 3.0 percent basic pay increase that I proposed for military members in my 1997 Budget, and that was enacted in the FY 1997 Defense Authorization Act. Given the 2.3 percent base salary increase, the total increase of 3.0 percent allows an amount equal to 0.7 percent of payroll for locality pay.

Accordingly, I have determined that:

> Under the authority of section 5304a of title 5, United States Code, locality-based comparability payments in the amounts set forth on the attached table shall be effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning on or after January 1, 1997. When compared with the payments currently in effect, these comparability payments will increase the General Schedule payroll by about 0.7 percent.

Finally, the law requires that I include in this report an assessment of how my decisions will affect the Government's ability to recruit and retain well-qualified employees. While I regret that our fiscal situation does not permit granting Federal employees a higher locality pay increase, I do not believe this will have any

material impact on the quality of our workforce. Under the Federal Workforce Restructuring Act of 1994, and our efforts to reinvent Federal programs, the number of Federal employees is falling substantially. As a result, hiring and attrition are very low. In addition, as the need arises, the Government can use many pay tools—such as recruitment bonuses, retention allowances, and special salary rates—to maintain the high quality workforce that serves our Nation so very well.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

The President's Radio Address
November 23, 1996

Good morning. As you know, I'm traveling across the Pacific visiting Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand. Hillary and I and our delegation are enjoying the great natural beauty and the warmth and hospitality of the people of this diverse region.

America's involvement and influence here helps to provide the stability, to promote the economic progress, to encourage the cooperation on many fronts, including preserving our natural environment, that benefits all Americans. With partners and friends like the nations I'm visiting, we're going to enter the 21st century stronger than ever.

This is a good trip, but I'm looking forward to returning home in time for Thanksgiving. More than any other holiday, Thanksgiving reminds us of the importance of family and community and the ties that bind us together. As we gather with our families this year to give thanks, we must never forget the duty we owe to those in our American community who are less fortunate than we are.

The Bible tells us that when we harvest, we must not take everything for ourselves but remember to leave something for the poor to glean. Today, those gleanings are the gifts of food we give to those who need them. Across our Nation, in food banks and houses of worship and community groups, thousands of Americans are taking the initiative to fight hunger and feed their neighbors. We must all do our part and support these efforts because not all the needs are met and we plainly can do more. For example, we know that too much food goes to waste. In restaurants, cafeterias, and grocery stores across our country, thousands of pounds of perfectly good, healthy food is thrown out every day, enough to feed 49 million people a year. Recovering that surplus food can make a real difference in the fight against hunger in America.

Our administration has tried to help. This past summer, hundreds of young people from our national service program, AmeriCorps, joined private volunteers to get food to the poor. They worked with farmers in the fields, teaching them how to save excess produce. They worked with the Atlanta Community Food Bank and the Congressional Hunger Center to help recover 174 tons of excess food. All told, this past summer they recovered over a thousand tons of food, providing over a million meals. And every week the U.S. Department of Agriculture's cafeteria in Washington sends another 150 pounds of food to a soup kitchen.

Last October I signed into law the good Samaritan food donation act. This law encourages private businesses, local governments, and ordinary citizens to donate food by protecting them from lawsuits. This can make a real difference. Second Harvest, a national food bank network, estimates that the good Samaritan law will result in approximately 25 million pounds of food next year.

Today we're taking two more steps to help fight hunger. First, I'm directing every department and agency in our administration to actively work to promote food recovery and distribution. From now on, all Federal agencies will recover surplus food from their cafeterias, public events, and other food-service facilities. And they'll work with Government contractors,

State and local governments, and private businesses to encourage all citizens to do the same.

The second thing we're doing is to make it easier for private citizens to take steps to help feed the poor. Today we're releasing a new handbook, "The Citizen's Guide to Food Recovery." It will tell you how you can get started, the names of the charities in your area that work to recover food, and the lessons we've already learned in communities all across America. You can call a 1–800 number; it's 1–800–GLEAN–IT—that's 1–800–G-L-E-A-N-I-T—to learn more about food recovery and to get a copy of the Citizen's Guide.

Our Nation has always been a land of plenty. But as blessed as we are, we must never forget that there are those still struggling to take part in America's bounty. Ultimately, all Americans must take responsibility to help our fellow citizens in need. So this Thanksgiving, as we celebrate with our own loved ones, let us remember those who are not so fortunate. By making sure that food does not go to waste, we can make the spirit of Thanksgiving real for literally millions of our people every single day of the year.

Thanks for listening, and Happy Thanksgiving.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 7 a.m. on November 22 in Cairns, Australia, for domestic broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 23. H.R. 2428, approved October 1, to encourage the donation of food and grocery products to nonprofit organizations for distribution to needy individuals by giving the Model Good Samaritan Food Donation Act the full force and effect of law, was assigned Public Law No. 104–210.

Memorandum on Food Recovery Efforts

November 23, 1996

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Promoting Food Recovery Activities to Help the Hungry

The American people are blessed with a country rich in natural resources, land that supports an abundance of nutritious food, and an agricultural production and distribution system that is among the most efficient and productive in the world. Thanks to our American agricultural system, most of us are free to enjoy diets rich in both variety and nutrition. However, sometimes food is wasted that could otherwise be used to help Americans who are less fortunate and need a helping hand. Food recovery—the collection and donation of surplus food—can help those Americans in need.

Food recovery by the Federal Government allows us to use part of the immense food resources that otherwise would go to waste, enabling us to share it with those in need at no cost to the Federal Government. For example, the Department of Agriculture has supported food recovery for packaged foods for years and, during the past year, has undertaken a national initiative to help Americans recover food of a highly perishable, but nutritious, nature. The food recovered by Federal agencies is mostly prepared in restaurants, hotels, cafeterias, and other institutional settings and would otherwise have been thrown away. In carrying out this activity, thousands of hungry people have been fed at no cost to the taxpayer.

Recently, I signed into law the Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act of 1996, legislation to encourage the donation of food and grocery products to nonprofit organizations for distribution to needy individuals. This law supports food recovery activities by clarifying that, absent gross negligence or intentional misconduct, persons, gleaners, and nonprofit organizations shall not be subject to civil or criminal liability arising from the nature, age, packaging, or condition of apparently wholesome food or an apparently fit grocery product donated, or received as a donation, in good faith, for distribution to needy individuals. The Act also establishes uniform definitions pertaining to donation and distribution of nutritious food; and helps assure that donated foods meet all safety, quality, and labeling standards of Federal, State, and local laws and regulations.

While this Act will help support food recovery in the private sector, we in the Federal Government can do more to help as well. I want to

ensure that it is the Federal Government's policy to promote food recovery and to encourage the use of voluntary efforts to assure that no wholesome food goes to waste that can economically be provided to persons in need. I hereby direct the heads of all Departments and Agencies ("agency") to ensure that their employees, contractors, grantees, State and local partners, and others understand this policy and the following guidelines.

Section 1. Policy. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Federal Government to promote the donation of excess apparently wholesome food and apparently fit grocery products to nonprofit organizations for distribution to needy individuals to assure that no such food goes to waste that can economically be provided to persons in need.

Sec. 2. Procedures.

(a) Each Federal agency shall, to the extent practicable and permitted by law, seek to increase the quantity of excess wholesome food recovered and delivered to needy Americans from agency cafeterias, commissaries, food vendors, and other food service facilities, as well as from special events at which food is served.

(b) Each Federal agency shall seek to encourage food recovery among its contractors, subcontractors, State, local, and non-governmental partners, and grantees to ensure that they understand its importance and role in feeding needy individuals.

(c) Whenever consistent with the goals of each Federal agency's mission and programs, each agency shall incorporate food recovery activities into those programs.

Sec. 3. Organization.

(a) There is hereby established for 5 years the interagency working group on Food Recovery to Help the Hungry charged with carrying out the policy of this memorandum and assisting agencies in complying with its purpose. The Secretary of Agriculture, or the Secretary's designee, shall chair this working group. The working group shall comprise the heads of all Federal agencies or their designees.

(b) The head of each Federal agency, as appropriate, shall appoint an employee as that agency's food recovery coordinator.

Sec. 4. Agency Authority. Nothing in this memorandum shall be construed as displacing any agency's authority or responsibilities.

Sec. 5. Judicial Review. This directive is intended only to improve the internal management of the Federal Government and is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or equity by a party against the United States, its agencies, its offices, or any person.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: H.R. 2428, approved October 1, to encourage the donation of food and grocery products to nonprofit organizations for distribution to needy individuals by giving the Model Good Samaritan Food Donation Act the full force and effect of law, was assigned Public Law No. 104–210.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Jiang Zemin of China in Manila, Philippines

November 24, 1996

Q. Mr. President, you promised to raise some candid differences. What differences do you want to raise?

The President. [*Inaudible*]—four good meetings, we're going to have another one. Then we'll have a report.

Q. Human Rights Watch says you're making a mistake by holding the meeting. Are you?

The President. No, we're doing the right thing to have this meeting.

NOTE: The exchange began at 11:35 a.m. at the Central Bank. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan in Manila, Philippines
November 24, 1996

Discussions With President Jiang Zemin of China

Q. Could you give us your assessment of your meeting with the Chinese leader?

The President. Well, I'm sure you've gotten a report. I think it went very well. It was a good meeting, and I think that the next steps were appropriate.

Q. You're looking forward, then, to going to Beijing?

The President. Very much.

Discussions With Prime Minister Hashimoto

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, the last time you met with Mr. Clinton, you gave him a saxophone. What are you going to do this time to make him happy? [*Laughter*]

The President. And I played it, too.

Prime Minister Hashimoto. What should I do about that? I think you're giving me more difficult questions than you're giving to the President. Well, it's a diplomatic secret. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The exchange began at 1:58 p.m. at the Central Bank. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With President Kim Yong-sam of South Korea in Manila, Philippines
November 24, 1996

President Clinton. Hello, Mr. President.

President Kim. Congratulations on your victory. I was assured of your victory much in advance. [*Laughter*]

President Clinton. You knew about it before I did, then.

Japan-U.S. Trade

Q. Mr. President, did your meeting with Prime Minister Hashimoto produce any expectation of reducing the trade imbalance?

President Clinton. We've made a lot of progress in the last 4 years. And we spent a lot of time on trade in that meeting, and he reaffirmed his willingness to resolve the remaining disputes between us. But if the economy keeps growing in Japan, that should help us reduce the trade imbalance.

Korean Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, are you optimistic that perhaps the four-way talks that were proposed can actually get underway?

President Clinton. Well, we're going to talk about that.

Q. But didn't you talk about it in your meeting with the Chinese leader?

President Clinton. Absolutely, I did.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:19 p.m. at the Central Bank. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan and President Jiang Zemin of China.

Remarks to the Community at the United States Embassy in Manila
November 25, 1996

Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you to my fellow Americans and our Filipino friends who make this Embassy run so well.

I'd like to begin with a special word of thanks to Ambassador Hubbard, not only for his introduction but for his extraordinary service to our Nation. Before coming to Manila, he was a key member of the team that persuaded the North Koreans to freeze their nuclear program. He was instrumental in securing the release of an American pilot named Bobby Hall. In those ways and many others, he has made a real difference for the safety and the security of the United States, the stability of Asia, and the future of this part of the world. So, Mr. Ambassador, on behalf of all Americans, I want to thank you for the extraordinary job you have done for America in so many different roles. Thank you, sir.

This is my second trip to the Philippines as President, and each time, though the visit is brief, I have enjoyed myself immensely and I come away very grateful for your hard work and the role you played in the success of our trip here.

I came to Manila to participate in the APEC summit, to build on the work we began 3 years ago at the first-ever meeting of the Asian-Pacific leaders in Washington State. Each year we have worked hard to move from vision to action, with members laying out concrete plans to realize our goal of free trade and investment in this whole area by the year 2020. I'm especially pleased that today the APEC leaders endorsed the early completion of an information technology agreement which would cut to zero tariffs a vast array of computers, semiconductors, and telecommunications technology by the year 2000. These products are to the 21st century what highways and railroads were to the 19th century. Or in my recent language, they are a big part of that bridge we have to build to the future. They are at the core of America's competitiveness.

Every year we sell $100 billion in information technology, and that sector supports almost 2 million jobs in the United States. So imagine if we went to zero tariffs in the entire world, what that would mean to America in more exports and higher paying jobs. Imagine also what it would mean not only to our Nation and others who produce these products but to those who would receive them.

In this global economy, you know as well as anyone that progress is not everyone's partner yet. I have been immensely pleased to see the rapid growth in the Philippine economy over the last 4 years under the leadership of President Ramos. And I am very encouraged about the direction of virtually every place in the Asia-Pacific region. But there are millions of people—indeed, hundreds of millions of people—who are literally disconnected from this emerging economy because they don't have phones or computers or access to all the networks that now are powering so much of the transfer of knowledge and opportunity in the world. Two-thirds of the people in the world still don't have access to a regular phone. Over half the people living today still are 2 days' walk from a telephone. There's a lot of opportunity out there, not only for those of us who produce these products but for those who will buy them and use them. For them it means higher growth, greater security, and a brighter future for their children.

APEC's endorsement of this information technology agreement is a big deal. And it is the product of determined, consistent diplomacy, the kind you practice here every single day, from commercial promotion to consular work to the bonds of friendship and respect you build with our Filipino partners.

In this season of thanksgiving, I really wanted to take just a few minutes to tell you how profoundly grateful I am for all the work you do. Your efforts may not always make the headlines, but I know how hard you work, the sacrifices you make to advance America's interests and America's values. I want to thank especially the families who are represented here, because we know that you, too, are ambassadors of good will for the United States. And I want to thank the Filipino colleagues who join us here today. You represent an invaluable part of the Embassy's spirit and success.

Finally, let me say that I think you have to become President to appreciate the unique bond between the United States and the Philippines and to appreciate fully the incredible contribution that Philippine-Americans have made to our way of life. As I flew over Corregidor on the way back here from Subic Bay and remembered what it was like when I was there not so very long ago, I thanked God once again for the Philippine-Americans who work for me. Five of them I brought here, on my personal staff, my physician; others we left back home.

It's awfully hot in this climate, but it has not burned the character or the goodness out of the people here. It has burned them in, and for that I am very, very grateful.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:35 p.m. on the terrace. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Ambassador Thomas C. Hubbard; CWO Bobby Hall, USA, whose helicopter was shot down over North Korea in December 1994; President Fidel Ramos of the Philippines; and Capt. Connie Mariano, USN, the President's physician.

Remarks on the Thailand-United States Tax Treaty in Bangkok, Thailand
November 26, 1996

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, Ambassador Itoh, the members of the Thai and the American business communities, ladies and gentlemen, the tax treaty we are about to sign brings to a close 15 years of negotiations and opens a new era of trade and investment between Thailand and the United States.

Mr. Prime Minister, let me personally thank you for pressing for the conclusion of this treaty. I know how hard you worked and I know how much it meant to you. Thank you very much.

Our countries already enjoy a thriving and growing economic partnership. The United States is Thailand's largest export market, its second largest trading partner, with two-way trade in excess of $18 billion a year. But until today our companies were at a competitive disadvantage since many other countries already have treaties with Thailand that prevent double taxation in the home country and in Thailand. Now a more level playing field will encourage our businesses to play an even larger role in Thailand's economic success story: to sell their products, to make investments, to share technology, to help to develop Thailand's remarkable human resources through training.

The success story of Thailand has been called a miracle. A more down-to-earth and realistic explanation lies in the hard work and fierce determination of the Thai people and the enlightened leadership of their government. You have proved that human resources matter the most if people are free to invent, to trade, and to dream. Today's signing reminds us that governments do not create wealth but governments can create the climate in which our workers, our entrepreneurs, our investors and business people can have a free and unfettered opportunity to thrive. That is our goal with this treaty, our goal with the civil aviation agreement recently signed, with the Thai Parliament's decision to set up an intellectual property rights court, with the ongoing consideration of a strong patent protection law.

Let me say to the members of the American business community who are here today and here in Thailand every day, the growth of our economy and the quality of our jobs is strengthened by your leadership. By trading and doing business beyond our borders, you keep our Nation engaged in the frontlines of the global economy and global opportunity. To you, to our Thai partners, to the members of both governments whose hard work has brought us to this day, I thank you for your dedication and for your vision. The 21st century can be a time of remarkable possibility if we give people an opportunity to make the most of their potential. Today the doors of opportunity have been opened a little wider, and all of you who played a part in that effort can justly be proud.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:26 a.m. in the garden at the Grand Palace. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Banhan Sinlapa-acha

and Deputy Prime Minister Amnuai Wirawan of Thailand and U.S. Ambassador William H. Itoh. Following the President's remarks, Ambassador Itoh and Deputy Prime Minister Amnuai signed the treaty.

Remarks at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok
November 26, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Dr. Thienchay, Dr. Kasem, to the students and faculty who are here, citizens of Thailand, my fellow Americans. Especially I would like to thank the glee club who sang. They did a marvelous job. Thank you very much for your music.

I am delighted and honored to be here today at a great center of learning that is a living memorial to Thailand's glorious past, yet with a mission focused on the future; an institution that is proudly and distinctively Asian, yet reaching out to the entire world. And in the faces of the young people who are in this audience, we all see the shining promise of tomorrow.

I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak here today about the future the United States, Thailand, and the entire Asia-Pacific region will share in the 21st century. Three years ago, I took my first trip overseas as President to Japan and Korea. Now, shortly after my reelection, again my first trip is to Asia, to Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand. In Australia, at APEC, in my meetings with the leaders of China, South Korea, Japan, and your own nation, I have reaffirmed America's commitment to the Asia-Pacific region. That commitment is stronger than ever, for in the 21st century America's future cannot be secure if Asia's future is in doubt.

I wanted to visit Thailand for quite some time now, but I am especially glad to be able to join you in this historic year as we celebrate the life and work of His Majesty the King. The close ties between our two nations go back to 1833, when America signed a treaty of amity and commerce with the Kingdom of Siam. Those early bonds of friendship have endured the test of time, anchored by our security alliance, strengthened through our comradeship in Korea, in Vietnam, kept sharp and ready through Cobra Gold, the largest exercise involving United States forces anywhere in Asia.

Our nations are partners in prosperity as well. We enjoyed some $18 billion in two-way trade last year alone. We've forged important agreements in civil aviation, the protection of intellectual property, and the tax treaty I was honored to witness just a few moments ago here in Bangkok today.

More than ever, our people are also joined by ties of culture and community. My country has been strengthened by the contributions of literally tens of thousands of Americans of Thai descent. And from Southern California to Houston to New York, our culture has been greatly enriched by the graceful temples, the ancient traditions, the exotic flavors of Thailand which now have a home in the United States.

Now we must deepen our partnership for the demands of the 21st century. The United States and Thailand, for all the distance and differences between us, share a common vision, the dream of an Asia-Pacific region where economic growth and democratic ideals are advancing steadily and reinforcing one another. That dream is coming true here in Thailand today, to the benefit of your people, this region, and the world.

Consider just how much the world has changed since President Johnson spoke here at Chula 30 years ago. The cold war is over. ASEAN, born in the throes of the Vietnam war, last year welcomed Vietnam as its newest member. Thailand has become an economic powerhouse. The economies of east Asia are the fastest growing in the world. The new global economy, spurred on by continuous explosions in information and technology, is transforming the way we live and work and communicate, collapsing the distances between us as the free flow of goods and the free flow of ideas are bringing tremendous opportunities for people throughout the world.

Of course, for all its promise, the 21st century will not be free of peril. Aggressive rogue states,

global crime networks and drug traffickers, weapons proliferation, and terrorism, all these will continue to menace our security.

The nations most likely to succeed in this new world, to succeed in seizing the opportunities and meeting the threats of our time, are those that respond to the needs and aspirations of their people, promote commerce and cooperation instead of conflict, and have the openness and flexibility to harness the winds of change.

Thailand is proving that proposition every day. Yours has been the world's fastest growing economy over the last decade. You are laying the groundwork for an Asia of the future, where ancient cultures are linked by modern communications, where a vast and diverse region is joined by values of hard work and enterprise and shared benefits. This benefits the United States alone with more than 2 million jobs and 40 percent of our trade now tied to the Asia-Pacific region.

In the face of this, some have argued that democracy actually hinders economic growth in this region and in developing nations. But we need look no further than the economic vitality of Thailand, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Korea to see that economic growth and democratic development can go hand in hand. Indeed, in the information-based economy of today and tomorrow, free market democracies have unique advantages. Freedom and democracy strengthen the prospects for strong and enduring economic progress.

A wave of democracy has swept the Earth in recent years, from Hungary to Haiti, to South Africa, to Cambodia, to Mongolia. More than half the world's people now live under governments of their own choosing, for the first time in all of human history.

Here in Thailand, last week's elections were a further milestone in your democratic journey. As always in elections, there were winners and there were losers. I can say that; I have been a winner and a loser. [*Laughter*] And while losing is not as good as winning, whenever power is transferred peacefully and democratically, everyone in that nation is a winner.

The United States is proud to have supported democracy's march across Asia. We do not seek to impose our vision of the world or any particular form of government on others. But we do believe that freedom and justice are the birthright of humankind. The citizens of Thailand, Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand—Taiwan—show us that accountable government and the rule of law can thrive in an Asian climate. The people of Cambodia and Mongolia proved that change is possible in difficult circumstances. The brave reformers in Burma led by Aung San Suu Kyi remind us that these desires know no boundaries. Their aspirations are universal because they are fundamentally human.

Every nation of the Asia-Pacific must preserve the best of its traditions while pursuing the benefits of progress. But surely we can all agree that human dignity and individual worth must never be undervalued or abused. The United States will continue to stand with those who stand for freedom in Asia and beyond. Doing so reflects not only our ideals, it advances our interests. A nation that respects the rights of its own people is far more likely to respect the rights of its neighbors, to keep its word, to play by the rules, to be a reliable partner in diplomacy and trade and in the pursuit of peace and stability.

It is in that pursuit that the United States will continue to maintain our strong Pacific presence, with 100,000 American troops to safeguard our common security. We are reinforcing our five core alliances here, including our very special alliance with Thailand. We're helping Asia to build new security structures to promote stability and peace. But let me be clear: Our presence is not aimed against anyone or any nation. Its aim is to benefit everyone and every nation through greater security and stability for all.

Safeguarding stability, we know now, requires more than military strength. In a world grown closer, both the rewards of cooperation and the costs of conflict have risen dramatically. Just yesterday we saw a real result of working together as the APEC leaders, with strong support from Thailand, endorsed early completion of an information technology agreement which would cut to zero tariffs on products from semiconductors to software by the year 2000.

Imagine the benefits to the students in this auditorium and those just outside and in booming countries the world over as ideas become even more open and accessible to people, as the information revolution spreads to even more eager minds. Imagine the even greater benefits which will come to that one-half of the world's population which, believe it or not, are still 2 days' walk from the nearest telephone. They

cannot participate in this world we are trying to imagine and create unless we all join together to spread the benefits of the information revolution to everyone and to do it now.

But let us not be blind to the fact that as barriers crumble and borders blur and progress spreads quickly, so, too, can trouble spread quickly in this new world. We have only to look at the spread of environmental degradation, HIV and AIDS, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, drug trafficking, the rise of organized crime. These forces of destruction defy traditional defenses, just as traditional barriers can no longer keep out ideas, information, and truth. No nation is immune to the forces of destruction, and none can defeat these threats alone.

Therefore, we must work together. The United States is working with Thailand to ease the toll that economic growth has taken on your environment. Many American environmental companies are working here for a healthier future not only in Thailand but beyond your borders. Our Embassy here is our regional headquarters for working on issues like air pollution and climate change throughout the area. Thailand is helping to lead the way. Recently you became the first developing nation to ban the production and import of refrigerators with ozone-destroying CFC's, and I thank you for that.

We are also working with Thailand to help stop the terrible AIDS epidemic, now spreading faster in Asia than in any other region of the world. Again, Thailand stands on the very frontlines, setting a strong example in promoting AIDS prevention. But even with declining rates of infection, the public health problem is enormous. We in America will do our part by promoting dramatic increases in research and development of new drugs. I am happy to say that in our country in the last 4 years the average life expectancy for those with HIV and AIDS has more than doubled. We will continue to do our part, but you must continue to work as only you can here, as well.

The United States Agency for International Development helped to launch the Thai Women of Tomorrow Project to assist young women in finding better prospects than the prostitution that puts their lives at risk. The First Lady visited that project the day before yesterday when she traveled to Chiang Mai to see the project started by faculty members at Chiang Mai University. Of course, this is important to try to turn these young women and their families away from destructive life habits. But as the First Lady has said all over the world, it is not enough to protect women and girls from those who would exploit them; we must all work together to open wide the positive doors of opportunity so that every person in every free society can contribute and share in its progress.

Our cooperation is nowhere more essential than in the fight against the increasingly interconnected and global forces of organized crime. For left unchecked, these criminal conglomerates, multinational masters of the underworld, will distort free economies, derail fragile democracies, debilitate our societies with corruption and violence and drugs.

Thailand and the United States are close and committed partners in the fight against drugs. We cannot afford to rest in the struggle, for the lives of too many millions of our young people are at stake. Thailand is setting a strong example for other nations. With the help of Their Majesties, the King and Queen, you have helped to give farmers the opportunity to give up the cultivation of opium in favor of other more productive crops. You have drafted money laundering legislation which we hope will soon be passed. You have helped to deter drug trafficking through your country by toughening your northern border patrols.

And our extensive cooperation in law enforcement is clearly paying off. In 1994, Operation Tiger Trap dealt a crippling blow to a major trafficking network in Burma, enabling the arrest of 14 drug kingpins, 2 of whom have now been extradited to the United States. In all your work in this area, Thailand is sending a clear signal to drug lords: We will fight you; we are determined to stop you. And America has a clear signal to Thailand: We will stand with you all the way. On behalf of General Barry McCaffrey, who leads our Nation's antidrug effort and who is with me today, and all those children whose lives we are helping to save, I thank the Thai Government and the people of Thailand for moving away from the scourge of narcotics.

We know we must do more to fight illegal drugs at the source. Burma has long been the world's number one producer of opium and heroin and now is also making methamphetamines. The role of drugs in Burma's economic and political life and the regime's refusal to honor its own pledge to move to multiparty democracy are really two sides of the same coin, for both

represent the absence of the rule of law. Every nation has an interest in promoting true political dialog in Burma, a dialog that will lead to a real fight against crime, corruption, and narcotics and a government more acceptable to its people.

Whether we are fighting drugs, combating AIDS, trying to open bright new futures for our children, or working to protect the planet we share, Thailand and the United States are making our partnership work for our people, for we both know we have much more to gain from standing together than by going it alone. And we both appreciate how much can be achieved when dialog and democracy are the lifeblood of two nations' relations with each other, when policies are made through consensus, not coercion, and when people everywhere are given the tools and the chance to make the most of their own lives.

Working together, the United States and Thailand can help lead the way to an Asia-Pacific region in which economic success and greater freedom advance together and support one another, a region in which growing opportunity is matched and strengthened by increasing freedom, stability, and security.

We still have challenges to meet. We still have opportunities to seize. We still have much to learn from one another. But I am confident we will do all these things, because we know that by working together and working with others we can build a Pacific community based on shared interests, shared values, and shared dreams. It is my great honor, therefore, to be here today to reaffirm America's enduring engagement in the Asia-Pacific and our lasting and proud friendship with Thailand.

Thank you very much.

[*At this point, the degree of Doctor of Economics was conferred upon the President.*]

The President. Thank you very much. Let me just briefly say that—first, to the distinguished officials of the university who voted this degree, I thank you very much. When I heard the president reading the degree citation, I have to tell you what I was thinking was I wish that they had made that available to the voters in my country before the last election. [*Laughter*] But I thank him for it very much.

I understand that in many quarters this great university, Chulalongkorn, is known as the Harvard of Thailand. Now, I never made it to Harvard—[*laughter*]—but if I had to choose, I feel so thoroughly elevated today in my wonderful robes and with my degree, I prefer to have been awarded the degree here. And I thank you. I think every time I go back now to my wonderful friends in Massachusetts and at Harvard, I will always—at least a part of me will always think of Harvard as the Chulalongkorn of the United States. [*Laughter*]

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. in the auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Thienchay Kiranandana, president, and Kasem Suwannakul, university council chairman, Chulalongkorn University; King Phumiphon and Queen Sirikit of Thailand; and Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi.

Remarks at a State Dinner in Bangkok
November 26, 1996

Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Privy Counselors, Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet, the diplomatic corps, distinguished guests: The First Lady and I are deeply honored by the welcome we have received in Thailand. We are proud to visit during the year that celebrates His Majesty's 50th year on the throne.

We Americans claim a special connection with His Majesty because he was born in Massachusetts, where his father was studying at Harvard and his mother was a student at Simmons College. And of course, I feel a particular admiration for His Majesty, whose love of music, especially jazz, and whose skill on the saxophone are universally renowned. In his lifetime, the late Duke Ellington was called the King of Jazz. Now it seems to me that His Majesty can lay legitimate and literal claim to that title.

Our stay here, Your Majesty, is far too brief. But we have had time to appreciate the wonder

of your country. Hillary saw it when she visited two northern provinces and shared the enchanting beauty of the ceremony of Loy Kraphong. We both have marveled at Bangkok, the City of Angels, where we see both the proud traditions of the past and the shining promise of the future.

Your Majesty, when you addressed the United States Congress 36 years ago, you noted that for all the distance that divides our people, still one thing unites us, the love of freedom. You were right then, and you are right today. Thailand's struggles for liberty at home and abroad have inspired nations all over the world. Thailand is one of our oldest friends and strongest allies. The treaty the United States signed with the Kingdom of Siam in 1833 was the very first treaty forged by our young Nation with any Asian nation.

In the last half-century we have fought side by side in Korea and Vietnam. We have stood together in promoting security in this region and around the world. Our nations have been partners in prosperity as well. And now we are working to build a new Pacific community where open societies, linked and invigorated by open markets, give their people the tools, the confidence, the opportunity to make the most of their own lives.

Your Majesty, Thailand's growing role on the global stage is a fitting tribute to your leadership. You have guided Thailand through political crises. You have helped to secure a climate in which democracy can flourish. Your tireless efforts, and Her Majesty's, to advance rural development have been a model for all the world. Your integrity and devotion to your people has made you a symbol of unity and pride. To me it was especially telling that when your country's Olympic boxer won Thailand's first-ever gold medal this year in Atlanta, he strode triumphantly around the ring with a framed picture of you. So in celebrating our nations' partnership, we celebrate you as well.

Your Majesty, our great author Somerset Maugham once said as he gazed at this marvelous palace complex, "It makes you laugh with delight to think that anything so fantastic could exist on this somber Earth." So here, amid the brilliant colors, the heavenly spires of this wonderful place, the friendship between our people springs forth more vibrantly than ever.

Therefore, I ask that all of you join me in a toast to that friendship, to our alliance, and to long life for His Majesty, the King.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:36 p.m. in the Chakri Throne Hall at the Grand Palace.

Remarks at Elmendorf Air Force Base, Alaska
November 26, 1996

Thank you. Thank you very much. You may have noticed from the news, I'm a little hoarse. But if you will be patient with me, I will try to say what is in my mind and heart for you.

First, Governor and Mrs. Knowles, General Gamble, Colonel Lake, Mayor Mystrom, Lieutenant Governor Ulmer, to the other distinguished leaders of our Air Force and Army who are here. All of you know that when I tell you I just couldn't go home without stopping here, I'm telling the truth. [*Laughter*]

I guess I could go home without seeing you, but that would be my loss. Hillary and I look forward so much to the opportunities we have to come here to see the people who serve our Nation, who serve particularly in the Asia-Pacific region where I have just spent a number of days in Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand, and to see your families. I want to thank you for what you do. I want to tell you that, once again, I see from my talks with leaders throughout the world how important our leadership in this region is for peace, for stability, for prosperity and how much people all over the Asia-Pacific region look to you, trust you, believe in you, and see America in you. I thank you for that, and you should be very, very proud.

As Hillary and I go home for Thanksgiving we'll be giving special thanks this year, because it's Military Family Appreciation Week, for the families of our men and women in uniform throughout the world. From Bosnia to the Middle East, to Haiti, to the DMZ in Korea, here in Alaska, and in countries throughout the

world, in bases all over the United States, I have seen the sacrifices and the support of our military families. I'm so grateful to all of you who have brought your children here today. I hope I get to shake hands with as many of them as possible. Those of you in the back who have your children on your shoulders, I thank you for that. I hope they will always remember that their parents served their country with pride and honor and that they had a chance to see the President thank their parents for their service.

To all of you in our families—I know here at Elmendorf alone there are 10,000 dependents—I know that the national security would not be possible without you. I was so moved by General McCaffrey's story of his own experience. I have seen that in military support families, in accidents which cost the lives of our military personnel, and in losses in active-duty service. But every day I see it in the support you give in countless ways to make it possible for families to stay together, for children to be raised properly, for families to support each other so that our country can be properly defended.

So on this Thanksgiving Day, for all of our many blessings—and I've got a lot of things to be thankful for, including having my contract renewed—[*laughter*]—I want you to know when our family, including a lot of our extended family, gathers on Thursday at Camp David, we will be thanking God for all of you who make our country the greatest, strongest force for freedom in human history.

God bless you, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:17 p.m. Alaska time (after crossing the international dateline) in Hangar One. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Tony Knowles of Alaska and his wife, Susan; Lt. Gen. Patrick K. Gamble, USAF, Commander, Alaskan Command; Col. William J. Lake, USAF, Commander, 3d Wing; Mayor Rick Mystrom of Anchorage; Lt. Gov. Fran Ulmer of Alaska; and Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, USA (Ret.), Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Remarks at the Thanksgiving Turkey Presentation Ceremony

November 27, 1996

Please sit down. You can hear I'm hoarse. I just got back from a long trip. But if you'll bear with me, I will—I'll do my best to talk. [*Laughter*]

I want to, first of all, thank the chairman of the National Turkey Federation, Jim Cooper, and his family for bringing the turkey here, all the way from Oakwood, Ohio. His Congressman, Representative Paul Gillmor, is here; I welcome him as well. I want to thank Stuart Proctor, the president of the National Turkey Federation, and Joel Brandenberger, the executive director. I want to thank the volunteers and young people from the Big Brothers and the Big Sisters program and the Boys and Girls Club of America for being here.

You all know why we're here. Tomorrow 45 million turkeys will play the supreme sacrifice for our Thanksgiving. So, continuing a tradition begun 50 years ago by President Truman, I am going to keep at least one turkey off of the Thanksgiving dinner table by giving a pardon to a turkey from Ohio that will now go to the petting zoo that Kidwell Farms maintains in Fairfax, Virginia. We can all be grateful, therefore, that there will be one less turkey in Washington, DC, tomorrow. [*Laughter*]

Let me thank the turkey farmers in Ohio, in my native State of Arkansas, and throughout the country for the fine job that they do all year long, and say how very grateful I am to see all the children here. Now let's pardon this bird.

Thank you for coming.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The President's Radio Address
November 30, 1996

Good morning. This week, millions of American families gathered around their dinner tables to enjoy our annual feast of Thanksgiving. Now many of us who traveled great distances to be with loved ones are making the trip back home. Today I want to talk about how we can extend the spirit of Thanksgiving beyond this holiday weekend.

Thanksgiving is our oldest tradition. In 1789, George Washington made Thanksgiving his first proclamation for our new Nation. Much has changed for America in the two centuries since that first proclamation. Today we not only feed ourselves well, our bounty helps to feed the world. The light of freedom that drew founders to our shores not only shines here; for the first time in history, more than half the world's people who once lived in the shadows of tyranny and depression now live under governments of their own choosing.

On this year's Thanksgiving, we are reminded that we are a nation truly blessed. Crime and poverty are down. Employment is up. We are a nation at peace. For the most part, foods and jobs are plentiful. Our children have more to look forward to than any generation of young people in human history.

But as President Lincoln once so powerfully reminded us, this country cannot afford to be materially rich and spiritually poor. That perhaps is the greatest lesson of Thanksgiving. For more than any other holiday, it reminds us of the importance of family and community and the duty we owe to each other. I want to thank those across our Nation who donated food or volunteered time to provide a Thanksgiving meal for those among us who are homeless and hungry.

Unfortunately, hunger and homelessness don't take a holiday; they are with us all year long. So we must not wait until Thanksgiving to reach out to those in need. And we must not pack our compassion back in the cupboard like fine china that only gets used once a year. The spirit of family and faith and community that shines so brilliantly on Thanksgiving can enable us to meet every challenge before us all year long.

So let us resolve to go forward together to lift millions of people from welfare and dependency into lives of dignity and independence. Now that we have ended welfare as we know it, let the change not be to have even more children in more abject poverty but to move people who can work into jobs.

Let us pledge to give our children the best education in the world and the support they need to build strong futures, higher standards in our schools, more choices, and the opportunity for all Americans to go on to college.

Let us work together to keep our homes, our neighborhoods, our schools free from the ravages of crime and drugs and violence, finishing the job of putting 100,000 police on our streets, targeting violent teen gangs, and doing more at the grassroots level to turn our children from drugs and gangs and guns and violence.

And let us always remember that when America is united, we always win, but when we're divided, we defeat ourselves. In the global economy of the 21st century, the marvelous diversity of America will be a great blessing if we all treat each other with dignity and respect and remember we don't have a person to waste.

Whenever I travel around the world, as I did last week, I always return home with a renewed appreciation for the rich blessings so many of us take for granted. And while we should be thankful that technology and cultural exchanges are bringing much of the world closer together, it is also clear that people all over the globe still look to America for moral leadership.

As Hillary reminded us last weekend when she visited a project to assist young women struggling in Thailand, we do have a responsibility to help build lives of hope and security for suffering children not only here in America but all over the world. That is what we have tried to do in Bosnia, in Haiti, in working for peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland, in so many of our efforts all around the globe.

Let me close today with a personal note of thanks to every one of you for affording me the opportunity to continue my service as President. For the past 4 years I've worked hard to stand up for our values as a nation and to give all our citizens the tools to make the most of their own lives. And we've come a long way together, but there is still much, much more

to do. And we know that the only way we can succeed is if we all work together.

So let us all be guided, as I try to be guided every day, by the words of the Scripture which teaches that "to those to whom much is given, much is required." So as we set our sights on a joyous holiday season, let us all pledge by our devotion to God and family and community to keep the spirit of Thanksgiving alive all year long.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from Camp David, MD.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on Imports of Broom Corn Brooms

November 28, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Pursuant to section 203(b)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, attached is a report concerning my actions in response to the ITC safeguards investigation of broom corn brooms.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 2. The related proclamation and memorandum of November 28 are listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks on Presenting the Congressional Space Medal of Honor to Astronaut Shannon Lucid and an Exchange With Reporters

December 2, 1996

The President. Good morning. It's a pleasure to have all these dignitaries here today. I want to especially acknowledge Senators Glenn and Burns; the NASA Administrator, Dan Goldin; Dr. Jack Gibbons; the Russian Ambassador, Mr. Vorontsov, who is here on behalf of the two cosmonauts that Dr. Lucid roomed with in space. She just told me she made them Jell-O every Sunday morning. [*Laughter*] I want to welcome Michael Lucid and the shuttle crew that brought her home: Commander Bill Readdy, Pilot Terry Wilcutt, Mission Specialists Tom Akers, Jay Apt, and Carl Walz.

I can think of no better way to begin this season of hope than by presenting the Congressional Space Medal to Dr. Shannon Lucid. The United States has always been sparing in its honors because the medals and official recognition we bestow are more than simple congratulations. They are public declarations of outstanding achievement and extraordinary service to the Nation. Dr. Lucid achieved that kind of service for 188 days this year, the longest flight by an American in space, the longest mission for any woman of any nation in space, five shuttle missions altogether.

Her accomplishments should come as no surprise. She has always been a determined visionary. I think many of us have now heard the story of how, as an eighth grader, she wrote a school paper about wanting to be a rocket scientist, and she was told by the teacher that there was no such job and, even if there were, a girl couldn't get it. Fortunately, she didn't listen to everything her teacher said.

In 1978 she was chosen as one of NASA's first six women astronauts. As a biochemist, she's done important work on the effects of weightlessness on the human body, including her own. She surprised just about everyone when, after 6 months in space, she stood up to gravity and walked right off the space shuttle.

Most pioneers set their sights on just one frontier. Shannon Lucid has pushed to the fur-

thermost reaches of two, the frontiers of both space and science. She has done so with brainpower, willpower, courage, skill, and good humor.

This medal commemorates her service, but it also stands for something greater: Her mission did much to cement the alliance of space we have formed with Russia. It demonstrated that as we move into a truly global society, space exploration can serve to deepen our understanding not only of our planet and our universe but of those who share the Earth with us. That's why we're committed to keeping a strong space program, to keep the shuttle flying, to work toward the international space station, to develop the X–33 which will replace the shuttle, to continue robotic exploration of Mars and the solar system. In fact, countdown begins this afternoon for the launch of the *Mars Pathfinder* mission.

Let me also express my gratitude to the brave men and women of our space program, past and present, and especially those who have given their lives in this noble endeavor. I want to say a special word about the *Discovery* crew that is here with us today. They are doing remarkable work—I mean, they're up there right now. We wish them Godspeed on their journey home. And to all the people of NASA, many of whom I've had the privilege to meet with and discuss the space program with over the last 4 years, let me thank them for all they do. When we see them on film, they make it look so easy, but we know it isn't. We know that their dedication, their service, their knowledge is truly extraordinary.

When Dr. Lucid began her education, it took faith as well as intellect to be a female rocket scientist. Now she has exceeded a universe of expectation. Perhaps more than even she knows, she set a remarkable example for a new generation of young Americans, especially young women, who look up to her and see possibilities that are new and uncharted for their own lives. Our young people, like those who are here today, will be doing work that hasn't been invented yet. Many will be doing work, as I have often said, that has not been imagined yet. We owe it to them to continue in the American tradition of pushing back the frontiers of knowledge.

I now have the honor of presenting the Congressional Space Medal of Honor to Dr. Shannon Lucid, the first scientist and the first woman to receive this award. What she did while journeying among the stars is a proud example of what all of us should try to do more of here on Earth.

I'd like now to ask the military aide to read the citation.

[*At this point, Lt. Comdr. June Ryan, USCG, Coast Guard aide to the President, read the citation, and the President presented the medal. Dr. Lucid and Commander Readdy then made brief remarks.*]

Second Term Transition

Q. Mr. President, do you have a Secretary of State for your next term?

The President. When I have an announcement, I will make it. [*Laughter*] Let me say to all of you, you can hear that my voice is better but not fully recovered. I took 4 days off with my family, indeed, my extended family—I even had my two nephews up at Camp David. It's the longest time I've had off without any work in more than a year. Even in my vacation last summer, I worked most of the time I was there. I'm trying to rest my voice. I tried to do a little work and found I simply couldn't make telephone calls. So I had 4 days off; I hope you did. And I expect to work hard this week, and I'll be making some announcements as they're ready to make. It won't be too long.

Gun Control Legislation

Q. Are you challenging the challenge to the Brady law that's coming up tomorrow in the Supreme Court, Mr. President?

The President. Excuse me?

Q. The challenge to the Brady law that's coming up in the Supreme Court, do you have any comments on that?

The President. Well, I believe it's constitutional, and I believe that we have clearly preserved the right to keep and bear arms, consistent with the Constitution in this country. But we have also made America a safer place. And there are tens of thousands of people with criminal backgrounds and other serious problems that couldn't get handguns because of the Brady law. People are alive today because of it. It's a better country because of it. At the very last of the last Congress, many who had previously ferociously opposed it voted with me to extend it to cover cases of domestic violence, which I very much appreciated. So I think we're better

off, and I certainly hope that the constitutionality will be upheld.

Riady Letter

Q. There's a report today that Mr. Riady gave you foreign policy advice and that the White House sat on the letter until now.

The President. On the what?

Q. Did not disclose——

The President. There was a Wall Street Journal article about a letter that I received in '93, which I think—which Mike McCurry says has been—the information has been out there for some time. It's just a very—it's a letter like tens of thousands of other letters I get, people suggesting every day—I get, I suppose, hundreds every day suggesting what our policy ought to be in various areas. And we will make that letter available to Congress, after which I'm sure it will be made available to you. But you will see it's a straightforward policy letter, the kind of thing that I think people ought to feel free to write the President about.

Campaign Finance Inquiry

Q. What's your response to the call from GOP Senators on hearings——

The President. On what?

Q. ——on donations to the Democratic National Committee—[*inaudible*].

The President. They'll have to do their business. They can do whatever they think is right. It's all—I'm going to spend my time working on what I can do.

And let me again say to the Russian Ambassador how glad we are to have you here, sir, today. And today the Vice President has flown to Lisbon; he will be there with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin at the OSCE meeting. We're all thrilled at the reports we get of President Yeltsin's excellent recovery from his surgery. And this is the kind of partnership that we are working hard to build between our two nations. And we are honored to have you here, and we look forward to more of the same.

Thank you, and thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:37 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Russian Ambassador to the U.S. Yuliy Vorontsov; Dr. Lucid's husband, Michael; Indonesian businessman Mochtar Riady; and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on the National Emergency With Respect to the Lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979

December 2, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

As required by section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(c)) and section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), I transmit herewith a 6-month periodic report on the national emergency declared by Executive Order 12924 of August 19, 1994, to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States caused by the lapse of the Export Administration Act of 1979.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Rwanda and Zaire

December 2, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

The humanitarian situation in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region of eastern Zaire has been a continuing source of international concern. Although approximately 600,000 refugees have recently returned to Rwanda from Zaire, the situation remains uncertain. An estimated 200,000 or more refugees and displaced persons remain scattered in eastern Zaire likely without adequate food, water, shelter, or medical care. Repatriation is expected to continue in the foreseeable future. Urgent action may still be required, however, to supply essential relief to refugees and displaced persons still located in eastern Zaire and to assist those refugees that have returned to Rwanda.

In response to United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1080 (1996), the United States plans to participate in a multinational effort, led by Canada, to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and to facilitate the voluntary, orderly repatriation of refugees by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other humanitarian aid organizations as well as the voluntary return of displaced persons. Pending final consultation with our allies, I expect the United States to contribute personnel and equipment to the headquarters, civil-military affairs and psychological operations units, and other support elements as required.

In furtherance of UNSCR 1080 and the aim of the multinational effort, the United States has already positioned personnel and equipment in furtherance of "Operation Guardian Assistance" (approximately 400 personnel are currently in the region) to conduct non-combat missions, including airlift, air control, and related services in support of ongoing humanitarian efforts by Rwanda and private relief organizations.

Part of the U.S. assistance to the region has been helping locate groups of refugees and displaced persons to ascertain their movement and condition. The United States has used aircraft and other means in an effort to gain accurate and complete information. Although there has been sporadic fire from unknown sources at aircraft over-flying the Great Lakes region, including U.S. Navy aircraft, it is not clear that this fire was intentionally directed at U.S. personnel. This past weekend the United States also deployed an AC–130U aircraft to the area to facilitate this effort through the use of aerial surveys. Although its primary mission is aerial surveys, the aircraft is fully mission-capable and will be available for search and rescue or other force-protection missions, if required. The aircraft will be based in Entebbe Airfield, Uganda, and will conduct aerial surveys throughout the Great Lakes region. The aircraft will remain in the area as long as aerial survey efforts are required by relief efforts.

The United States recognizes that the return of peace and security to the region will ultimately rest on the resolution of long-standing political and social differences and an end to the fighting. The United States is actively supporting the United Nations and the international community to achieve those ends. Humanitarian concerns, however, require that the United States take immediate action to relieve the suffering of innocent victims of the regional instability until those long-term political and social differences can be resolved.

I have taken this action pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct the foreign relations of the United States and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. I am providing this report in accordance with my desire that the Congress be fully informed, consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I appreciate the support of the Congress in this action to assist the international community in its humanitarian relief efforts in Central Africa.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 3.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Major Illicit Drug-Producing and Drug-Transit Countries

December 2, 1996

Dear Mr. Chairman: (Dear Ranking Member:)

In accordance with the provisions of section 490(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (FAA), as amended, I have determined that the following countries are major illicit drug-producing or drug-transit countries: Afghanistan, Aruba, The Bahamas, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, China, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Jamaica, Laos, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Venezuela, and Vietnam. These countries have been selected on the basis of information from the March 1, 1996, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report and from other United States Government sources.

This year, I have added Aruba to the list of major illicit drug-transit countries. At the same time, I am adding the Netherlands Antilles to those countries that we monitor as potentially significant drug-transit countries. These already include Cuba, Turkey, the Balkan Route countries and the former poppy-growing countries of Central Asia.

Aruba. In the past 2 years, there has been a major shift in drug trafficking patterns, as enforcement activities in Mexico, the western Caribbean, and The Bahamas have pushed trafficking routes eastward. Taking advantage of the limited enforcement capabilities of most eastern Caribbean countries, Colombian drug syndicates have been routing U.S.-bound cocaine and heroin through the region. Consequently, countries that in the past have been peripheral to the drug trade have now taken on major roles that significantly affect the United States. While all of the eastern Caribbean is vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers, we have identified Aruba as a major drug-transit country. Aruba is situated on a major drug-transit route, with the vast majority of the cocaine and heroin that transits Aruba destined for the United States.

Cocaine trafficking through Aruba to Puerto Rico continues to involve both transshipment through Aruba and redistribution from Aruba as a hub to other locations. Cocaine is smuggled by ship via Aruba, using commercial vessels, cruise ships, pleasure craft, and fishing boats. In addition, according to the DEA, traffickers use Aruba's free-zone facilities to engage in transit of bulk shipments of cocaine without scrutiny by local officials. A substantial portion of the free-zone's businesses in Aruba are owned and operated by members of the Mansur family, who have been indicted in the United States on charges of conspiracy to launder trafficking proceeds.

Netherlands Antilles. Analysis of the trafficking patterns indicates that there is considerable drug activity taking place around the Netherlands Antilles, especially around St. Maarten. Although, at present, we have only anecdotal information, it is possible that significant quantities of U.S.-bound drugs are involved.

Turkey and Other Balkan Route Countries. Although I am still concerned about the large volume of Southwest Asian heroin moving through Turkey and neighboring countries to Western Europe along the Balkan Route, there is no clear evidence that this heroin significantly affects the United States. If in the future it is determined that heroin transiting Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, the former Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Croatia, the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, or other European countries on the Balkan Route significantly affects the United States, I will add the relevant countries to the "majors" list.

Cuba. Cuba's geographical position astride one of the principal Caribbean trafficking routes to the United States makes it a logical candidate for consideration for the "majors" list. While there continue to be some credible reports that trafficking syndicates use Cuban territory (including waters and airspace) for moving drugs, it has not been confirmed that this traffic carries significant quantities of cocaine or heroin to the United States.

Central Asia. In 1996, the State Department conducted probe efforts in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, traditional poppy-growing areas of the former Soviet Union. These probes did not show significant opium poppy cultivation. If ongoing analysis reveals cultivation of 1,000 hec-

tares or more of poppy, I will add such countries to the "majors" list at the appropriate time.

Major Cannabis Producers. While Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Morocco, the Philippines, and South Africa are important cannabis producers, they do not appear on the list since I have determined, pursuant to FAA section 481(a)(2), that in all cases the cannabis is either consumed locally or exported to countries other than the United States, and thus, such illicit cannabis production does not significantly affect the United States.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Jesse Helms, chairman, and Claiborne Pell, ranking member, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Mark O. Hatfield, chairman, and Robert C. Byrd, ranking member, Senate Committee on Appropriations; Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman, and Lee H. Hamilton, ranking member, House Committee on International Relations; and Robert L. Livingston, chairman, and David R. Obey, ranking member, House Committee on Appropriations. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 3.

Teleconference Remarks on the Interagency Task Force Initiative for St. Petersburg, Florida

December 3, 1996

The President. Hello.

Mayor David J. Fischer. Hello.

The President. Mr. Mayor.

Mayor Fischer. This is Mayor Fischer here, Mr. President.

The President. Hello, Mayor. It's nice to hear your voice. I'm here with the Vice President and Secretary Cisneros and Senator Bob Graham. And I think Congressman Young and Congressman Bilirakis are on the phone. And I know you've got some community leaders there. And I appreciate everyone being a part of this conference call today.

When we met in October, I was very impressed by your willingness and determination to address the longstanding problems in your city, and I sent Secretary Cisneros and an interagency task force to St. Petersburg. And as you know, they and your community leaders have agreed that more Federal involvement is necessary. And we've had some recommendations for action that involve a real partnership among Federal agencies, city officials, community leaders. And with that in mind, I have directed the Federal agencies, through their representatives here at the White House—and they're all gathered here—to begin with the proposed initiatives in the November 25th memo that Secretary Cisneros sent me.

A Federal coordinator who will report to the community empowerment board, which is chaired by the Vice President, will be appointed to work on the ground with you in St. Petersburg. And I'd also like to see the necessary steps taken to put together a local advisory board with broad-based membership as outlined in the memo.

I think that this is going to be a difficult period for you, but I am very impressed by the work you've done, Mr. Mayor, and those who are supporting you. And I am confident that you can work through this. We want to be a good partner to you.

I want to thank all the Florida officials who have supported this. Governor Chiles is not on the phone today, but he talked to me about this extensively—he and the Lieutenant Governor did—when I was with them. And Senator Graham is here with me, and we had a long talk about it the last time I was in Florida. And I thank Congressman Young and Congressman Bilirakis for being on the phone. But most of all, we're proud to assist you. We know this is your challenge and your future, but we think we've got a good plan, and we want to be a good partner.

And I'd like to ask the Vice President just to say a word, and then perhaps the others who are here will be able to speak as well.

[*At this point, the Vice President, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry*

Cisneros, Senator Bob Graham, Representative C.W. Bill Young, Representative Michael Bilirakis, and Mayor Fischer made brief remarks on the St. Petersburg empowerment zone initiative.]

The President. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. I know you've got some other community leaders there, and let me just say to all of them, we're pulling for you. We appreciate what you're going through. We want to be here to support you. We know that you can realize your vision of how you want your community to work, how you want people to feel who are living there, and we're determined to stay with you all the way through.

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor, again, for contacting me, for coming to see me, and for making me aware of the situation. We're going to keep going, and we'll be there with you every step of the way.

Mayor Fischer. Well, thank you very much. We appreciate you calling us this morning, and your response has been overwhelming. Thank you.

The President. Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Lawton Chiles and Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay of Florida.

Remarks Prior to a Briefing on AIDS Research and an Exchange With Reporters

December 3, 1996

The President. As all of you know, this is World AIDS Awareness Week, and you also know I'm a little hoarse. I'm very excited about the progress we've made in the last 4 years. I'm determined to keep pressing until we have a vaccine and ultimately a cure. And I'd like to ask the Vice President to sort of take over for me with the opening remarks, and then we'll hear from Secretary Shalala. We have some of our Nation's top health officials—our top public health officials here. I thank them for coming, for their work, and I'd like to ask the Vice President to speak.

The Vice President. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

As you can tell, the President needs to conserve his vocal cords a little bit. He's had quite a lot to say about this topic of AIDS over the last 4 years, especially internally with this tremendous team that Secretary Shalala has pulled together and led on the President's behalf. And this is one of several briefings that the President has had periodically on the progress our country is making against HIV/AIDS.

And the experts here will provide some statistics to back these assertions up. But let me just briefly, on behalf of the President, note that this administration has presided over a 40 percent increase in NIH-supported AIDS research, a 158 percent increase in Ryan White AIDS treatment grants, a 24 percent increase in CDC HIV-prevention activities, a 96 percent increase for HUD's housing opportunities for people with AIDS program. He has greatly strengthened the Office of AIDS Research at NIH. And as a result of Public Health Service guidelines recommending the use of AZT by HIV-positive pregnant women and their newborns, there has been a very encouraging 17 percent drop in the number of infants with perinatally acquired HIV infections—those are the last statistics available from '94 to '95; also responding rapidly to FDA approval of a new class of AIDS therapies called protease inhibitors, with increases in funding for State AIDS drug assistance programs. We have eased Social Security disability rules to speed approval of eligibility. And of course, the President created the Office of National AIDS Policy at the White House and the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS.

Last year, at the White House Conference on HIV and AIDS, the President asked me to preside over an effort to look for ways to overcome obstacles in developing new therapeutics, vaccines, and microbicides to combat HIV and AIDS. And we have achieved a great deal since last year. Working with this team here today,

we convened meetings that led to the establishment of the Forum for Collaborative HIV Research. And I'm proud that the participants in this forum, AIDS clinicians, researchers, drug companies, insurance companies, and patient advocacy groups, have all expressed their belief that this has become an unprecedented and productive forum for discussing the future of HIV research.

These new scientific advancements in HIV and AIDS treatment light optimism and hope in the AIDS community for people with AIDS and their families. So this is a very positive report this year. And many are now feeling that there is cause for more optimism in the near future.

Through collaborative efforts like this new forum, and the cooperative efforts of the Government and private sector researchers, we'll continue the fight for better and more affordable prevention strategies, vaccines, and microbicides. We will not forget the children. The President is personally committed to focusing this research effort on the crying need to develop pediatric applications of these prevention and treatment strategies and products. And we've all talked a great deal about how to do that.

Working with our team assembled here and with our partners in research, we will continue to knock down every barrier to the development of successful therapeutics, vaccines, and microbicides until we knock down the last barrier of all, the HIV virus itself.

Now, on behalf of the President, I want to turn this over to Secretary Donna Shalala to expand on the administration's efforts to defeat this terrible disease.

[*At this point, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala began the AIDS briefing. While she retrieved a chart for the briefing, the following exchange took place.*]

Political Strategist James Carville

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us how you feel about James Carville's effort to mount an offensive on your behalf?

The President. I can't comment.

Q. You're not going to talk to him about it?

Q. How's the Cabinet going?

Q. Any decisions, sir?

President's Health

Q. When can we expect an announcement? Are you glad you've lost your voice? [*Laughter*]

The President. It's a hoax. [*Laughter*]

Q. We suspected as much, sir. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Statement on the Resignation of Senior Adviser for Policy and Strategy George Stephanopoulos

December 4, 1996

From the snows of New Hampshire in 1991 until the present day, no one has rendered me better advice, nor given more loyal service to this Nation, than George Stephanopoulos. There's no one in Washington who has a better understanding of the intersection of politics, policy, and the way those affect the American people. His work here at the White House is evidence of his deep respect for our country, its system of government, and its people. He cannot be replaced.

George will undoubtedly be a great teacher at Columbia. His boundless intellectual curiosity will be put to good use, shaping the leadership of the future.

NOTE: Press Secretary Mike McCurry read this statement during his daily briefing.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Transmitting a Report on

Budget Deferrals
December 4, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report seven new deferrals of budgetary resources, totaling $3.5 billion.

These deferrals affect programs of the Department of State, the Social Security Administration, and International Security Assistance.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 5. The report detailing the deferrals was published in the *Federal Register* on December 16.

Remarks Announcing the Second Term National Security Team and an Exchange With Reporters
December 5, 1996

The President. Good afternoon. During our first term in office, the Vice President and I were blessed to work with a remarkable national security team: Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Secretary of Defense Bill Perry, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, Director of Central Intelligence John Deutch, all very bright, forceful, strong-minded individuals who came together as a team to advance America's interests and values around the world.

Today the fact that our Nation is at peace, our economy is strong, and we are making real progress in seizing the opportunities, meeting the challenges of the 21st century, these things are due in no small measure to the teamwork, vision, and leadership they gave to the American people. The Vice President and I and every other American owe all of them a great debt of gratitude.

Now as we embark upon a new term, our responsibility is to build on the strong foundation laid in the last 4 years, to make sure that as we enter the 21st century, America remains the indispensable nation, the world's greatest force for peace and prosperity, for freedom and security.

Today I am pleased to announce the new national security team I have selected to help us meet that responsibility: Secretary of State-designate Madeleine Albright; Secretary of Defense-designate William Cohen; Director of Central Intelligence-designate Anthony Lake; National Security Adviser Samuel Berger. Each of these individuals has remarkable qualities of intellect, energy, and leadership. All are committed to work together as a team that will rise above partisanship and rise to the challenges of meeting the opportunities, of dealing with the challenges that we all face.

The challenges are many: terrorism; the spread of weapons of mass destruction; drug trafficking; environmental degradation; ethnic, religious, and racial conflicts; dealing with the sea changes occurring in Asia and elsewhere throughout the globe. But the opportunities are even greater: working toward a Europe that for the first time is undivided, democratic, and at peace; building a new partnership with a democratic Russia; meeting the challenge of change in Asia with strength and steadiness, in a way that advances freedom and prosperity; extending the reach of peace and freedom in the Middle East and Africa; opening more markets in Latin America and strengthening the democracies that have taken root there.

These new people who will form the new national security team, they have the experience,

the judgment, the vision to meet the heavy responsibility and the high privilege of leadership.

By virtue of her life and accomplishments, Madeleine Albright embodies the best of America. It says something about our country and about our new Secretary of State-designate, that a young girl raised in the shadow of Nazi aggression in Czechoslovakia can rise to the highest diplomatic office in America. She watched her world fall apart, and ever since, she has dedicated her life to spreading to the rest of the world the freedom and tolerance her family found here in America.

During her 4 years as our Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright's steely determination has helped to advance our interests and our ideals around the world. She knows firsthand what it means for America to be the indispensable nation. And I know firsthand that Madeleine Albright has the instincts, the intelligence, the skill, and the strength to lead American foreign policy in this time.

Time and again I have benefited from her judgment and counsel on issues from Bosnia to NATO, and many, many other difficult areas. The American people have also benefited because of her special ability, forged during her tenure as a teacher at Georgetown, to explain why American leadership is more important than ever and to get the job done.

Bill Perry has done a remarkable job in preparing America's military for the challenges of the 21st century and in carrying out all other aspects of the Secretary of Defense's job, which include running the largest and most complex organization in the Nation's Government. The bottom-up review he completed has decreased the size of our forces, while increasing their readiness capabilities and technological edge. From Haiti to Bosnia, from the Persian Gulf to the Taiwan Strait, through Bill Perry's leadership, we have demonstrated that our men and women in uniform remain the best equipped and best trained fighting force in the world.

Earlier I had the opportunity to pay tribute to the contributions of Secretary Christopher. I want to say again how much I appreciate what he has done. But today I also want to thank Bill Perry for being one of the finest Defense Secretaries in the history of the United States. I thank you, Bill, and I will miss both of you very much.

Bill Cohen is the right man to build on these achievements, to secure the bipartisan support America's Armed Forces must have and clearly deserve. He served in the United States Congress for 24 years, including 18 in the Senate. There his name became synonymous with discipline, intellect, creative independence, and deeply held principles.

While serving the people of Maine, he has also served every American through his determination to find common ground on difficult issues. He brought fresh ideas and thoughtful analysis to his work on the Senate Armed Services Committee; he helped craft the START I arms control treaty with Russia that we have entered into force and played a key role in legislation that reorganized and strengthened our military command.

Now the Senate's loss will be our administration's gain. I thank Senator Cohen for his willingness to cross party lines to make sure that America's security is there in the 21st century.

Just about every morning these last 4 years, the point man of our foreign policy team, Tony Lake, came into this office to brief me on the state of the world and to tell me what he thought I should do about it. It's been a great comfort to me and a great benefit to the American people to have Tony Lake just down the hall and to bring the power of his mind, the toughness of his character, the strength of his integrity to bear on the most difficult challenges we face. In moments of crisis, in times of triumph, he has always been at my side.

Let me thank John Deutch for the remarkable job he has done on behalf of our country at home and abroad, first as the Deputy Secretary of Defense and then in a difficult time as Director of Central Intelligence. He has done an excellent job, and I thank him. Thank you, John, for your service.

I can think of no more powerful proof of my commitment to carry on John Deutch's work of maintaining a strong, successful intelligence community than asking Tony Lake to take the helm as Director of Central Intelligence and a member of my Cabinet. Our intelligence informs just about every foreign policy decision we make. We cannot do without it. And while it will be hard for me to do without Tony Lake just down the hall, I am grateful he will be working the halls at Langley and leading our intelligence community into the 21st century.

Sandy Berger has also served just down the hall these past 4 years. He's been a good friend and adviser to me for a lot longer than that.

In fact, we have known each other since we were about half our present age. I hate that. [*Laughter*] I have looked to him for advice and counsel on foreign policy and on many other issues, as well, over the years. As Deputy National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger has helped to pull together our foreign policy team and given it direction, guidance, and shared purpose. I believe we have to have these things to move forward on the interests and values of the American people. As National Security Adviser, he will bring to the job not just the ability to work hard and to work well but the vision and sense of our larger purpose that is necessary to meet the challenges our Nation faces. I am pleased and the American people are fortunate that Sandy Berger will be serving as my National Security Adviser.

And before I ask each member of the new national security team to say a few words, starting with the Secretary-designate, I'd like to thank the one member of the team that will not be changing for a while, as long as his tenure lasts, and that's General Shalikashvili. Thank you, sir, for your remarkable service to America.

And now Ms. Albright.

[*At this point, Secretary of State-designate Madeleine Albright, Secretary of Defense-designate William Cohen, Director of Central Intelligence-designate Anthony Lake, and National Security Adviser Samuel Berger made brief remarks.*]

Q. Mr. President, what do you say to those individuals who were on your list to become one of these Cabinet Secretaries? What do you say to them now that they haven't gotten the position? And part two of that question is, we thought your doctors told you not to talk. [*Laughter*]

The President. They did, but they made a little change in my medication and I was—my voice was working enough today for me to do this announcement. And you know, you and I, we're partners, too, and I had to give you something, or you were going to go crazy. So I was able to speak enough.

To the other—I say to them that I thank them for being willing to be considered. I thank them for their service to our country, and I ask them to support the decision I've made. I made the best decision I could, and I believe it will serve America well.

Q. Mr. President, many Republicans on Capitol Hill especially are outright hostile to the United Nations. Here you are now naming our U.N. Ambassador to be the Secretary of State. Do you, and should you, perhaps, expect a smooth confirmation process?

The President. I do. There is no question that Ambassador Albright is supremely qualified for this job. And the people on the Hill know that I believe the United Nations is an important organization. The United States has taken the lead in reforming it. And we, in general, and Ambassador Albright and Secretary of State Christopher, in particular, have taken a good deal of heat for trying to reform it. And we have pressed ahead.

But that doesn't mean we don't need the United Nations or that it doesn't do a world of good; it does. It is important, and it's going to get more important, and the United States had better be there playing its part if we expect it to do what we think should be done in the world.

Q. Mr. President, was Ambassador Albright picked because she's a woman or in spite of? And also, who will be her role model, Kissinger or Christopher? [*Laughter*]

The President. The second question should be hers to answer. Let me say I'm very proud to have had the opportunity to appoint the first woman Secretary of State in the history of America; I'm proud of that. But it had nothing to do with her getting the job, one way or the other. She got the job because I believe, amid a list of truly outstanding people, she had the best combination of qualities to succeed and to serve our country at this moment in history. And she proved it to me not only by her service in the United Nations and by her ability to speak to America and the world about what we are and what we stand for but also in the quiet councils that we've had over the last 4 years over some of the most difficult problems imaginable. And that's why I decided to name her.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Cohen has a reputation as a bit of an independent and somebody who goes against the grain in his own party. Are you concerned that he might do so in your administration?

The President. No. [*Laughter*] But let me say, I think anybody who has been in this administration would tell you that we go out of our way to follow a process which encourages people

to be independent, to speak their mind, to argue for new ideas, to break new ground. In fact, everybody knows that we are in the process every day we're here of breaking new ground—of creating, if you will, a new conventional wisdom for the 21st century. And we're not there yet. So I think a man with a creative, independent, inquiring mind is just what is needed for this team.

Senator Cohen and I have talked about that a lot. There's a difference between being a Senator and Secretary of Defense. But I don't—when I appoint people, I expect them to speak their mind and tell me what they think. Then we'll get together, we'll make a decision as a team, and then we'll all carry it out and do our jobs.

Q. Mr. President, can I follow up on Helen's [Helen Thomas, United Press International] question? You're flanked by a woman and a Republican—want to have a Cabinet that looks like America——

The President. We're getting close. [*Laughter*]

Q. Given that—that's a good point. Given that, how can you say that the fact that she's—the Ambassador is a woman had nothing to do with it?

The President. Well, because—she got the appointment to the United Nations because I thought she'd be a good Secretary-General—as much as I enjoy appointing women.

Secretary-designate Albright. Ambassador. [*Laughter*]

The President. As much as I—you don't want that job, do you? [*Laughter*]

The Vice President. She does speak French, though.

Secretary-designate Albright. I do speak French. [*Laughter*]

The President. As much as I enjoy appointing people who had not previously—who represent groups of people who've not previously been able to serve, I owe it to the United States, to all the American people never to make any appointment of someone I think would not succeed. And in this case, I'm appointing Madeleine Albright because of the work she has done for the last 4 years and the opportunity it has given me to see her perform.

Yes, I told you I wanted a Republican in the Cabinet. But the most important thing is that the national defense of the United States be secured and that we continue to adjust to the changes of the new era.

I would never have asked Senator Cohen to join the Cabinet solely because he's a Republican. It would have been folly. I think he is uniquely well-qualified at this moment in history for the reasons that I said.

So, am I glad that I have a Republican in the Cabinet? Yes. Am I proud that I got a chance to appoint the first woman Secretary of State? You bet I am. My mama is smiling down on me right now. [*Laughter*] But that is not why I appointed her. And that is why she will succeed. And I hope she will be an inspiration to the young women all across our country and all across the world, so that everybody will be able to have a chance to live up to the fullest of their abilities.

Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, what effect do you think having Senator Cohen will have on your relations with the Senate?

The President. I hope it will be good.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Message on the Observance of Hanukkah, 1996

December 5, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Hanukkah.

In this season of joy, we remember the story of Judah Maccabee and his steadfast followers who freed Jerusalem from its oppressors and rededicated the Temple to God. Although they had only a small supply of consecrated oil with which to rekindle the temple's Holy Light, the courage and faith of the Maccabees were rewarded as the oil burned miraculously for eight days and eight nights until a new supply could be prepared.

Today, more than two thousand years later, families around the world celebrate this Festival

of Lights by coming together in prayer, giving thanks to God for His many blessings, exchanging gifts, and lighting the eight candles of the menorah, one candle for each night that the sacred oil burned.

Steeped in ritual and rich in meaning, Hanukkah imparts profound lessons to us: that faith in God can sustain us through any adversity; that peace ultimately comes to those who persevere; and that, just as the shammas passes its light to each candle in the menorah, so too must we share our hope and faith and joy with one another. In this way, we can ensure that the light kindled on that first Hanukkah so many centuries ago will continue to burn brightly for the generations to come.

Hillary and I extend best wishes to all for a wonderful holiday celebration.

BILL CLINTON

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree
December 5, 1996

Thank you very much. Chairman Betchkal, Reverend Smith, my friend Patti LaBelle—you did well with and without your singers. [*Laughter*] To the Richmond College Children's Concert Choir and LeAnn Rimes, welcome, to the Mannheim Steamroller band, the Washington Ballet, the Boy and Girl Scouts. Let me join Santa Claus in also saying that we miss two important members the Pageant of Peace lost in the last year, Joe Reilly and Bill Harris. The spirit of Christmas was alive in them every day, and we remember them.

Hillary and I look forward to being here every year. I told Hillary when we were sitting here that I never quite get into the spirit of Christmas until I come here to the Pageant of Peace.

America's Christmas tree is famous all over the world. Believe it or not, there's even a new movie in Japan about two people who came to Washington and fell in love under this Christmas tree. It isn't hard to see how that would happen, for this is a magic time.

We come here tonight to celebrate that magic, to rejoice in the spirit of the holiday season, no matter what our faith, a spirit of sharing and giving, of gathering with family and friends and coming together as one community. You can see it everywhere at this time of year.

And of course, at Christmas we come together especially to celebrate the birth of a child who came into the world without a home, only a stable's roof to shelter him, who grew to teach the lesson of love and peace that has truly changed the world. "Blessed are the peacemakers," he said, and those words still call us to action.

As we look around the world tonight, we know the spirit of peace is strong enough to triumph over the forces that still threaten it. Let us be grateful that our Nation is at peace and rejoice in the progress we have made to bring about peace on Earth. And let us not forget the work still to be done, from Bosnia to the Middle East to the Korean Peninsula.

Today our brave men and women in uniform are helping other people in other lands to make their peace. And across our country this holiday season people are joining in peace to feed the hungry, to bring toys to poor children who otherwise would not have them, and to reconcile our own differences. At Christmas and throughout the year the greatest gift of all we can give our own children is to make their world more safe, more peaceful, and more possible for them to make the most of their God-given potential. It is for our children that we must dedicate ourselves to making peace wherever we can, around the world, in every community, in our own homes, and perhaps most important, in our own hearts.

So as we light this wonderful tree, let us remember to let our own light shine all year long, to make the future of our children bright, to honor the spirit of peace at Christmas time.

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:55 p.m. on the Ellipse during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his remarks, he referred to John J. Betchkal, president, Christmas Pageant of Peace; Rev. Perry Smith, pastor, First Baptist Church of Brentwood, MD; entertainers Patti LaBelle and

LeAnn Rimes; television weatherman Willard Scott, who played Santa Claus; and Joe Reilly and Bill Harris, former presidents, Christmas Pageant of Peace.

Remarks on Presenting the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Awards
December 6, 1996

Thank you very much. Secretary Kantor; Mrs. Baldrige; Senator Pressler; Congresswoman Slaughter; Congressman Ramstad; my good friend Earnie Deavenport; Mary Good—let me thank all of you. And let me say a special word of thanks to Arati Prabhakar, the Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, for the work that she has done in this Baldrige process. Thank you, ma'am. And Senator Pressler, as you leave the United States Senate after a distinguished career, let me thank you especially for the work you did to pass the telecommunications law, which will help America immeasurably and create hundreds of thousands of these kinds of good jobs in the years ahead. Thank you, sir.

I'd also like to thank the Army Band for doing such a good job here today. Thank you very much.

You know, when they were playing the national anthem, which normally I sing out of tune at the top of my lungs, but my voice has been a little constrained lately—my approval is at an all-time high when I'm hoarse and can't speak. [*Laughter*] I couldn't help thinking, as I was listening to the national anthem, what America was like when Francis Scott Key wrote that anthem and what he would think about what we have just seen today, how proud it would make the people who fought to start this country and who worked to hold it together to see what we have become after 200 years. And for all of you, I thank you.

I was listening to all the speakers here, and I was put in mind of the first public speech I ever gave as an elected official. Almost 20 years ago now, I was elected attorney general of my home State, and I was invited to the Rotary Club officers installation banquet in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, in January of 1977. The banquet started at 6:30. I was introduced to speak at 10 minutes to 10. [*Laughter*] There were about 500 people there, and all of them but 3 got to talk, and they went home mad. [*Laughter*] But it was a wonderful night. There was entertainment from the local school groups, and you know, everybody got to talk. It was like it should have been: It was a community event; a lot of people talked. And then this fellow got up to introduce me. And I was nervous as a cat—my first speech as an elected official. And the first words out of his mouth—just how I feel after hearing them speak—he said, "You know, we could stop here and have had a very nice evening." [*Laughter*] I know he didn't mean it that way. [*Laughter*] But we could stop right here and have had a wonderful, wonderful ceremony.

This is the 3d year I've had the privilege of honoring the Baldrige Quality Award winners, and every year I feel more strongly that this is the way America ought to work. This is the way all of our organizations ought to work. This is the way our families should work, the way our charities should work, the way our religious institutions should work, the way our colleges and universities should work, the way our schools should work, and the way our Government should work.

Recognizing companies that have proved that excellence and good citizenship are compatible, that understand that business endeavors, like life, are much more a journey than a destination—it's a very, very special thing for me. And I hope that my presence here helps to get all of you the recognition you deserve around the country, and hope that it will inspire more and more business people and more and more people in every organized form of human endeavor in our Nation to follow your lead.

This is an especially meaningful day for me today also because I used to do this with Secretary Kantor's predecessor, Ron Brown, and last March we had a ceremony like this at the White House, which was one of the last official duties Ron Brown performed before his untimely death on his mission to the Balkans. Let

me say that he's probably smiling down at us today.

And let me also say how very grateful I am to my long-term friend Mickey Kantor for his outstanding job as Secretary of Commerce. First he was our trade ambassador, where he negotiated over 200 agreements—unprecedented record in the history of American trade—everything from big agreements like NAFTA and the GATT agreement, over 21 agreements with Japan. In each of those areas in the aggregate, our exports to Japan have increased 85 percent in those 21 areas. There is no precedent for it.

And I was thinking of, as he was up here talking, too much of what Americans hear about public service is negative from time to time. Most of the people who work for this Department and most of the people who have worked for your Government make America a better place. And Mickey Kantor and the people here at the Department of Commerce are shining examples of that, and I thank them for it.

I also want to thank the private sector partners in this endeavor, the 28 previous winning companies, the examiners, the Baldrige Foundation. For almost 10 years this award has been remarkably successful as a public-private partnership. We will have to have more of these in the future if America is to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

I'm very pleased that there will be new winners in the categories of nonprofit health and education organizations. I can tell you that if you look at the percentage of our economy and, more important, the stake in our quality of life and our future in health care and education, this is coming not a moment too soon.

Finally, let me say a special word of appreciation to the Vice President for the work that he has led in our endeavors to have the Federal Government do more of what all of you are doing. Our Government has about a quarter of a million fewer people in it than it did the day I became President. We've abolished hundreds of programs. We've privatized more operations than ever before. And we've been able to reduce the deficit by 60 percent and still continue to invest in education, in research and technology and environmental protection, the things that will keep our country strong in the future.

I'm proud of the fact that, thanks to you and millions like you, our economy is strong and growing stronger every day. Today we learned that in November, while there was a small increase in the unemployment rate, wage increases continued to come to American workers because of increasing productivity. We had 118,000 more jobs, which means in the last 3 years and 10 months our economy has produced 11.9 million new working opportunities for the American people, something all of you can be very, very proud of.

Now we have to keep this going. I'm very much committed to passing a bipartisan balanced budget plan with the Congress which will keep our interest rates down, keep our economy growing, and continue to honor our commitments to our children, our future, our economy, our parents, and the quality of the environment.

But whatever we do, we know that ultimately American progress will rise or fall on the performance of American business and American workers. Both large and small, American businesses are the engine that will help to carry us into the 21st century. Two decades ago, our companies had little competition from abroad. Today, we know we compete in the world for jobs and markets. The business community has led the way in sensitizing all Americans that we must measure ourselves by high standards. We must achieve high global standards. That is what I seek for the performance of your Government, for the performance of our educational institutions, for every single endeavor in the United States.

ADAC Laboratories' commitment to the customers has resulted in its phenomenal turnaround. Just think about tripling your revenues in 3 years. Now, if we could do that without a tax increase, there would be no deficit problem. [*Laughter*]

Let me—I applaud Dana Commercial Credit Corporation's commitment to its customers, its employees, and its community for the style of management that encourages employees to act on their own ideas and for your financial support of the Toledo School Board. Now, let me say that Mr. Morcott and I have been friends for a long time, and the Dana Corporation has a different sort of plant in Arkansas, one of the most highly roboticized plants in the United States, making truck transmissions. One of the things I liked about that place the first time I ever visited it was that there were no parking spaces dedicated to the bigwigs. So if the plant manager showed up late, he might have to walk

a block and a half to work. [*Laughter*] However, I rejected that suggestion for the State Capitol when I was Governor—[*laughter*]—which just goes to show you, we all have work to do. [*Laughter*]

Custom Research Corporation has proved you don't have to be the biggest to be the best; 97 percent of a clientele being delighted is something that any organization would be delighted to achieve.

When I heard them reading the measures of how they define their success and they talked about the—talking about all their employee endeavors, and I saw all of the cheers coming from all of you as well as from Trident Precision Manufacturing over there with their banners, again I say, think about the idea that every organization we're involved in ought to work this way, if we invest in training and education as Trident has. And one of the things I want to say about them that I especially appreciate that was not mentioned: In this era of downsizing, I want to commend you for hiring people who had worked for larger companies and who were downsized. A lot of people who have been downsized still have outsized contributions to make to the American economy and to American society. And small businesses are going to have to take up that slack. I thank you for making that a priority.

Just think: satisfied customers; energized employees who are involved; respect and commitment to the communities in which you're involved in; investing in technology and the future; still making a profit; and at least by the evidence we've seen here, having a good time doing it. If every family in every organization of any kind in this country worked that way, we wouldn't have very many problems in the United States. That's the message I want to go across America today, and I thank you for sending it loud and clear every day in your lives.

Let me finally close by asking one more thing of you. America needs more strong companies like this and more organizations like this to be prepared for the next century. I believe with all my heart we are entering an age of greater human possibility than ever. It means in simple terms to me that in a place like America, more children will have a chance to grow up and live out their dreams than ever before. It means if we do the right thing, we will grow stronger and more prosperous while helping more people all around the world to do things that we take for granted now but which would fulfill their dreams and their God-given potential in a way that has never been possible before.

But to do it we have to understand that in times when things are changing rapidly, we have to be able to open our eyes and open our ears and open our hearts; we have to be able to think anew and act anew; we have to be dedicated to the idea of community, the idea of partnership, the idea that we can each have more personal, individual fulfillment when we work together with other people to help them achieve the same objectives.

That's the only way we can move able-bodied people from welfare to work. A lot of you are going to have to help with that. We passed a law that says that able-bodied people can only draw welfare so long, but what are they going to do? Go into the street, or go into the work force? Every State ought to be willing to give those welfare checks to employers as job subsidies to move more people from welfare to work, and every vital company ought to be willing to examine themselves to see what they could do, because we don't have the money, and we shouldn't have these large-scale job programs funded by the Government with only welfare workers in them.

We want to change a whole culture here and move people into the mainstream of American life. And that can best be done by a company hiring one or two or three and then another company doing the same thing, until we have a ripple effect all across America and we don't have a welfare system and an unemployment system anymore, we have a system that deals with people when they're temporarily out of the work force, organizes those who can move into the work force, and helps those who, through no fault of their own, are simply unable to help themselves. That is an America that would be worthy of the pride, the honor, and the support of every single citizen of this country. We cannot do it unless the private sector is a partner.

We cannot help our schools to meet the highest standards of excellence unless those of you who understand the world in which we are living and the one toward which we are moving demand that we have, yes, a lot of local control and more schools that are committed to kind of creative excellence in the way that you are, but we also measure performance by national standards of excellence, and we know that the measurements are good. Because I believe all

children can learn, and I am tired of people hiding behind various bureaucratic hedges to avoid measuring up and giving all our children a chance to learn. You can lead the way, and we need you to do it.

We have participated in a celebration of what is best about America. You have all thrilled me beyond measure. I loved seeing all the different things you did. I had the best seat in the house today. The Secretary and Earnie and I, we didn't have to worry about what we were going to say. We didn't even have to worry about our constituents the way these folks did. They were the political leaders here today. [*Laughter*]

I got to spend this whole time looking into your faces. Those are the looks I want to see on the faces of every American child, and you can help us do it.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Margaret Baldrige, widow of former Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige; Earnest Deavenport, president, Malcolm Baldrige Award Foundation; Mary L. Good, Under Secretary of Commerce for Technology; and Southwood (Woody) J. Morcott, chairman and chief executive officer, Dana Commercial Credit Corp.

Letter to Congressional Leaders Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)

December 6, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

On May 30, 1992, by Executive Order 12808, President Bush declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, blocking all property and interests in property of those Governments. President Bush took additional measures to prohibit trade and other transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) by Executive Orders 12810 and 12831, issued on June 5, 1992, and January 15, 1993, respectively.

On April 25, 1993, I issued Executive Order 12846, blocking the property and interests in property of all commercial, industrial, or public utility undertakings or entities organized or located in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the "FRY (S&M)"), and prohibiting trade-related transactions by United States persons involving those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina controlled by the Bosnian Serb forces and the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia. On October 25, 1994, because of the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serbs, I expanded the scope of the national emergency by issuance of Executive Order 12934 to block the property of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the property of any entity organized or located in, or controlled by any person in, or resident in, those areas.

On December 27, 1995, I issued Presidential Determination No. 96–7, directing the Secretary of the Treasury, *inter alia,* to suspend the application of sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) pursuant to the above-referenced Executive orders and to continue to block property previously blocked until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. This sanctions relief, in conformity with United Nations Security Council Resolution ("UNSCR") 1022 of November 22, 1995, was an essential factor motivating Serbia and Montenegro's acceptance of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina initialed by the parties in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995 (the "Peace Agreement") and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. The sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) and on the United Nations Protected Areas in

the Republic of Croatia were accordingly suspended prospectively, effective January 16, 1996. Sanctions imposed on the Bosnia Serb forces and authorities and on the territory that they control within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were subsequently suspended prospectively, effective May 13, 1996, in conformity with UNSCR 1022. On October 1, 1996, the United Nations passed UNSCR 1022. On October 1, 1996, the United Nations passed the UNSCR 1074, terminating U.N. sanctions against the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serbs in light of the elections that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina on September 14, 1996. UNSCR 1074, however, reaffirms the provisions of UNSCR 1022 with respect to the release of blocked assets, as set forth above.

The present report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c) and covers the period from May 30 to November 29, 1996. It discusses Administration actions and expenses directly related to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency in Executive Order 12808 of May 30, 1992 (57 FR 23299) and Executive Order 12934 (59 FR 54117) and to expanded sanctions against the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serbs contained in Executive Order 12810 of June 5, 1992 (57 FR 24347, June 9, 1992), Executive Order 12831 of January 15, 1993 (58 FR 5253, January 21, 1993), Executive Order 12846 of April 25, 1993 (58 FR 25771, April 27, 1993), and Executive Order 12934 of October 25, 1994 (59 FR 54117, October 27, 1994).

1. The declaration of the national emergency on May 30, 1992, was made pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code. The emergency declaration was reported to the Congress on May 30, 1992, pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)) and the expansion of that national emergency under the same authorities was reported to the Congress on October 25, 1994. The additional sanctions set forth in related Executive orders were imposed pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the statutes cited above, section 1114 of the Federal Aviation Act (49 U.S.C. App. 1514), and section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act (22 U.S.C. 287c).

2. Since the declaration of the national emergency with respect to the FRY (S&M) on May 30, 1992, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) acting under authority delegated by the Secretary of the Treasury has implemented the sanctions imposed under the foregoing statutes. Effective January 16, 1996, OFAC amended the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Bosnian Serb-Controlled Areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Sanctions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 585 (the "Regulations"), to implement in the United States provisions of the Peace Agreement and UNSCR 1022 (61 FR 1282, January 19, 1996). The amended Regulations authorize prospectively all transactions with respect to the FRY (S&M) otherwise prohibited. Property and interests in property of the FRY (S&M) previously blocked within the jurisdiction of the United States remain blocked, in conformity with the Peace Agreement and UNSCR 1022, until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. On May 10, 1996, OFAC amended the Regulations to authorize prospectively those transactions previously prohibited with respect to the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities; entities organized or located in those areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control; entities owned or controlled directly or indirectly by any person in, or resident in, those areas; and any person acting for or on behalf of any of the foregoing. United States persons are also authorized to engage in transactions involving the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the Bosnian Serb forces, and services may be exported either from the United States or by United States persons to those areas. Property and interests in property previously blocked because of an interest of any of the above persons remain blocked. (61 FR 24696, May 16, 1996.)

3. Over the past 6 months, the Departments of State and the Treasury have worked closely with European Union member states and other U.N. member nations to implement the provisions of UNSCR 1022. In the United States, retention of blocking authority pursuant to the extension of a national emergency provides a framework for administration of an orderly

claims settlement. This accords with past policy and practice with respect to the suspension of sanctions regimes.

4. Subsequent to the prospective authorization of transactions with the FRY (S&M), effective January 16, 1996, OFAC has issued 28 specific licenses regarding transactions pertaining to the FRY (S&M) or assets it owns or controls. As of October 28, 1996, specific licenses have been issued (1) to authorize the unblocking of certain funds and other financial assets previously blocked; (2) for the payment of crews' wages, vessel maintenance, and emergency supplies for FRY (S&M)-controlled ships blocked in the United States; and (3) to authorize performance of certain transactions under pre-sanctions contracts.

During the past 6 months, OFAC has continued to oversee the maintenance of blocked accounts and records with respect to: (1) liquidated tangible assets and personalty of the 15 blocked U.S. subsidiaries of entities organized in the FRY (S&M); (2) the blocked personalty, files, and records of the 2 Serbian banking institutions in New York previously placed in secure storage; (3) remaining tangible property, including real estate; and (4) the 5 Yugoslav-owned vessels still blocked in the United States.

5. Despite the prospective authorization of transactions with the FRY (S&M), OFAC has continued to work closely with the U.S. Customs Service and other cooperating agencies to investigate alleged violations that occurred while sanctions were in force.

Since the last report, OFAC has collected five civil monetary penalties totaling more than $28,300 for violations of the sanctions. These violations included prohibited exports and payments to persons in the FRY (S&M) or to blocked entities owned or controlled by the FRY (S&M).

6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from May 30, 1996, through November 29, 1996, that are directly attributable to the declaration of a national emergency with respect to the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serb forces and authorities are estimated at about $1.252 million, most of which represent wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in OFAC and its Chief Counsel's Office, and the U.S. Customs Service), the Department of State, the National Security Council, the U.S. Coast Guard, and the Department of Commerce.

7. In the last year, substantial progress has been achieved to bring about a settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia acceptable to the parties. UNSCR 1074 terminates sanctions in view of the first free and fair elections to occur in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as provided for in the Peace Agreement. In reaffirming Resolution 1022, however, UNSCR 1074 contemplates the continued blocking of assets potentially subject to conflicting claims and encumbrances until provision is made to address them, including claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

The resolution of the crisis and conflict in the former Yugoslavia that has resulted from the actions and policies of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they control, will not be complete until such time as the Peace Agreement is implemented fully and the terms of UNSCR 1022 have been met. Therefore, I have continued for another year the national emergency declared on May 30, 1992, as expanded in scope on October 25, 1994, and will continue to enforce the measures adopted pursuant thereto.

I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal with respect to the measures against the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and the Bosnian Serb forces, civil authorities, and entities, as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate.

The President's Radio Address
December 7, 1996

Good morning. This week I had the honor of lighting both the national Christmas tree and the national menorah. Both are symbols of a time of year filled with joy, hope, and expectation, a time, too, when we reflect on what we've done and what is left to do, a time to honor our obligations to family and community.

Last summer we made a new beginning on one of our Nation's most vexing problems, the welfare system. When I signed the historic welfare reform law, we set out to honor a moral obligation for our Nation, to help many people in our national community to help themselves. This law dramatically changes the Nation's welfare system so that no longer will it fail our people, trap so many families in a cycle of dependency, but instead will now help people to move from welfare to work. It will do so by requiring work of every able-bodied person, by protecting children, by promoting parental responsibility through tougher child support enforcement.

We've worked a long time to reform welfare. Change was demanded by all the American people, especially those on welfare who bore the brunt of the system's failure. For decades now, welfare has too often been a trap, consigning generation after generation to a cycle of dependency. The children of welfare are more likely to drop out of school, to run afoul of the law, to become teen parents, to raise their own children on welfare. That's a sad legacy we have the power to prevent. And now we can.

I came to office determined to end welfare as we know it, to replace welfare checks with paychecks. Even before I signed the welfare reform bill, we were working with States to test reform strategies, giving 43 States waivers from Federal rules to experiment with reforms that required work, imposed time limits, and demanded personal responsibility. And we were toughening child support enforcement, increasing collections by 50 percent over the last 4 years. That's about $4 billion.

We were determined to move millions from welfare to work, and our strategy has worked. I am pleased to announce today that there are now 2.1 million fewer people on welfare than on the day I took the oath of office. That is the biggest drop in the welfare rolls in history.

Some of these reductions have been even more striking. The welfare rolls have dropped 41 percent in Wisconsin, 38 percent in Indiana—two States where we granted landmark waivers to launch welfare reform experiments.

Throughout the country we're working to make responsibility a way of life, not an option. That means millions of people are on their way to building lives with the structure, purpose, meaning, and dignity that work gives. And that is something to celebrate.

But this is just the beginning of welfare reform. We had a choice: We could have gone on as we had with a system that was failing, or start anew to create a system that could give everyone who's able-bodied a chance to work and a chance to be independent. We chose the right way: first, working over the last 4 years with the States to reform their own systems, then passing a new welfare reform law requiring even more change in every State and every community.

But there is still much to do, and it now falls to all of us to make sure this reform works. The next step is for the States to implement the new law by tailoring a reform plan that works for their communities. As required by the law, we have already certified new welfare reform plans for 14 States. Today I'm pleased to announce we're certifying welfare for four more States: California, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Alabama. All their plans will require and reward work, impose time limits, increase child care payments, and demand personal responsibility. And across the board, as we give welfare funds back to the States, we will protect the guarantees of health care, nutrition, and child care, all of which are critical to helping families move from welfare to work. And we'll continue to crack down on child support enforcement.

Welfare as we knew it was a bad deal for everyone. We're determined to create a better deal. We want to say to every American, work pays. We raised the minimum wage; we expanded the earned-income tax credit to allow the working poor to keep more of what they

earn. Now we have to create a million jobs for people on welfare by giving businesses incentives to hire people off welfare and enlisting the private sector in a national effort to bring all Americans into the economic mainstream. We have to have help from the private sector.

Together we can make the permanent under class a thing of the past. But we have a moral obligation to do that through welfare reform, working together in our communities, our businesses, our churches, and our schools. Every organization which employs people should consider hiring someone off welfare, and every State ought to give those organizations the incentives to do so, so that we can help families reclaim the right to know they can take care of themselves and their own obligations.

Our future does not have to be one with so many people living trapped lives. The door has now been opened to a new era of freedom and independence. And now it's up to us, to all of us, to help all the people who need it through that door, one family at a time.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:25 p.m. on December 6 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on December 7.

Remarks at the Kennedy Center Honors Reception

December 8, 1996

Thank you very much, and welcome to the White House. Every year Hillary and I look forward to the Kennedy Center honorees coming here, especially because this is such a great season of celebration. Tonight we pay tribute to five performing artists whose work has transformed the landscape of American art.

America is more than the land we live on. It is even more than its people. It is an ideal. Our artists express that ideal and give voice to the common experience. They are the singers of the American soul. Their art challenges us and deepens our understanding of ourselves and the world around us. It is my privilege to welcome them, along with their families and friends, to the White House.

Edward Albee's life epitomizes the rebellious spirit of art. Maybe I ought to repeat that. [*Laughter*] From childhood, he challenged convention. He left college for the streets of New York, where he worked by day and wrote by night. For 10 years he pursued his art with single-minded purpose but without recognition. Then, in only 3 weeks in 1958, he wrote a play that took the American theater by storm and changed it forever, "Zoo Story," a play about a young drifter and a well-to-do stranger who meet on a lonely park bench. It was the first of many plays by Edward Albee that dared us to look at ourselves in the same stark light he turned on our fears, our failings, and our dreams. For over 40 years, his work has defied convention and set a standard of innovation that few can match. From "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf" to "Tiny Alice" to "Three Tall Women," his plays have invigorated the American theater and inspired a new generation of playwrights to do the same.

Tonight our Nation, born in rebellion, pays tribute to you, Edward Albee. In your rebellion, the American theater was reborn.

Bennett Leslie Carter was born in the tough New York neighborhood that became the site of the Lincoln Center, where eight decades later he would be cheered to the rafters. From the small clubs of the Harlem Renaissance where he began playing saxophone to world tours for the biggest of the big bands, Benny Carter redefined American jazz. From the start, his fellow musicians said the way he played the sax was amazing. They say that about me, too. [*Laughter*] But I don't think they mean it in quite the same way. [*Laughter*]

Benny Carter's influence on jazz is immeasurable. Whether he played with them or not, all the great bands used his arrangements. He virtually arranged the Swing Era, and his rhythms have set feet tapping all over the world. Indeed, on our recent trip to Thailand when Hillary and I visited with the King and Queen—the King, as some of you may know, is one of the world's greatest jazz fans—and 3 minutes

after I was introduced to him, he said, "Now, do you know Benny Carter? He was just here." [*Laughter*]

His sounds have suffused American films and television, from Busby Berkeley to the Marx Brothers, from "Stormy Weather" to "Hannah and Her Sisters." And he brought jazz to the Philharmonic and Carnegie Hall, ensuring its rightful place in our cultural pantheon. Benny's popularity is as strong as ever. He was named Jazz Artist of the Year in his eighties. And this year, at 89, he has performed from Bangkok to Boston. We are grateful that he—we're glad he was willing to take the weekend off—[*laughter*]—to receive our Nation's standing ovation. Thank you, Benny Carter.

Johnny Cash grew up chopping cotton in a small town in southeast Arkansas. Every Sunday in a little church, he was transported by gospel music from the hard world he knew to a far horizon. And he transformed the trouble he had known into gruff music of ache, heart, and hope, even against the odds. He was still just a kid in the Army when he wrote "Folsom Prison Blues" and just out of the service when "I Walk the Line" hit the charts. Fifty million records and 27 albums later, Johnny Cash has redefined the boundaries of country music. He is the loner, the man in black, a hard edged writer with a soft heart. With his wife, the very gifted June Carter Cash, and family often by his side, he has traveled all over the world to give a voice to the feelings of farmers and workers, prisoners and lovers.

From the heartland of America, he's sung for the people who are the heart of America. Through his music, he has proved again and again the redeeming power of struggle and faith. And he has made country music not just music for our country but for the entire world. Johnny Cash, you have our applause, our admiration, and we have your records. [*Laughter*]

Jack Lemmon first appeared on the stage at the age of 4. He had just one line, "Hark! A pistol shot." [*Laughter*] The audience laughed then, too. [*Laughter*] And a star was born. Consumed with a passion for performing, the young Jack Lemmon didn't have much time for books. Even at Harvard, he spent more time writing songs than essays. But he was preparing himself for a different future, studying to become one of the most gifted actors of our time.

Once called "a clown for the age of anxiety," Jack Lemmon embodies a typically American sense of humor, fresh, irreverent, wryly optimistic, even when the chips are down. From "Mister Roberts" to "Some Like It Hot" to "Grumpy Old Men," one and two, he is at once a hilarious everyman and a complete original. And in dramatic works like "Missing" and "Glengarry Glen Ross," he has taken the kind of risks that elevate an actor's work from the unremarkable to the unforgettable.

Now, you know he is portraying a former President of the United States in a new movie, "My Fellow Americans," a President, I might add, of the other party—[*laughter*]—but I'd still like to have points from Jack Lemmon any day, and America thanks you, Jack Lemmon, for all the points you've given to us. God bless you.

Maria Tallchief was born in the Osage Indian Territory of Oklahoma. She was invited to dance at the Hollywood Bowl at the age of 15 and joined the famed Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo not long after that. Her talent destined her for distinction, and once she met George Balanchine, their brilliant collaboration ensured her place in dance history. At the New York City Ballet, which she helped turn into America's greatest dance company, she thrilled audiences with her performances of "Firebird" and "Swan Lake." She could spin across the stage faster than any other ballerina, but she did it with an ethereal grace that made it look effortless. Critics and fans said it was pointless to watch anyone else when she was on stage.

A great cultural ambassador, Maria Tallchief brought American ballet to the world, even in dancing in Moscow at the height of the cold war. She put an American stamp on every role she danced. Her art is preserved not only in film but in the memories of everyone who ever saw her perform. And her influence lives on now in the young dancers she teaches. Thank you, Maria Tallchief, for the radiance of your art.

Edward Albee, Benny Carter, Johnny Cash, Jack Lemmon, Maria Tallchief: five artists who have devoted their entire lives to enriching our lives. It is nearly impossible to measure the extent of their influence or the pleasure they have brought to so many millions of people. We honor them tonight for their passion, for their spirits, for the American ideal they bring to life in their work.

Thank you, thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:48 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Remarks on Signing the Human Rights Proclamation
December 10, 1996

The President. This may be one of those cases where the introduction was better than the speech. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Julie, and thank all of you for being here. I'm honored to be with this distinguished group on Human Rights Day. I want to thank all of you in attendance. I think Congresswoman Connie Morella is here. Where are you, Connie? There you are, right in front of me. [*Laughter*] Our AID Administrator, Brian Atwood; Assistant Secretary John Shattuck; Assistant Secretary Phyllis Oakley; and all of you who represent organizations who have done so much to advance the cause of freedom around the world. I want to say a special word of welcome to my good friend Gerry Ferraro. Thank you for being here.

Before I begin what I want to say about human rights, I think it is appropriate on Human Rights Day that I have just gotten a report from the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, who is meeting with our NATO foreign ministers in Brussels, that, together, they agreed to hold an historic NATO summit in July in Madrid to carry forward our goal of building a Europe that is undivided, democratic, and at peace for the first time in history; one in which we will work to forge a partnership with Russia, adapt NATO to the demands of a new era, and invite the first aspiring members from among Europe's new democracies into NATO. My goal is to see them become full members of the alliance for NATO's 50th birthday in 1999.

It's fitting that this step comes on Human Rights Day and on Bill of Rights Day and in Human Rights Week. The prospect of NATO membership and integration into the West has been a very strong incentive for Europe's new democracies to expand their political freedoms and to promote universal human rights.

Working together with our allies and our partners, we're building a world where, as Judge Learned Hand once said, rights know no boundaries and justice no frontiers.

For the first time in history, more than half the world's people now live under governments of their own choosing. Today we dedicate ourselves to the unfinished task of extending freedom's reach. Promoting democracy and human rights reflects our ideals and reinforces our interests. It's a fundamental pillar of our foreign policy.

History shows that nations where rights are respected and governments are freely chosen are more likely to be partners in peace and prosperity. That is why we've worked hard over the last 4 years to help equality and freedom take root in South Africa, to stop the reign of terror in Haiti, to promote reform in Bosnia and Russia, to bring freedom back to Bosnia, and peace, and to enable millions of suffering people all around the world to reclaim their simple human dignity. That is why we must continue to support the world's newest democracies and to keep the pressure on its remaining repressive regimes.

The First Lady and I have just had a remarkable meeting with these six women. They are courageous in promoting human rights in different ways. They are courageous in promoting democracy and empowerment by helping women to live up to their potential. You can just look at them and see that they've put the lie to the notion that human rights is some Western cultural idea that has no place in other societies.

Julie Su, who spoke so eloquently, has played a crucial role in stopping the exploitation of Thai women immigrants in sweat shops. And I am proud of the work that Secretary Reich and the Labor Department has done in that regard, and we intend to continue to do that for the next 4 years. For the last 20 years, Dawn Calabia has fought to protect women refugees and children. Nahid Toubia is a doctor from Sudan whose organization has played a pioneering role in women's health issues. Barbara Frey has promoted corporate responsibility for human

rights around the world and has also promoted education of children in her native Minnesota in human rights. Wanjiru Muigai from Kenya has helped women in her country to secure their legal rights, and she made a passionate appeal to me to focus on targeting United States aid in a way that will promote the empowerment of women in nation after nation. And since coming here from El Salvador, Lillian Perdomo has worked to protect women from domestic violence right here in the District of Columbia.

Each of these women tells a story for many others. Together their experiences underscore a shared truth. As the First Lady said in Beijing and as Julie repeated, "Human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights."

I want to tell you that I am very proud of the role that Hillary, Ambassador Albright, and all the members of the United States delegation—and thank you, Marge Mezvinsky, back here—played in issuing Beijing's call to action. That was a great moment for the United States and a great moment for women around the world.

Beijing's message was as clear as it was compelling. We cannot advance our ideals and interests unless we focus more attention on the fundamental human rights and basic needs of women and girls. We must recognize that it is a violation of human rights when girls and women are sold into prostitution, when rape becomes a weapon of war, when women are denied the right to plan their own families, including through forced abortions, when young girls are brutalized by genital mutilation, when women around the world are unsafe even in their own homes. If women are free from violence, if they're healthy and educated, if they can live and work as full and equal partners in any society, then families will flourish. And when they do, communities and nations will thrive.

We are putting our efforts to protect and advance women's rights where they belong, in the mainstream of American foreign policy. During the last 4 years, we have worked to steer more of our assistance to women and girls, to help protect their legal rights, and to give them a greater voice in their political and economic futures. These programs are making a real difference, whether by raising female voter turnout in Bangladesh, promoting equality for women in Nepal, enabling women in Bosnia to participate fully in the rebuilding of their country. But we must do more.

Today I call upon the Senate again to ratify the United Nations convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. As you know, many, many, many other nations have done this. In our country where we have worked so hard against domestic violence, where we have worked so hard to empower women, it is, to say the least, an embarrassment that the United States has not done this, and there is no excuse for this situation to continue.

I'm also pleased to announce several initiatives totaling $4 million to protect and advance women's rights, including new efforts to help Rwandan women who have been torn from their homes and to provide women refugees around the world with access to reproductive health services. They've built on the commitment I made at last year's G–7 summit to help women in Bosnia start new businesses and will help women across Africa to do the same. They strengthen our commitment to stop the trafficking of women and children for prostitution and child labor. And they will help women's groups in Asia fight violence and discrimination.

In short, these efforts will reinforce America's global leadership on behalf of human rights and democracy in perhaps the most fundamental areas at which they are at risk. They reflect our Nation's enduring commitment to the freedoms of our Bill of Rights that safeguard our own citizens. They support the values in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that promote freedom, justice, and peace all around the world.

We live at a time when our most deeply held ideals are ascendant, but this hopeful trend toward freedom and democracy is neither inevitable nor irreversible, nor has it extended to the real lives of hundreds of millions of people all across the globe. While we seek to engage all nations on terms of good will, we must continue to stand up for the proposition that all people, without regard to their gender, their nationality, their race, their ethnic group, or their religion, should have a chance to live up to their potential.

I want to say again how gratified I am that there are people like these six women alive and well and at work in the world, people like so many of you. It is a constant source of inspiration to me. I want to say again how grateful

I am to the First Lady for going across the world to raise our concerns about this and bringing back to me the knowledge of the work that has been done and what still can be done on behalf of women and girls.

As I sign this proclamation marking International Human Rights Day, I ask you all to remember not just that women's rights are human rights but that the defense and the promotion of human rights are the responsibilities of all of us.

Thank you.

[*At this point, the President signed the proclamation on Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week.*]

The President. Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Geraldine Ferraro, former Vice Presidential candidate, and Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, Alternate U.S. Representative to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. The proclamation is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

Remarks on the Appointment of Evelyn Lieberman as Director of the Voice of America and an Exchange With Reporters

December 10, 1996

The President. Fifty-four years ago, just a few months after the United States entered World War II, the Voice of America went on the air with these words: "The news may be good. The news may be bad. We shall tell you the truth." VOA lit Europe's darkest night with a bright spotlight of truth and then became a key weapon in the war of ideas we waged and won against communism.

Today, VOA beams America's voices to nearly 100 million listeners in every corner of our planet every week. The news it delivers—reliable, authoritative, objective—is more important than ever. There are millions and millions and millions of people around the world who are hungry, indeed starved, for accurate information still and for the insights it gives them on how they can organize themselves to change their own lives for the better.

Under Geoff Cowan's extraordinary leadership, the VOA has developed innovative new shows that examine how institutions of democracy and free markets work. It has moved from what Director Cowan calls monolog to dialog, with call-in programs in a dozen languages. We were just talking before we came in about a call-in program that the First Lady did where she got calls from all over the world, including some surprising places. The VOA has increased coverage of human rights issues. It has used the best available technology, like satellites, to deliver better programming to more people.

I thank Geoff, who has been my friend for many years now, for so ably carrying on a family tradition. His father, Louis Cowan, was the VOA's second director. And most of all, I thank him for his service to our Nation and to the community of nations.

All around the world, new democracies we have worked so hard to support are taking root. But they remain fragile, and we must nurture and defend them. The free flow of information is the lifeblood of democracy. And it is very important that the mission of the VOA continue.

I can think of no greater life force for the free flow of ideas and for VOA's future than its new director, whom I have the honor of naming today, Evelyn Lieberman. Her strong, unique voice has reverberated throughout the White House from my first day in office—[*laughter*]—I see from your laughter that you know I have not overstated that; "reverberated" is the operative word—first as Assistant to the First Lady's Chief of Staff, then as Deputy Press Secretary, most recently as Deputy Chief of Staff, the first woman ever to hold that job.

Evelyn has a special talent for cutting to the chase and getting to the truth, as just about every member of the press corps and the White House staff, including the President, know from first-hand experience. As Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, she did make the trains run on time. But more than that, she made them run straight and true because of her steely deter-

mination, her extraordinary integrity, and her great, good heart. We will miss her skill, her passionate personality, which could warm even the coldest room here at the White House.

Now Evelyn will bring her talent and her energy to the VOA and return, as she told me she wanted to do, to her career-long love, communications. Before her White House years, Evelyn was press secretary to Senator Joe Biden, director of public affairs for the Children's Defense Fund, communications director for the National Urban Coalition. Her extraordinary breadth of experience will help VOA continue the remarkable work Geoff Cowan has done to meet the challenge of change.

As Secretary of State-designate Albright said of Secretary Christopher, Evelyn Lieberman will be hard pressed to fill Geoff Cowan's shoes with her heels. But she does have the experience, the leadership skills, and the drive to do the job, to do it very well, and to carry on VOA's unique mission of spreading truth and hope around the world. I am very pleased that she has accepted this appointment and ask her now to say a few words.

[*At this point, Ms. Lieberman made brief remarks.*]

California's Affirmative Action Proposition

Q. Mr. President, are you going to do anything about Prop. 209? [*Laughter*]

The President. I thought you were going to——

Ms. Lieberman. My role model. [*Laughter*]

The President. I thought you were going into the radio talk show business.

Q. Not quite.

The President. Well, let me say I have not yet received the final recommendations from the Justice Department and the Counsel's Office. They're working back and forth on that. As all of you know, I opposed publicly and strongly 209. I thought it was bad policy for the people of California and a bad example for America. Whether it is unconstitutional is a different question, and our people are working very hard there to work through the legal and constitutional issues to give me a recommendation about what we should do and how we should do it.

And I am eager to get their recommendation. They're just working very hard on it and looking at all the aspects of the argument. I expect to have a recommendation soon and then to make a very speedy decision after that.

Second Term Transition

Q. Mr. President, now that you've filled the VOA job so happily, can you tell us anything about your decision on the Attorney General's job?

The President. No. I'm making these appointments, you know, in an orderly fashion and making these announcements. I haven't even been able to meet with all the members of my administration yet, and we're doing it in a regular fashion. We will do it and announce them as we're ready.

Q. Have you met and talked with Janet Reno about this yet?

The President. Not about this appointment, but we'll meet soon. I expect by—oh, in the next several days I expect to have met with all the rest of the members of the Cabinet and the senior administration officials with whom I have not yet met. There are still a few, and we're working through that as we work through more announcements as well.

Serbia

Q. Mr. President, metaphorically speaking, you are the voice of America. [*Laughter*] I can't help but make the link now——

The President. Except for a few days ago. [*Laughter*]

Q. I can't help but make the link to Eastern Europe and the Serbia situation. What would you say to Mr. Milosevic?

The President. That elections should be respected and that the voice of the people should be heard, and that the human, political, and civil rights of the people should be respected. The United States has made its statement and its position clear. Neither we nor anyone else would seek to interfere in the internal events in Serbia, but our sympathies are always with free people who are struggling to express their freedom and want to have the integrity of their elections respected.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:54 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. During the exchange, a reporter referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia.

Statement Announcing the 1997 North Atlantic Treaty Organization Summit

December 10, 1996

Today America and its NATO allies agreed to hold a NATO summit on July 8–9, 1997, in Madrid to take the crucial next steps on the enlargement and adaptation of the North Atlantic alliance for the 21st century. This marks an important milestone on the road to an integrated, democratic, and secure Europe.

The summit will seek to advance a strong and enduring NATO–Russia partnership; to strengthen partnership with all of Europe's new democracies; to approve adaptations within NATO to prepare the alliance to meet the challenges of the coming century; and to invite the first aspiring NATO members to begin accession talks to join the alliance. My goal is to see NATO take in its first new members by 1999, the 50th anniversary of NATO's founding and the 10th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

From the beginning of my administration, I have worked hard to end the cold war division of Europe and to create, for the first time in history, a Europe united in democracy, security, and free market prosperity. Now, we must continue to reach out to Russia and include this great nation in the fabric of Europe's emerging community of democracies. We must open the doors of Europe's institutions that nurtured peace, prosperity, and security throughout the cold war to Europe's new democracies, excluding no nation that shares our values and is willing and able to shoulder our common responsibilities.

NATO has never threatened any other nation, nor will an enlarged NATO do so in the future. While NATO's new members will be full members of the alliance, NATO has no intention, no plan, and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of new members.

We have made tremendous progress over the last 4 years in realizing our vision of an undivided Europe at peace, and no one deserves more credit than Warren Christopher. Thanks to his efforts, Secretary-designate Madeleine Albright and my new national security team will have a strong foundation on which to achieve that important goal.

Remarks at a Democratic Leadership Council Luncheon

December 11, 1996

Thank you. The last person clapping is my first new Ambassador in the new term. [*Laughter*]

Thank you, Bernard Schwartz, for that wonderful introduction and for your life of private and public achievement. I was hearing you say all those terrific things, and I thought to myself, I'm glad you did what you did, but I'd like you even better if you owned a newspaper. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank my longtime friend Senator Lieberman and Governor Romer for their work for the DLC. And I see my predecessors as chairs out there, Senator Chuck Robb and Congressman Dave McCurdy. I thank them for the work they did at the DLC.

I brought a number of people from the administration here who were early DLC members, including Mack McLarty, who started with me back in '85; Bruce Reed and Linda Moore and Elaine Kamarck and Don Baer, my Communications Director. I'd also like to say a public word of thanks to Mark Penn, who did the research that all of you I think have been given, for the fine job that he and his partner, Doug Schoen, did in our campaign.

You know, I went jogging with Al From this morning. And the original theme of my speech was the era of big Government is over. The new speech will be the era of big Al is over. [*Laughter*] He's lost 75 pounds in 15 months. If that's not enough to make you optimistic about America, I don't know what is. [*Laughter*]

I want to thank all the Members of Congress and the newly elected Members of Congress who are here. I'm hesitant to mention any names because I can't see everyone who is here, but I know that Allen Boyd and Cal Dooley and Sandy Levin and Karen McCarthy and Bill Luther and Jim Moran, Tim Roemer, Debbie Stabenow, and Ellen Tauscher are here. There may be others, but if you're here, I thank you for being here, because this organization fought for the life and the future of the Democratic Party as it fought for the life and the future of America for a very long time. And all of us need to be continually open to the new ideas which are always debated here with such vigor and such careful forethought. And so I thank the Members and the newly elected Members who are here, and I hope more of your number will be coming to these events in the future.

I thank the business and community leaders who are here. Many of you have been with us for some time; some of you are coming in. But we need the kind of fermenting dialog that we have here from locally elected officials, from community leaders, and from the truly stunning array of business leaders who are here today. I thank you.

A year ago when I spoke here, our Nation was facing a time of great decision. That day the congressional majority was pressing its budget plan upon the Nation, and I told you why I didn't like it but why I hoped we could pass a balanced budget. That night at midnight the Government was shut down. It was a moment of fundamental decision about the direction of our Nation, the role of our Government in this age, the strength of our values. That day I said the great question before us was, can the center hold?

So today, the clamor of political conflict has subsided. A new landscape is taking shape. The answer is clear: The center can hold, the center has held, and the American people are demanding that it continue to do so.

By the stands that we have taken, the battles we've waged, the record that has been built, we've helped to forge a new American vision, a new consensus that can govern our country and move us all forward. The ground has shifted between our feet—beneath our feet, but we have clearly created a new center, not the lukewarm midpoint between overheated liberalism and chilly conservatism but instead a place where, throughout our history, people of good will have tried to forge new approaches to new challenges; the vital center the DLC has been trying to forge with new ideas and mainstream values for more than a decade now; the vital center that has brought so much progress to our Nation in the last 4 years; the vital, dynamic center from which we now must finish the work of preparing America for the 21st century.

In this rare and fleeting moment of opportunity, we still have work to do, for while the era of big Government is over, the era of big challenges is not: achieving educational excellence, finishing welfare reform and our campaign for safe streets, helping families to succeed at home and at work, balancing the budget, keeping America strong and prosperous, reforming campaign finance, and modernizing Government operations so that, together, we can meet the challenges and seize the opportunities of this remarkable time.

Our bridge to the 21st century must connect our newest challenges to our oldest values: opportunity for all Americans, responsibility from all Americans, a national community of all Americans, a national commitment to American leadership as the indispensable nation in the new world unfolding before us.

We all know how quickly this world is changing. We were smiling when Senator Lieberman was trying to describe the things that Bernard Schwartz has done in the area of technology. It's changing the way we work and live and relate to each other and to others around the globe. As in every other time of profound change, we must follow Lincoln's admonition to think anew and act anew. And as in every such time, the American people must come to a common understanding about how to proceed before we can hope to succeed.

Today, I believe we have come to such an understanding. Today, a century after the Progressives, six decades after the New Deal, after half a century of cold war, we have once again been called upon to forge a new approach, to forge solutions to meet the challenges of today, not those of yesterday. That is what you and I have fought to do for several years now.

As I said before the DLC in Cleveland in 1991, our agenda isn't liberal or conservative, it's both and it's different. And we're not just out to save the Democratic Party, we're out to save the United States of America.

We said in 1991 we would offer opportunity for all, demand responsibility from all, build a

stronger American community. We said that this era requires a Government that neither attempts to solve problems for people nor leaves them alone to fend for themselves. Instead, we envision a Government that gives people the tools to solve their own problems and make the most of their own lives.

When I became President, I was determined to bring this philosophy to our National Government. I didn't much care on what part of the political spectrum a minimum wage came from, or NAFTA, or family leave, or changing but not completely ending affirmative action, or banning assault weapons, or fighting to stop the advertising and sale of tobacco to our young people, or doing national service, or promoting charter schools, or promoting the reinventing Government effort, or so many other of the things we've done. They were hard to pigeonhole, and I think that made it frustrating for those who were trying to communicate to the larger citizenry about what it was we were about.

But the issue was not whether these things were from the right or the left of the political spectrum but whether, instead, they were the right things to do. The issue is not what is liberal or conservative but what will move us forward together. These are ideas at the vital American center, ideas that have broken the gridlock that gripped Washington for too long. For years politicians treated our most vexing problems here, like crime and welfare and the budget deficit, as issues to be exploited, not problems to be solved. That's why they went on and on and on.

Before we passed the crime bill it had been debated in Washington for 6 years. Meanwhile, there was plainly at the grassroots level a consensus among people in law enforcement and the community groups working with them for safe streets about what ought to be done. We tried to change all that. We worked hard at it. And we have succeeded in many areas.

After decades in which the welfare system was trapped, generation after generation in a cycle of dependency, we said we had to replace welfare checks with paychecks and make responsibility a way of life. We said we would end welfare as we know it, and we have. Last week we learned that there are 2.1 million fewer people on welfare today than on the day I took office. That is the biggest drop in history.

After decades in which criminals occupied our streets, we said we needed a new approach to fighting crime, and we have provided it: tougher punishment; better prevention; above all, more police. Crime is down all across America for 4 years now.

After decades of debate over the size and scope of Government, we've reduced the size of the Federal Government by over 10 percent; eliminated hundreds of programs, thousands of pages of regulations; privatized more operations than any previous administration; and cut the deficit by 60 percent in 4 years. We also worked very hard to devolve more responsibilities, in a spirit of partnership, to State and local governments and to community groups. I want to pay special tribute in that regard to two of my Cabinet members, one of whom is here today, the HUD Secretary, Henry Cisneros, and the Secretary of Transportation, Federico Pena, two former mayors who brought that spirit to our National Government. Thank you very much.

Both parties now agree that we must balance the budget and both parties now agree that we can only do it in a way that reflects our deepest values and garners support from members of both parties.

In each of these areas, we simply stopped asking who's to blame and started asking, what are we going to do. As a result, America is moving forward. And now we must capture that momentum and use it to finish the work of preparing our people for the new century. Let us commit together to mobilizing that vital center. Let us spend the next 50 months to prepare America for the next 50 years.

Now, our first task is to finish the job of balancing the budget. As we've cut the deficit by over 60 percent, the corresponding drop in interest rates has powered our economy—nearly 11 million new jobs now in less than 4 years. To keep the economy growing, we must finish the job. I'm determined to work with Congress to agree to a bipartisan balanced budget plan that does reflect our values.

We can and we must work together to reform Medicare and Medicaid so they continue to meet the promise to our parents and our children and continue to expand health care step by step to children in working families who don't have it. We can do that and balance the budget and take advantage of the fact that new models are clearly making it possible to lower the rate of medical inflation in a way that ad-

vances the quality of health care as well as the quality of our long-term objectives in balancing the budget and investing in the future of America. I know it can be done, and I am determined to get it done.

Second, we must give our young people the best education in the world. We must dramatically reform our public schools, demanding high standards and accountability from every teacher and every student, promoting reforms like public choice, school choice, and charter schools in every State.

Let me just say a word here especially with respect to Governor Romer. We've worked hard to support local control of the schools. We've worked hard to reduce the paperwork and the regulations that were unnecessary. Secretary Riley has done a fine job of giving more discretion to promote grassroots reform to local school districts. But we have largely local control in America. And yet, we do not have today recognized national standards in every critical area of study and a recognized measurement that can go across the Nation, that can tell us how all of our children are doing. I am for local control; I am not for Federal Government national standards. But I am for national standards of excellence and a means of measuring it so we know what our children are learning.

We must open the doors of college so that the 13th and 14th years of school, at least 2 years after high school, are as universal in 4 years as high school is today.

We must modernize our system of training, collapsing overlapping and outdated training programs into a "GI bill" for America's workers, something the DLC has long advocated, so that all working people who need it have access to the skills they need in a changing workplace.

The third thing we have to do is to bring the under class into the American mainstream, breaking the cycle of dependence and poverty. Already, over 4 years, the welfare rolls have been reduced by 2.1 million, partly, of course, because of the improving economy but largely because we have worked with the States of this country to forge new approaches to move people from welfare to work, recognizing that most people on welfare want to get off and want to go to work, and recognizing that responsibility should be a way of life and welfare should be a second chance.

The welfare reform legislation I recently signed is just the next step, not the end of the road. We have a moral obligation now, all of us particularly in the DLC who fought for welfare reform for so long, to make welfare reform work, to end the culture of isolated, permanent dependency. We have demanded responsibility of welfare recipients; indeed, we have written it into the law. And now we must meet our responsibilities by providing them the opportunity to work. We must bring the freshest ideas to bear on how we can bring the power of private business to the inner city, where today there are simply not enough jobs for those who will no longer be eligible for permanent welfare.

Last year in Chicago, for example, there were six job applicants for every entry-level job opening. In St. Louis, there were nine job applicants for every entry-level job opening. These jobs we know, because of the conditions of the Federal budget, must come primarily from the private sector, with incentives from the Government like tax credits and wage and training subsidies.

Now, how can we do this? Can we do it? I believe we plainly can if all of you will help. And I think it is a good thing that people will not be moving from welfare to work where they'll only be working with large numbers of other people who are on welfare in large-scale public works projects, because we want, again—the rolls have been reduced by 2.1 million, so a lot of the easy work has been done. Now we have to go out and give people a chance to move from a culture of isolated dependence into the mainstream of American life.

But if you look, for example, at the Kansas City model, where they have set up a full employment council where the business community and the service providers and the educators and welfare recipients are all represented, and where under an agreement with our administration, the State of Missouri says to employers, "If you will hire someone off welfare, we will give you the welfare check as a wage and training subsidy for up to 4 years, and we will give you, if you don't provide health insurance for your employees, the opportunity for this person to keep the Medicaid not just for a year but for up to 4 years. And if you want, you can have this slot for 10 years. We'll tell you right now, we want you to participate in this program, so when you move somebody from the welfare slot into a higher wage category, we'll let you have another person. And we'd like you to participate"—now, think what this means. This means small busi-

ness, medium-sized and big businesses can all participate. And it is working.

I met a man who had a business with 25 people in it, filling an interesting little niche; he stores data for the Federal Government. Even Washington, with all its buildings, can't hold all the data of the Federal Government. Five of his 25 employees are former welfare recipients. Many of them fit a profile where you would say they're the least likely people we could get into the work force. They are doing well.

And you think about it—if every State will authorize—and they don't have to ask me for permission anymore. That's what the welfare bill does. The welfare bill basically says, we'll have a national guarantee of nutrition and health care for poor families and the children, but that portion of the Federal Government's money that used to go with the State government's money into a welfare check now will be given to the State, and they can decide what to do with it.

So now it's up to the States. And this welfare reform movement has to shift in large measure to an argument at every State level. But if you've got a system like this one in Kansas City—and we know that's what the laboratories of democracies are supposed to do, we know this will work—then there is no excuse for every State not to do that.

Yes, I'm going to try to get Congress to pass some more tax credits to give further incentives. Yes, I'm going to try to get Congress to set aside some funds for the cities where unemployment is critically high and there are more and more and more job applicants for the jobs that are open, to give some other kinds of work to people when their welfare time limit has run. But the main answer to this is for small, medium-sized, and large businesses all across America to examine themselves and say, "If I were to get this sort of help, shouldn't I stretch and put somebody on and give them a chance to move into the American mainstream?" And the DLC ought to lead the fight because you've been up here, along with me, screaming for welfare reform for a decade. You have it. Now we have to do something with it, and I challenge you to do so.

The fourth thing we have to do is to press our fight against gangs and guns and drugs and violence by finishing our community policing project, finishing the job of putting 100,000 police on the street, getting guns off the street and out of the hands of children, cracking down on violent teen gangs, and teaching our children that drugs are wrong, illegal, and dangerous.

Fifth, we must strengthen our families and help our people to succeed at home and at work. You know, when I go across the country and I talk to people from all walks of life, this is the one theme that continually comes up: How can I do a good job raising my children and a good job at my work? We have an obligation to help parents do that, first, by supporting them as they try to pass along their values to their children in an age in which children at younger and younger ages are exposed to different kinds of values.

I think we should expand family leave in a very limited way so that parents can take some time off to go to regular parent-teacher conferences at school and to take their children to regular doctor's appointments, not just when they're desperately ill. I think we should give workers the choice of more flextime, so that when they work overtime they ought to have the choice to take the overtime in cash or time at home with the family if they need it.

I believe we have to continue to help parents protect their children from harmful outside influences, whether they come from tobacco or television violence. I think we must fight continually, as we have, to protect the water our children drink, the air they breathe, the food they eat. And especially we must clean up two-thirds of the most dangerous toxic waste sites in the country over the next 4 years so that our children will be growing up next to parks, not poison.

Sixth, we have to renew our democracy and—you want to clap for that? I'll stop. [*Applause*] Thank you. These embassies are going fast. [*Laughter*]

The sixth thing we have to do is to renew our democracy and restore the confidence of the American people in their Government by passing meaningful campaign finance reform legislation and modernizing Government operations. This will require consistent, disciplined, and honest effort. We know that the thing which has driven the cost of campaigns through the roof is the cost of communications, primarily television advertising, also radio advertising, direct mail, and other forms of communicating with the voters.

We know that the actual enterprise of raising the money and the burden of spending it threatens to overwhelm other aspects of our electoral system. Anyone who has been part of this system, in a moment of candor, must accept some responsibility for this and agree that it needs to change. There simply is too much money in our politics; it takes too much time to raise, and inevitably, it raises too many questions.

We know from bitter experience, however, that this is one of these things that everybody's for in general but few are for in particular. We know from bitter experience that delay is the enemy of reform. Now, Senators McCain and Feingold have a plan that is real, bipartisan, and tough. Six times in recent years, just since I've been President, reasonable campaign finance reform has been killed by Senate filibusters. Now Congress should go on and pass campaign finance reform and pass it without delay. And we need a bipartisan coalition of business and community leaders to support the Congress and to demand that it be done. There are no more excuses. The people are finally focused on it; let's get the job done.

But let me also say we cannot minimize the other reform effort that must continue, and that is the reinventing Government effort that has been headed so brilliantly by Vice President Gore for the last 4 years. The DLC was one of the first organizations to focus on the possibility of actually reforming our Government so that it could be downsized and improve the quality of its operations at the same time. That has largely been achieved because of the disciplined, sustained efforts that we have made. And I thank Elaine Kamarck in particular for her leadership in that regard.

But we have more to do. We have some new tools, like the line item veto, which can be helpful in that regard. But this is hard work. And it is not headline-grabbing work, but it makes a huge difference to whether we can balance the budget and have the funds to invest in our future and inspire confidence in the American people. So I urge the DLC to continue your emphasis on reinventing Government. It will never be a headline-grabbing issue, but it will always be an important part of what we are trying to do to prepare our country for the 21st century and to continue to increase the confidence of the American people that they're getting their money's worth from their investment in their National Government.

Seventh, we must harness the remarkable forces of science and technology that are remaking our world. We must continue our mission to connect every classroom and library to the information superhighway by the year 2000. We must press on to develop the next generation of the Internet, to let universities send data to each other 1,000 times faster than today. We must continue to expand the mission of our laboratories and make sure they have a strong peacetime mission that is contributing to America's future. And we must continue to invest and do more in medical and scientific research so that we can do great things that are plainly within our grasp, like finding cures for cancer and AIDS. We can make this age of science and technology a true age of possibility for all the American people, but we must invest in it and do it wisely if we expect to get a return.

Finally, we have to finish the mission of building new structures of peace and security around the world. We must complete the unfinished business of the cold war, building an undivided Europe of democracies at peace, with an expanded NATO and a strong NATO–Russian partnership; meeting the challenge of change in Asia with strength and steadiness; strengthening the hands of peace and democracy from Bosnia to the Middle East to Africa.

We must combat the new threats we face in terrorism, international drug running and organized crime, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. And we cannot weaken in our efforts to open more of the world's markets to our goods and services, from Asia to Latin America. American trade is at an all-time high, with over 200 new trade agreements in the last 4 years alone—21 with Japan where our exports in those 21 areas have gone up 85 percent in 4 years—GATT, NAFTA, and many others.

Our work now is no less important than the work that was done by the generation after World War II. We must create the structures of peace and security and the partnerships for peace and security and prosperity that will permit the American people to make the most of the 21st century.

Again, let me say the DLC can play an important role here. I think Senator Robb would admit that sometimes one of our most frustrating efforts as Democrats has been to convince our fellow Democrats that trade, if it's free and fair, is good for all the American people, and it's essential for America's future. Another frus-

tration we have had is trying to get the public at large, that has shown so much interest and so much sophistication in economic and social issues, to understand the connections between our foreign and our domestic policies, our security policies and our economic policies.

There are no more simple dividing lines between foreign and domestic in the world we're living in. We need your help to continue to raise public awareness of these fundamental facts, so that when decisions have to be taken in the area of foreign affairs they will resonate at home in the way that so many of the DLC ideas have resonated with the American people in domestic policy. And I hope you will pay some attention to that in the next year.

Well, these are the great goals that I believe we must pursue if we are to prepare America for the 21st century. They must not only be pursued, they must be achieved. And what I want to say to you is, they can be achieved. But they can be achieved only if there is a vital American center, where there is cooperation across lines of party and philosophy.

This is an irreplaceable moment for breaking new ground in America. All our political leaders say we will work together. The public wants us to work together. And our progress demands that we work together. I stand ready to forge a coalition of the center, a broad consensus for creative and consistent and unflinching action. And I invite people of good will of all parties, or no party, to join in this endeavor. I have spoken to Majority Leader Lott and Speaker Gingrich on several occasions since the election; I believe they share this mission. All of us have heard the voters' mandate in this election; we heard it again yesterday loud and clear in Texas. But it is not enough to hear; now we must act.

Let me make this final point. Now that the era of big Government is over, we clearly need a new kind of national leadership, leadership that does not rely alone on Washington's answers because the changes in the economy, the changes in technology, the changes in information and communication make it possible for people to be more empowered at lower levels of government and lower levels of business, indeed, individually and in their own families. But we must also recognize that the very changes that are empowering people to move apart from each other require us to work together in teams if we are to maximize the benefits of the opportunities before us.

Therefore, our Nation's leaders must chart a new course that calls upon people to think about their own responsibilities more and what new patterns of partnership we will have. Among other things, we have got to make a decision to cherish and respect our diversity instead of using it as a wedge to divide the American people. That is killing other countries, and we cannot tolerate it here.

For all of our differences, we have to identify the challenges we face in common as Americans and find ways to go after them in common. We must mobilize people in every walk of life to meet those challenges, and we must shine a spotlight on what works anywhere in America so that it can be adopted everywhere in America. And all of our citizens must be willing to serve. The nearly 70,000 Americans who have served in AmeriCorps, the national service program so long championed by the DLC, have proven that we can do great things together. If we are all willing to serve, we will build a new faith in ourselves and in our ability to meet our challenges and protect our values. In so doing, we will build a new faith in America.

Today I pledge to you that I will do everything in my power to summon that sense of responsibility from our people. My job does not end in Washington; it only begins here. So when business and communities join together to provide jobs for welfare recipients, I will be there as I was in Kansas City to tell every American community they must do the same. When parents and State legislators work to establish and uphold the toughest standards for our schools, I will be there. When communities band together to bring values, discipline, and hope to their children through school uniforms or imposing curfews or enforcing truancy laws, I will continue to be there.

I intend to spend the next 4 years doing everything I can to help communities to help themselves, to educate all Americans about what is working, and to create, in the process, a national community of purpose. The progress we have made already should prove to all of us that when we apply our oldest values to our newest challenges, we can master this moment of change.

It will require us, however, to believe that our fellow Americans are capable of doing this. National standards and local reform requires you

to believe all children can learn. Welfare reform requires you to believe that everybody is capable of being responsible and working if they have the mental and physical wherewithal to do it.

And I just want to leave you with this little story. Before I came over here this morning, I had the national advisory committee—that was actually started under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson—on mental health come in and give me two of their reports. John Kennedy, Jr., was one of the members. But the most impressive member today was a young woman from New Hampshire with Down's syndrome. And I appointed the first two people with mental retardation to the board.

So this young girl comes in, shakes my hand, tells me where she's from, gives me a letter, gives me a resume, tells me what I need to do, and then says, "And I want you to have one of my buttons." And it said, "Down's syndrome" on it, and "Down" was marked out, and it had "Up" on it. Does that person have limits on what she can achieve? Sure, there are some. So do I. So do you. But if you spend all your time thinking about it, you won't think about what will be up instead of down. You must believe in the potential of the American people. We cannot afford to patronize each other with cynicism.

And finally, we cannot afford to continue the politics of personal destruction and division that have taken too much of the lifeblood of this country already. Shortly before he died, the late Cardinal Bernardin, who Hillary and I had the privilege to know and revere, gave a remarkable speech about reconciling the conflicts within the Catholic Church over great issues in a way that would permit people to disagree honestly to try to preserve reconciliation. And he said this, knowing that his death was imminent: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time given to us on acrimony and division."

My fellow Americans, for all the problems of this country, we have been given more from God than any nation in history. And at this moment in history, we have more opportunities and more responsibilities than ever before. To make this democracy work, we must create a vital and dynamic center that is a place of action. We cannot waste the precious gift of this moment.

You have worked hard to create that vital center. Anchored by our oldest convictions, strengthened by our newest successes, certain of our national purpose, let us go forward from that center to build our bridge to the 21st century.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Bernard Schwartz, event chairman; Gov. Roy Romer of Colorado; Al From, executive director, Democratic Leadership Council; and Mark Penn and Doug Schoen of Penn + Schoen Associates.

Message on the Observance of Christmas, 1996

December 11, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Christmas.

Each year during this blessed season, the world pauses to look back across the centuries to the birth of a Child. This Child was born to poor but loving parents in the small town of Bethlehem—born into a world where few noticed His coming, except for some simple shepherds and a few wise men. He was the Son of God and the King of Kings, but He chose to come among us as servant and Savior.

Though two thousand years have passed since Jesus first walked the earth, much remains the same. Today's world is still caught up in the challenges and cares of everyday existence, and too often we crowd God into the background of our experience. Too often we still ignore His loving presence in our lives and the precious gifts of peace and hope that He so freely offers to us all. And today, as on that first Christmas morning, He still reveals himself to the loving, the wise, and the simple of heart.

As we gather with family and friends again this year to celebrate Christmas, let us welcome God wholeheartedly into our daily lives. Let us learn to recognize Him not only in the faces

of our loved ones, but also in the faces of those who, like Jesus, are familiar with poverty, hardship, and rejection. And let us be inspired by His example to serve one another with generous hearts and open hands. In this way we will approach the dawn of a new century and a new millennium confident in God's abundant grace and strengthened by His timeless promise of salvation.

Hillary joins me in praying that the peace and joy of this holiday season will remain with you throughout the coming year. Merry Christmas, and God bless you.

BILL CLINTON

Message on the Observance of Kwanzaa, 1996

December 11, 1996

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Kwanzaa.

The hearts of millions of men and women across America and around the world rejoice as together we enter into the spirit of this uplifting holiday. The seven principles of Kwanzaa—unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity, and faith—teach us that when we come together to strengthen our families and communities and honor the lessons of the past, we can face the future with joy and optimism. Through prayer, song, and the exchange of gifts, Kwanzaa helps us celebrate the human experience and appreciate our many blessings.

Today, we have a renewed sense of hope in America, a hope based on the idea that our great diversity can unite—not divide—our society. As we rejoice in the rich cultural heritage of the African American community during Kwanzaa, let us work together to ensure that the meaning and energy of this inspiring festival will remain with us throughout the coming year, bringing courage, renewal, and even greater hope for the future.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes for a wonderful holiday and every happiness in the year ahead.

BILL CLINTON

Remarks on the Airline Safety Initiative and an Exchange With Reporters

December 12, 1996

The President. Thank you. Good morning. I will be very brief, but I do want to make a couple of remarks. I want to thank the Vice President, first of all, and the people who have worked with him for their unflagging efforts to improve airline safety. I want to thank Secretary Pena and Mr. Hall and Ms. Daschle and the other members of the administration who have worked on this.

I want to especially thank the airline executives who are here for announcing their plan to ensure that their U.S. carriers have smoke detectors in their cargo holds whenever they leave the ground. This is further proof of what we can achieve when we work together.

This is a critical part of our long-range plan to make Americans more secure and to make sure our skies are safer. After the TWA disaster, the Vice President's commission worked around the clock to develop an action plan for aviation safety. Just a month later, we made nearly every one of their recommendations the law of the land: state-of-the-art bomb detectors in our major airports, a dramatic increase in FBI agents assigned to counterterrorism efforts, background checks and FBI fingerprint checks for airport and airline employees, improved mail and cargo inspection, and more bomb-sniffing dogs.

I said in October that we cannot make the world risk-free, but we can reduce the risks we face. By putting smoke detectors in every cargo hold of these carriers, we take another step to make our people and our skies safer.

And again, let me say I congratulate especially the carriers who are here. I thank them for their leadership and for working with us, and I thank the members of the administration, beginning with the Vice President.

Thank you very much.

Director of Central Intelligence-Designate

Q. Mr. President, is Tony Lake in trouble, and will you go to the mat for him?

The President. No, and yes. [*Laughter*]

Q. You don't think he has any problem in terms of the—[*inaudible*].

The President. No. Well, we reviewed that, and I think—I believe the essential facts of the matter have been reported in the press. And the Counsel's Office and others reviewed the facts as they have been presented—I believe they have been accurately presented in the press, although I did not personally read the story this morning, and we believe that it is not a disqualification.

Balanced Budget and Protecting the Poor

Q. Mr. President, your embrace of the political center seems to concern many traditionally liberal Democrats who are afraid this priority of balancing the budget is going to hurt poor people. Yesterday the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Representative Donald Payne, was expressing this kind of concern. How do you guarantee that fuel for poor people, subsidies, that housing subsidies, that your determination to balance the budget is not going to come on the backs of the poor?

The President. Well, that's what we're working through right now. We've been working through that for the last 4 years. Every year in the last 4 years we've had to send a budget up to the Hill, and we've worked on a budget that would continue to reduce the deficit in a way that would be fair to all Americans.

And I would just say, first of all, there's some evidence here: After 4 years we've cut the deficit by 60 percent. There are 2.1 million fewer people on welfare and about a million fewer children in poverty than there were the day I took office. Poverty had the biggest drop among children in 1995 in 20 years. We have the lowest poverty rate among elderly people and African-Americans since the statistics have been kept.

A big part of that is a strong economy. If you want to reduce poverty, you've got to have more jobs being created, you've got to have the economy being stronger.

But secondly, we have to be exceedingly sensitive—I don't want to play games here—we have to be exceedingly sensitive to what policy judgments are made so that we don't do the rest of the work of balancing the budget on the backs of poor children especially, who are essentially defenseless in protecting themselves. We have to be very, very sensitive from here on in. And I assure you, we're working on that.

And Congressman Payne, whom I know well and respect very much, I'm sure will be vigorously pressing the interests that he discussed yesterday in all of our budget talks together. But we're working hard on this budget to avoid that.

Airline Safety

Q. Mr. President, with the fire detection systems that you're going to have in these planes, is it not far enough? Don't you need suppression as well, to put out fires when you're at 10,000 feet, simply knowing about——

The President. Would you like to answer that?

The Vice President. I would. There are fire suppression systems installed on all new airlines. And it is true that the original NTSB recommendation was for both detectors and suppression equipment. The difficulties in implementing the retrofit for suppression systems is significantly greater than the difficulty with detector systems. But the industry has agreed to work with us vigorously to find solutions for this challenge, and we're pressing forward on it.

Q. How much will it cost the industry?

The Vice President. A lot. [*Laughter*] About $400 million. And it is a significant commitment that they're making. No one should misunderstand the fact that it was not easy for these companies to make the decision that they are announcing here today. This is a significant step forward. In the absence of a rule, they're doing it voluntarily, and every company here has joined together. And so it's an important step.

Q. Are airline tickets up?

The Vice President. Not because of this.

The President. Thank you. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Remarks Prior to a Meeting With the President's Drug Policy Council and an Exchange With Reporters

December 12, 1996

The President. Good morning. First, I'd like to thank Director McCaffrey and the other Cabinet and agency officials who are here for the second meeting of the President's Drug Policy Council.

Before we begin the meeting I'd like to make two brief announcements: first, an important step we are taking to break the cycle of crime and drugs in the revolving door between prisons and drug use.

In the last Congress, we pushed for and passed legislation which requires States to drug-test prisoners and parolees as a condition for receiving prison grants from the Federal Government. Today I'm pleased to announce that the Justice Department has developed drug test guidelines for the States that will help them to meet the requirements of the legislation. This law says to inmates, if you want out of jail you must get off drugs. And it says to parolees, if you want to stay out of jail you must stay off drugs. If you go back on drugs, then you have to go back to jail. The new guidelines call for every State to submit a plan for drug testing, for interventions, for sanctions to the Attorney General within 14 months as a condition of receiving Federal prison funds.

We know this effort will work. A recent report shows that in Delaware, prisoners who got treatment in prison and during work release were 75 percent drug-free and 70 percent arrest-free after 18 months. But 80 percent of the prisoners who did not receive treatment went back on drugs, and two out of three were arrested again. There is a huge connection between crime and prison population and drug use which we are now strongly determined to break.

Also let me say, in light of the recent initiatives in Arizona and California, I have instructed General McCaffrey and the other members of the Cabinet and the Drug Policy Council to review what our options are to make sure that we do not do anything that will increase drug use and that instead we do whatever we can to decrease drug use. And we will look at what our options are under Federal law to proceed there.

I am confident we can make real progress here, but I am not unmindful of how difficult the challenge is. And you can see by the people around the table and by the work that General McCaffrey has done that we're going to work together, and we're very hopeful.

General, thank you.

Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey. Thank you, Mr. President.

Well, we could proceed with the press out of the room. It probably would be helpful. [*Laughter*]

Second Term Transition

Q. Before we go, can we just ask if you've had a chance to discuss with Attorney General Reno her future, because that seems to be up in the air right now?

The President. No, I've got about—there are four or five of my Cabinet members I haven't yet met with, but I'm going to try to get it all done by the end of the week.

Q. Do you think tomorrow at the press conference you'll have some Cabinet announcements?

The President. I don't know—oh, I might, I might.

Q. Could you give us a sneak preview? [*Laughter*]

The President. You know how this is, you all—we're partners in this deal, and you've got to have something every day. And so you've already had a good day today. I've got to give you something tomorrow now. [*Laughter*]

District of Columbia

Q. Do you think it's appropriate to spend $1 billion on the District of Columbia, as the control board is suggesting?

The President. Well, I don't want to comment on the specific recommendation. Let me say this: I believe that every American has a stake in seeing the District of Columbia succeed. And the kind of netherworld, almost, relationship it has with the Federal Government has been a mixed blessing. And we have tried over the last 4 years to intensify our efforts—I know Secretary Cisneros, for example, has done a lot of work to try to reduce homelessness here.

But I believe that one of the things I should be doing in the next 4 years is to make a more disciplined, organized effort and try to forge a partnership with the Congress—I know Speaker Gingrich, at various times, has expressed an interest in this—to try to do more to help the District of Columbia to be the kind of city it ought to be. And I intend to put a real priority on it. But I don't want to get into a dollar discussion now because I don't know enough about it to have an informed opinion.

Thank you. I can't wait to see you tomorrow. [*Laughter*]

Q. Might see you tonight.

The President. Did you get your crossword puzzle, Mara [Mara Liasson, National Public Radio]? [*Laughter*] You were in the crossword puzzle yesterday, and I worked the whole puzzle. I gave it to McCurry. He's got a copy of it. Yesterday's USA Today crossword puzzle stars you. [*Laughter*]

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:57 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

The President's News Conference
December 13, 1996

Second Term Transition

The President. Good afternoon. Please be seated.

As President, I have worked to keep the American dream alive for all those who are willing to work for it, to restore economic growth, and to put our Nation on the path to long-term prosperity. One of the accomplishments I'm proudest of since 1992 is the way our economic advisers have worked as a team to advance America's interests at home and abroad. Working together, this team has helped to cut our deficit by 60 percent; increase our investments in education, the environment, and technology; expand America's exports to record levels; and to help our economy create nearly 11 million new jobs.

Today we see new results of that kind of teamwork. American negotiators have agreed with the other members of the World Trade Organization on a landmark information technology agreement, the pact that I worked so hard on at the APEC meeting in Manila recently. I am pleased that it will eliminate by the year 2000 all tariffs on computers, semiconductors, and telecommunications equipment. That's a $5 billion cut in tariffs on the American products exported to other nations. America leads the world in these industries, and this agreement means that there will be extraordinary new opportunities for American businesses and workers, so the American people can reap the rewards of the global economy as we move into the 21st century.

Today I'm pleased to introduce most of the members of the team that will build on our work.

The Treasury Department has never been in better hands. Bob Rubin has been the captain of our economic team for 4 years, first as Director of the National Economic Council, and now as Secretary of the Treasury. And I am pleased that he will stay on.

Larry Summers will continue as Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, and we'll be calling upon his unique policy and analytic skills in an enhanced capacity. Today I am also naming him as a principal on the National Economic Council, which will benefit greatly from his expertise in domestic and international economic policy.

As we work toward a balanced budget, the Office of Management and Budget will play a critical role, because we have to do it in a way that reflects our values and the other policy objectives of this administration. Frank Raines has been on the job there for several months now, working hard to reach a bipartisan agreement on a balanced budget plan. I am happy to say that after 4 months he has agreed to stay on the job, in a job that is often the biggest headache in town.

To prepare America for the 21st century, we must maintain a strong Commerce Department. In the last 4 years, two exceptionally gifted leaders, my friends the late Ron Brown and Mickey

Kantor, have headed that Department and turned it into an economic powerhouse for the American people. It has promoted American business, created American jobs through exports and innovative technologies. I understand Mickey Kantor's desire to return to private life after 4 grueling years, but I regret it very much. He is a great talent, a great citizen, and I will miss him.

Today I am pleased to nominate Bill Daley of Chicago as the new Secretary of Commerce, a man of rare effectiveness, a longtime civic leader, a prominent attorney and business leader. As Special Counsel to the President for the North American Free Trade Agreement, he coordinated our administration's efforts to forge a broad bipartisan coalition to pass that landmark trade agreement. He embodies the values of hard work and fair play, faith and family that will serve him in a very good stead as the Secretary of Commerce.

Second, I am pleased to announce my intention to nominate Charlene Barshefsky to be our United States Trade Representative, a job she has held on an acting basis for 8 months. She's a tough and determined representative for our country, fighting to open markets to the goods and services produced by American workers and businesses. Her skill is demonstrated by the information technology agreement I just announced. She has been negotiating it around the clock in Singapore for the last week; indeed, I'm not sure she's had any sleep in the last week. But this is a remarkable achievement. I'm sorry she could not be here, but her husband, Ed Cohen, and her daughters are with us. I spoke to her last night in Singapore to congratulate her on this remarkable achievement. I know she wishes she could be here, and I'm very glad she'll be on the job for America.

Finally, when I took office 4 years ago, I established for the first time a National Economic Council, to coordinate economic policy, to make sure we get the best advice and a range of options as well as new ideas. Today I am pleased to appoint Gene Sperling to be the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Director of the National Economic Council. Gene was my chief economic policy adviser in the 1992 campaign. He's been Deputy Director of the NEC since its creation. He has been central to the development of our budget, our tax, our education, our training policies. I rely on him heavily, on his knowledge and skill, his mind and his heart. As all of you know, he certainly shows that the work ethic is still alive and well in America. Indeed, I made him promise as a condition of getting this appointment that he would adopt a dramatic new idea in the next few years: sleep. [*Laughter*] I suppose if we were giving MVP awards for our economic team, Gene would have been there in each one of the last 4 years. And I'm very proud of his service and excited about his promotion.

We know that our economic future is increasingly dependent upon mastering the challenges of the global economy. Today I am pleased to announce that I am appointing Dan Tarullo to be Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy. In his job, Dan will report to the heads of both the NEC and the NSC, bringing thus even closer coordination between our foreign and our economic teams. He's represented the United States around the world as we have negotiated trade agreements as Assistant Secretary of State and Deputy Director of the NEC.

I'm also pleased to announce the completion of our foreign policy team. Our Ambassador to the United Nations must be someone who can give voice to America's interests and ideals around the world, someone who can work to reform the United Nations so that it costs less and is prepared to meet its new challenges, someone who can not only talk but who can also act effectively.

All Americans have watched admiringly as Bill Richardson has undertaken the toughest and most delicate diplomatic efforts around the world, from North Korea to Iraq. Just this week, Congressman Richardson was huddled in a rebel chieftain's hut in Sudan, eating barbecued goat and negotiating the freedom of three hostages. Today I am proud to nominate him to be our next Ambassador to the United Nations, to serve in my Cabinet and as a principal on our foreign policy team.

In addition to his already long list of foreign policy achievements, he has represented the people of northern New Mexico for 14 years now as a member of the House Democratic leadership, and as one of our Nation's most prominent and proud Hispanic leaders. He told me last night how much he loved the people of his district. He and Al Gore used to compete for who held the most town meetings in the entire Congress. I know he will serve those con-

stituents and all the American people exceedingly well as the United Nations Ambassador.

I'm very proud of this team. We're making good progress in putting our new people in place, and in resolving all the other outstanding questions. I hope the Senate now will move as quickly as possible to confirm them. I was very pleased that in 1993, with only one exception, all the members of my Cabinet were confirmed the day after the Inauguration, and I hope we can continue to push through that process.

Finally, before our new appointees have a chance to say a few words, I know you're all interested in a couple of other matters. I have been having talks with a number of other Cabinet members, as all of you know. I have not yet finished my conversations, but in the last several days I have spoken with Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala, Attorney General Janet Reno, and just this morning, our EPA Administrator, Carol Browner. I have asked all of them to stay on in their current jobs. We will make those and some other announcements formally soon, when I finish my round of interviews, so that we can announce the rest of our domestic economic team.

And the last matter I want to mention is, as all of you know, Jack Quinn has announced that he will have to leave the White House as White House Counsel because of family obligations. Jack and I have known each other a long time. He and the Vice President have known each other a long time. I just want to say a word of thanks for the integral and invaluable work he has done as a White House staff member, the fine job he has done as Counsel to the President. He has really been a superb Counsel. I will miss him very much. We had a long talk about the reasons—I think the good reasons, indeed the best reasons anyone can ever have for leaving public service. I will regret that, but I wish him well, and I look forward to making an expeditious appointment of a replacement.

Now I would like to ask Bill Daley, Bill Richardson, Gene Sperling, and Dan Tarullo to make brief statements, and we will proceed to questions.

[*At this point, Secretary of Commerce-designate William M. Daley made brief remarks. As United Nations Ambassador-designate Bill Richardson began his remarks, Secretary-designate Daley fainted.*]

The President. Where is my doctor?

I think he's fine. He fainted. I think he fainted; I think he's fine. We'll give you a report in a minute.

Go ahead.

[*Ambassador-designate Richardson concluded his remarks. National Economic Adviser Gene Sperling and Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy Dan Tarullo then made brief remarks, and Secretary-designate Daley returned to the stage.*]

The President. Welcome back.

Secretary-designate Daley. Thanks.

The President. Mr. Fornier [Ron Fornier, Associated Press].

President's Accomplishments and First Lady's Role

Q. Mr. President, looking beyond today's announcement to your second term, can you tell us how you hope history will judge your 8 years in office? What single accomplishment would you like to be remembered for? And along those lines, could you share your thinking with us on the specific roles, the specific roles, the First Lady will play in the next 4 years?

The President. That's enough for an hour. [*Laughter*]

You've heard me say that I believe this time is most closely paralleled in our history to about 100 years ago, when then we moved from the farm to the factory, from the rural areas to the city; we became primarily an urban manufacturing country. We are now a global leader, and the basis of all economic activity is increasingly knowledge and information and technology.

I would like to be remembered as the President who prepared America for that future, who prepared America for the 21st century, where we had opportunity available to all Americans who were responsible enough to exercise it; where we lived with the diversity of this country and the diversity of the world on terms of respect and honor, giving everyone a chance to live up to the fullest of his or her own ability and building a stronger sense of community, instead of becoming more divided as so many countries are; and where we continue to be the indispensable nation in the world for peace and freedom and prosperity. That is my vision of

America in the 21st century. And when I'm finished, I hope people will add up all of the things we did and say, that is what they achieved.

I have nothing to add to what I've already said about the First Lady, except that the State Department has asked her to undertake more efforts around the world, following up on the Beijing Conference, like the one she did in northern Thailand recently, speaking out on behalf of human rights dimensions of women and young girls around the world. And I expect she will do more of that, and I expect she will continue her interests in children and families and related issues here at home. But I have nothing else to say beyond that.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Balanced Budget and Protecting the Poor

Q. Mr. President, what is your response to the perception that you are willing to sacrifice the needy and compassion at the altar of a balanced budget and bipartisanship? I refer to the fact that you have not mentioned any remedy for the punitive parts of the welfare law recently; that you're reviewing children with disabilities with an eye to dropping them from benefits; that you may wipe out the fuel—heating oil subsidy; that you may slash by $1 billion low-cost housing budgets; and a few other things.

The President. Well, first of all, let me say I have no intention of slashing the home heating oil budget as we come to the winter. That's one budget item I know something about.

We have—in the drive to balance the budget we have to make some tough decisions, and some of the housing issues will be brought before me, I'm sure, in the last round of appeals. But we've not made final budget decisions there.

If you look at the record of this administration, I think it would be very hard to make a case that we have been callous toward the poor. I mean, look what we did: We doubled the earned-income tax credit, raised the minimum wage, increased the availability of immunizations to poor children, dramatically expanded the number of poor children in Head Start, vetoed two welfare reform bills which revoked the guarantees of health care and nutrition to poor children because they did. And as a result, there are about a million fewer children living in poverty today. We had the biggest drop in poverty among children in 20 years, the biggest drop among poverty—among working single women in 30 years. the lowest poverty rate ever recorded in 1995 for African-Americans. That is the record of this administration. I think it is very hard to make a case that an administration with that record and those policies is insensitive to the problems of the poor.

Now, in welfare reform, there are two great issues before us in the welfare reform. Issue number one is, there are not now enough jobs available, particularly in a lot of urban areas, for all the able-bodied people on welfare when they run out of their 2-year time limit under the new law. I said that all along. That's why a big part of my campaign for the Presidency this time was the commitment to present to Congress and to challenge the States to do things like provide special tax incentives and wage subsidies and training subsidies to employers to help hire people off welfare and to help the cites with a lot of welfare caseload. That's the big welfare reform problem.

Number two, there are problems in the welfare reform bill, as I have repeatedly said, that have nothing to do with welfare that will hurt a lot of innocent people, principally, the way legal immigrants who get hurt, through no fault of their own, are treated and the way the nutrition programs, the food stamp programs are treated for single men who are willing to go to work and, most importantly, for working families. I have set aside several billion dollars in my balanced budget plan to fix those problems. And the budget I present to the Congress will address both of those within the context of a balanced budget plan.

On the question of the disabled children, I want to ask all of you to help all of us on this, because here's the issue: Nearly everyone who reviewed the law as it used to be said that the disability definitions were too broad and that it was very difficult to justify, given all the needs of the country, the coverage that existed under the old law. And we even proposed to the Congress that some changes be made to tighten the standards of disability coverage for children under SSI.

Now what we have to do is to define regulations under the new law. So the trick is going to be to do it in a way that does not hurt genuinely needy children and families and cause harm instead of tightening up a program that virtually everyone who analyzed it thought ought

to be tightened up. So we're all going to have to just watch that one and try not to mess it up. But the welfare reform bill I think is going to prove to be a good bill. I do not think it will increase job poverty if we create jobs. We need to fix the nonwelfare parts of the welfare bill.

Brit [Brit Hume, ABC News], let me say before you leave, I know this is your last White House press conference; you'll be too important to mess with Presidents and other people before long. [*Laughter*] But over the last several years, I think all of us think you have done an extraordinary, professional job under Republican and Democratic administrations alike, and we will miss you. And we wish you well, and congratulations on your new position.

Independent Counsels

Q. Thank you very much, Mr. President. Thank you very much, indeed.

Sir, over the years Republicans have sometimes criticized the whole idea of having an Office of Independent Counsel as being subject to abuse, possibly raising the prospect of witch hunts. More recently, one of your chief political advisers seems to have joined in that thinking, and you, yourself, have even suggested that the current Independent Counsel may be, as I believe you put it, "out to get you." I wonder if you could give us your current thinking on the whole independent counsel process and how this particular one is, in your view, doing its job?

The President. Well, on the second part of that question, I have nothing to add to what I said earlier on that.

But let me say there may be a few limited cases where this is appropriate. I was impressed by the comments made by Archibald Cox. I believe he wrote an op-ed piece in the New York Times a day or two ago. And what I think what we ought to do is to search out people like that. The American Bar Association recently had a seminar where a lot of people who have been involved in this work for years came and talked about what kind of cases ought to be covered, what kinds of timelines ought to be there, what kinds of limitations on there ought to be.

And I think what we ought to do is to take people who aren't so personally involved in it but who understand the enormous costs of the present system, as well as whatever benefits might come to it, and reassess it. But I think, you know, we could start with what Mr. Cox had to say and analyze it and go from there. But I think—I have to focus my attention on trying to complete the agenda the American people elected me to complete, and that's what I intend to do.

I do think this is worth some study and thought, but I think you ought to refer to people who are not so caught up in it and don't have other things to do, like I do. I need to not think about that. I need to think about my plans to grow the economy and improve education and other things.

Mr. Frisby [Mike Frisby, Wall Street Journal].

Capital Gains Tax Cut

Q. Mr. President, Republicans on Capitol Hill still want to cut the capital gains tax. Are there any conditions in which you would agree to such a cut if it would result in a budget deal?

The President. Well, I have always said that I was not inherently opposed to any kind of capital gains tax, and indeed, there was a capital gains treatment in my first budget in '93 for investments in new and small businesses that were held for a significant period of time. It is not part of my balanced budget because I had other priorities which I was trying to advance.

We are not going to get a balanced budget—which the American people need, which our economy needs, and which would do, I think, very good things for us not only economically but also psychologically as we move forward into this new century—in the absence of bipartisan cooperation.

So as—when the 50-plus hours I spent with Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich and Mr. Armey last year, I made clear to them in private what I have said publicly several times, which is that obviously I had no right to say that was a show-stopper in a deal. I was perfectly willing to talk about it, but only in the context of balanced budget negotiations.

District of Columbia

Q. Mr. President, I'd like to shift the focus to something that I think is equally as important—or at least many people think is important as some of the so-called national things we speak about, and that's the question about the Nation's Capital City—your city, sir. I wonder what you could tell us, what help perhaps or comment

you might offer on what many people think to be is a chaotic and failing District of Columbia government. Now, the financial control board does recommend a partial takeover. I wonder how you feel about that, or is it time for a complete takeover, sir?

The President. Let me, first of all, say I have had several conversations in the last 2 months, leading up to and after the election, about what I believe is my responsibility and the responsibility of our administration to try to play a constructive role in making Washington the kind of city it ought to be.

In the last 4 years, first Alice Rivlin and then Frank have worked hard to coordinate what our administration was doing in Washington. Henry Cisneros, for example, has done a lot of good work on homelessness here in Washington. The Commerce Department has taken some community-based initiatives. Even my Secret Service detail adopted a school in response to my request for people to do more in Washington. But we have not done as much as we can, so that's the first thing I want to say.

The second thing I want to say is that the American people need to understand the unique challenges facing Washington. Washington, DC, is really not quite a State but not quite a city. It is not quite dependent and not quite independent. And I think that is the source of a lot of the difficulties we face today. There is sort of a series of purgatories in which Washington has found itself over the years, and very often when functions are divided in responsibility, they wind up being nobody's responsibility and easy for people to avoid, therefore, the tough decisions that have to be made.

So what—I have asked the Office of Management and Budget and Frank Raines in his capacity as head of this task force to review that. I was very impressed that the DC control board came out with a set of specific recommendations, and I want to review them and try to do two things: Number one, I want to respond to the financial recommendations that will come both from Frank Raines and from the DC control board. And number two, I want to think in a larger way about what kind of more systematic effort we can make to be a constructive force in the revitalization of Washington.

This is a beautiful city. This is a city full of talented people. It has problems, but so does every other city in America. And I am convinced that a lot of these problems have been aggravated over time by the fact that—what I would call "not quite" factor: not quite a State, not quite a city, not quite independent, not quite dependent, and so there has just been too much gray area. And we have to try to resolve this and work through it. And I promise you a more serious effort.

Q. Just to follow up, sir, will you be speaking with House Speaker Newt Gingrich, who has mentioned trying to work up a plan, and Senate Leader Trent Lott——

The President. Absolutely.

Q. ——will this be a——

The President. Again, I would say we have to do this on a bipartisan basis. When the control board was set up, Congressman Davis was a very constructive force in this, and of course, Eleanor Holmes Norton. So we know we have to do this together. And I think we have—those of us who live here and work here have a real obligation to try to resolve this. But I just want to make it clear that I think we need some serious fixes here that deal with this sort of "not quite" factor. You've got to resolve who is going to be responsible for what, how is it going to be done, where are we going to be over the long run?

Q. But you could do that as President, couldn't you, sir?

The President. Well, not unilaterally, but we've got to have some help from the Congress. We'll work on it.

Nomination Process and Government Service

Q. Mr. President, with it now revealed that there are Justice Department investigations ongoing about two members of your national security team, one nominee and one person who doesn't have to get Senate confirmation, I'm wondering if you could tell us why you decided to go ahead with people under Justice Department investigation, and whether, as Mr. Daley sort of alluded to, you worry that the level of scrutiny has become so high that maybe people feel that they are driven out of accepting jobs. It's also been reported that you're having trouble filling the White House Counsel's post because people don't want a job that is going to just be one problem after another—[*inaudible*]—questions on that.

The President. Well, there was a recent—let me answer two points of your question. Number one, I will take full responsibility for whatever happens here; I'm fully aware of the status of

the issues relating to Mr. Berger and Mr. Lake, and based on the advice of Mr. Quinn, my White House Counsel, I decided to go forward because I am convinced that nothing they did was in any way disqualifying, and because the issues involved were very straightforward, but have been over at the Justice Department for some time, and we had to make a decision. I mean, the work of the people has to go forward.

So what we decided to do is to let the thing go forward. You know what the issues are; they've been fully disclosed; there's nothing there that has not been disclosed, to the best of my knowledge. And I made a decision, based on the advice of my Counsel, that the best people that I wanted to appoint could in fact be appointed and that the issues outstanding were not disqualifying.

Now, to the larger question you asked, there is no question that the climate has changed to the point where a lot of people don't want to fool with it anymore. There's no doubt about it. In fact, I was sort of touched by what Mr. Daley said because I have to say that the truly moving thing is how many gifted men and women of all walks of life are still willing to serve, notwithstanding the fact that they know they may be subject to things that are excessive and unfair.

There was, a couple of weeks ago, a commission—I can't even remember who chaired the commission, but I know Lloyd Cutler was a member of it—on the whole appointment process. You know what I'm talking about, don't you? I'm—what was the formal name of the commission? Yes, the 20th Century Fund Commission. And they made a lot of recommendations there that I thought had a lot of merit.

Now, of course, the appointment process is largely controlled by the Congress and by the Senate, and it would require the Senate to, with some discipline, moderate its own procedures and change it. But I thought it was quite impressive, the thoughtfulness, the fairness, and the balance of that fund's recommendation. So I couldn't add anything to the recommendations they made. I think that ought to be studied, and we ought to decide what to do about it.

Q. Just to follow up, sir, do you think that there's any possibility that mistakes made within your own White House, though, have contributed to this perception?

The President. But I don't think—when you're making millions and millions of actions, literally, over a 4-year period, everybody's going to make some mistakes. The question is, does the mistake amount to a violation of law? Does it amount to a dereliction of duty? Does it amount to some dark attempt to undermine the public interest?

I mean, there is a sense—what I think we need here is full disclosure, but reasoned judgment, and a certain balance here. You know, in order to get all of the information out, you have to have the information accompanied with balance. And I think everybody has to ask themselves what is fundamentally fair here. I think a lot of people who don't want to come in say, well, somebody raises a question, then there is a presumption of guilt, you have to prove yourself innocent of things you're not even sure of what the charge is. And that's what I think we have to avoid, which is why I thought the suggestions of this 20th Century Fund Commission bore some evaluation.

Again, I don't have time to think much about it, because I have to keep working on the agenda that I ran on, the agenda I've been working on, and the one I'm trying to implement for the next 4 years. But I do think that those of you in a different position might well evaluate it.

Wolf [Wolf Blitzer, CNN].

Balanced Budget Amendment and Partial Birth Abortion

Q. Mr. President, with Congress coming back into a new session, there seems to be indications they will take up two issues which are contentious which you have opposed in the past: an amendment to balance the budget, a constitutional amendment to balance the budget—you caused some, I guess, concern a few weeks ago among some of your aides by suggesting you could live with a constitutional amendment to balance the budget—and secondly, legislation that would ban a late-term abortion procedure known as partial birth abortions. Could you tell us exactly what kind of language you could accept on both of those issues that would allow you to go forward and support those matters?

The President. Well, they're two different things there. First of all, what I said on the balanced budget thing, I don't think—let me try to be clear here so I won't be misunderstood. I do not believe it is good policy or need-

ed to have a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. I do believe that it's good policy for America to pass a balanced budget plan now and to implement it. And I believe I have some credibility on that because we've cut the deficit by more in 4 years than anybody has in a month of Sundays. So everybody knows that—and my record as Governor was that of a fiscal conservative.

So this is not about fiscal conservatism. It is about whether you can design a constitutional amendment which in difficult and very different times than the ones in which we now live won't do more harm than good. That's my only concern there.

And so the only thing—what I was trying to say when I was asked about this before is, there have been changes in the composition of the Senate which at least apparently give them enough votes to pass this amendment. So what I was saying is I'm not for this, but if you're going to do it, try to do it in a way that gives you enough flexibility to deal with the kinds of things that can happen. We're passing this constitutional amendment in a very different environment than some of the environments in which we've lived in the last 30 years. That's the only point I was trying to make on that.

Now, perhaps changes in the House will make it more difficult to pass in the House, but I just don't know. You know, the President cannot veto a constitutional amendment. It gets passed and sent out to the States. So that's the point I want to make on that.

On the partial birth abortion issue, I would very much—I wanted to sign that legislation when I first heard about it; I thought I would sign it, since I am generally opposed to third-trimester abortions anyway and signed legislation to restrict them in Arkansas.

The problem is, I will say again, there are a few hundred women every year who have personally agonizing situations, where their children are born or about to be born with terrible deformities which will cause them to die either just before, during, or just after childbirth. And these women, among other things, cannot preserve the ability to have further children unless the enormous size of the baby's head is reduced before being extracted from their bodies. This is a very painful thing to discuss. I have met six of these women. I will say again, three of them were pro-life Catholics. One of them was a pro-life evangelical Christian. This is not a pro-life, pro-choice issue. To me this is a practical problem. I believe that people put in that situation ought not to have Congress tell them that they're never going to be able to have children again.

Now, I know there are just a few hundred of them, and I know that all the votes were on the other side. And I am well aware that there were several places in this country where major political headway was made against the Vice President and me and against some of our candidates for Congress and against others running for other things because of this issue, because it sounds so awful when you describe it—that the politics is all on the other side. But one of the things the President is supposed to do is to look out for the few hundred against the many millions when the facts are not consistent with the rhetoric.

And I'm just telling you—Hillary and I, we only have one child. And I just cannot look at a woman who's in a situation where the baby she is bearing against all her wishes and prayers is going to die anyway, and tell her that I am signing a law which will prevent her from ever having another child. I'm not going to do it.

Now, I pleaded and I pleaded and I pleaded last time with the Congress to adopt highly restrictive language on this procedure which would make it clear that there had to be a very serious health problem for the woman involved before it could be adopted, in addition to having her own life at stake—a very serious health problem, like having the ability to have a child again. And they would not do it. And they would not do it. And they would not do it, I believe, because it was great politics. But it's bad policy.

So if we will—if we can have the right sort of language here—I don't like this procedure. I don't think anybody ought to just, you know, show up 8 months and 2 weeks pregnant and say, "I just think I'd like to have an abortion, and this is what I want to use." I think the States should have taken care of that. Eighty percent of the States have, but 20 percent haven't. But if they will help me with language here and do it in good faith, I will happily sign this bill.

But there are a few hundred people every year that are adversely affected by this, and I am the only person that's elected by all the people that feels, therefore, less pressure on this. I have to do what I think is right. I cannot take away from these women the right to bear

further children. It would be wrong, and I will not do it.

Stock Market

Q. Mr. President, do you share Alan Greenspan's view that Wall Street is currently in the grips of irrational exuberance? And agree or not that the market is overpriced, when the inevitable correction comes, what is the degree of risk that it will throw the economy into a tailspin?

The President. Well, I don't comment on the Fed's decisions, and I don't comment on the market's movements, so I shouldn't talk about the Fed Chairman's comments about the market's movements. [*Laughter*] Nothing I say will produce any good.

I think the answer to your second question is the same—I'll tell you an interesting story. You know when the market fell in '87, by blind accident, when the market closed, the then-wealthiest man in America, Sam Walton, was sitting in my office in Little Rock, in the Governor's office, just by pure coincidence. He was there on business. He came in to see me, and we were sitting there at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, or whenever it was, and the market closed in New York. So he called, and I said, "Sam, how much money did you lose today?" He said, "A billion dollars, on paper." And I said, "What do you think about it?" He said, "I think tomorrow I'm going to get in my airplane and fly to a little town in Tennessee where they're opening a new Wal-Mart, and if the pickups and the cars show up and people get out and buy goods, America's all right. This is a Main Street economy."

So I say to you, I'm very pleased that not only wealthy people but a lot of middle class people have made a lot of money in the markets. A lot of people's retirements are more secure because of it. I'm proud of the vibrant markets we have. They will change. They go up and down; they always do. My job is to keep the underlying fundamentals sound so that tomorrow, in all those little towns all across America, people can get up and go to work and go to the store and buy something. If that happens, I think we'll be okay.

Q. Mr. President, given the fact that people have invested in pensions, 401(k)'s, it really has become a middle class situation, isn't it almost inevitable that a correction would trigger a tailspin?

The President. No. I don't think we should over-conclude that. Look at '87. Look at everything since 1929. You've seen long-term—over the long term, if we have the discipline, all of us, to ride out the inevitable changes in the markets, the markets have produced a very steady growth over the long run, even with ups and downs and even when the downs were fairly significant.

Television Rating System

Q. Mr. President, as the country prepares to see its first television rating system devised, can you give us some of your thoughts about whether or not an American parent who feels particularly concerned about violence but perhaps not so concerned about exposing his or her child to sexual content or bad language—should that parent be able to know in advance if a television program has violent content?

The President. Let me try to answer you based on what I know now. Of course, that is the controversy about the proposed television rating system which the industry has come up with. They said that they would try to develop a television rating system which would more or less parallel the movie rating system. I have not yet had a report on it, but apparently that is what they have done. All I know is what all of you have reported about it, but apparently that is what they have done. Therefore, the big conflict now is whether the rating system should be more content-based instead of age-based. This is like the movie system except it has more age categories than the movie system, as I understand it.

I guess what I would say to you is that I believe that it's a good thing that on these cable movies you have—you get a sort of a sheet comes on the screen and checks the content issues. But it's a very different thing with all of these hundreds and hundreds of television programs that are on and everything. What I would say is, let's remember how far we've come. This has been debated for 10 years. We now have one; we're going to have one a year before televisions have to start including the V-chip.

The industry itself has promised to review where they are within 10 months. So what I think we should do, since I feel very strongly the Government should not do this—this must be an industry-based thing, the Government should not be involved in this—what I think

ought to happen is that all of the parents in the country ought to look at these ratings, ask themselves the questions you've just asked, check the shows against the ratings, give it 10 months to work, and then if they're inadequate or there needs to be some more content in the rating systems, then after a 10-month test period we'll be able to make that argument, I think, all of us. And I think the industry has shown that they're interested in doing something here.

I believe that at this moment we shouldn't say that the whole thing is not worth doing, I think, because it does bear rough parallels to what's been done in the movies, except there are more age categories, as I understand it.

Foreign Campaign Contributions

Q. Mr. President, our political system does not outlaw contributions by foreigners, and these legal contributions are made to both Democrats and Republicans. When foreigners give huge sums of money—$10,000 or $100,000 or $400,000—what do you think they think they will get in return?

The President. I think it's probably different for different people. You know, when—sometimes, according to reports that I've read in the press, they think maybe it may enhance their standing in their own countries. Sometimes they may think that it's something they ought to do because they have business operations in America—which they have to have, you know, they have to be somehow involved in America to give legally. They may think that it enhances their standing as citizens.

Sometimes there may be a specific issue. I suppose—and I don't begrudge this; this is perfectly legal—but when the British tobacco company, Brown and Williamson, made significant contributions to the Republicans, they did it because they agree with their position and disagree with my position on the regulation of tobacco and the restriction of the advertising, sales, and marketing of tobacco to children.

So there are different reasons. But let me reiterate what I said about this earlier. I believe that has been legal, and I can understand why it has—you know, if you've got a green card, you're paying taxes, you're working here, maybe you ought to be able to give. If you have a business here, maybe you ought to be able to give. I understand the argument. But I think that, as we've seen in the last few weeks, it raises more questions than it answers, and I personally believe that the campaign finance reform legislation should make contributions by adult non-citizens illegal. Now—and we shouldn't do it anymore.

Furthermore, I think we ought to go on and pass the campaign finance reform legislation. As I said Wednesday in my speech to the DLC, repeated reasonable bills have died by Senate filibuster. Let me tell you, there is always an objection to any bill. There has never been a perfect piece of legislation passed by the Congress. There is always a theoretical or actual objection anybody can raise to any bill. But the time has come to quit killing this by filibuster and to pass it. And I'm prepared to do my part. And we ought to start with the McCain-Feingold bill. It's a good bill, it's a reasonable bill, it's a bipartisan bill, and we ought to pass it. And we should amend it to make the foreign contributions not legal anymore.

Mara [Mara Liasson, National Public Radio].

Education

Q. Mr. President, when you begin your campaign to improve public education in this country, are you going to follow up on a suggestion that you made in the first Presidential debate, which is to encourage States and cities to offer vouchers for private school choice?

The President. I don't believe I made that suggestion.

Q. You said that States and cities should be allowed to do it.

The President. No—well, I've always thought they should be allowed to do it. I supported Milwaukee's right to do it. But I'm not going to encourage or discourage. I think it should be made based on the facts of the case. I am opposed to the Federal Government doing it. Our aid is too limited, and it is too targeted, and it is too much needed for what is done now. And if I were at the State and local level, I would not be in favor of it because I think the schools are underfunded. I don't think they're overfunded. But I do believe that they have the legal right to do it, and I don't support any action to take that legal right away from them. And if they think the situation is totally out of hand and they want to try what they did in Milwaukee, I think they ought to have the right to do it.

Q. This is along the same lines. You talked over the course of your Presidency a lot about

college accessibility, affordability, tuition credits, et cetera, but there are festering problems at the secondary and elementary levels across this country, probably nowhere more pronounced than in this very city. Do you have any initiatives or programs in mind that can reform, if not rescue, the public schools of America?

The President. Well, the rescue of the public schools of America will have to be done by the people who are in control of them. We do fundamentally have local control of our schools, and under the constitutions of virtually every State in the country, the States are constitutionally responsible for them. So when you hear people say they want local control and they don't like all these Federal rules, the truth is, we do have local control.

The Federal contribution to public education is about 7 cents on the dollar; never been higher than 10 cents on the dollar. But there are things that we can do and that I believe we should do. First of all, I think we should support reform efforts. That's why I have supported things like public school choice and charter schools. We have in this balanced budget plan sufficient funds for 3,000 charter schools which would triple the number of schools created under the umbrella of local school districts but without a lot of the rules and regulations which I think make real learning more difficult, with more control for the parents and the principals and the teachers in each school.

Secondly, I think we should support the establishment in every State of national standards of excellence and means of measuring it. And one of the things I think we should do more of where I think we have not—let me back up and say, when we did the education summit in 1989 with President Bush and the Governors all came together and we stayed up all night and wrote the national education goals, if you read the document that goes with the goals we wrote, we were moving to deal with what was a really tough issue.

Keep in mind, this is now a 13-year effort in our country, starting back—going back to the "Nation At Risk" report in early '83, when we said our schools are in trouble, we need more math, we need more science, we need more foreign language, we need higher standards, we need better paid, better trained, and more accountable teachers—all those things that came out in '83. So then, all of the States worked on that. So by '89, we could see that the problem was, you can always have more and better of anything, but what is the goal here?

And that's why the national educational goals were adopted, so we would have some way of measuring whether we were succeeding. But we all understood that even though we wanted constitutional responsibility and local control, that our children were going to be judged by global standards. And the next step is plainly to devise not Federal Government but national standards of excellence.

We got there in mathematics and science; there actually are pretty widely accepted mathematics and science standards at the high school level and, to some extent, at the junior high school level. There was all the controversy over the history standards—do you remember that, right after I took office? They were not developed in our administration, but they were presented then. I still think we can achieve standards in the arts.

And then I believe there has to be a nationally recognized means of testing kids so that we know, by some more or less universal standards, whether our kids know what they're supposed to know. And I think that we should work very hard on that, not Government standards but national standards. And I think unless we're prepared to hold all of our kids up to the light of real measurement, we'll never know and we'll never succeed in having a genuine national education system.

Campaign Financing

Q. Mr. President, in the last election the Democratic Party raised more money than it ever had before. Do you think you put too much pressure on your fundraisers, and do you take any sort of personal responsibility for the problems and the embarrassments that subsequently developed?

The President. Well, yes, I think any of us who were involved in it have to take some responsibility. I certainly do. But let me say that I did everything I could to make it clear that I wanted the law followed to the last letter. I wanted every "t" crossed, every "i" dotted.

In our campaign, Lyn Utrecht and others rigorously checked every check that came in. But I feel very badly that there were some funds received which should not have been received. Some of them were illegal. Some of them were not illegal, but on better judgment would dictate that they not be received. I also believe it's

a disservice to the more—to the 99 percent of the people plus and the more than 98 percent of the contributions that the Democratic Party received that were perfectly legal and perfectly appropriate.

So, yes, I think that. And that's why I am pleased that the Democratic Party has contracted with a law firm and an accounting firm to review all this, to analyze what was done, get to the bottom of it, and make sure that it never happens again.

But I'll say again, the real answer, in spite of all of that, it is very difficult to raise that kind of money in that kind of way without some problem occurring. You remember back during the campaign, there was an official of the Dole campaign who actually had to plead guilty to a money-laundering operation. And I'm sure Senator Dole felt somewhat responsible for that, although I do not believe in any way he knew about it or condoned it.

What you see here is too much money being raised, raising too many questions, and taking too much time away from all the people involved. The answer to this—there will never be a perfect answer until we reform the campaign finance system.

So, yes, we should—the Democratic Party should investigate, evaluate what's done, make sure its house is clean, and should live within the rules. But even living within the rules, you're going to have—the amount of money it takes to communicate with the American people today, unless you make campaign finance reform—restrict spending limits, give people access to free media time in return for restricted limits—unless you do that there will always be questions raised, even when their contributions are perfectly legal.

The answer is to reform this system. We can do it now. If one good thing could come out of this whole issue, it would be shining the bright light on the larger issues of how campaigns are financed today and how we're the only country in the world that really does it like this—or at least in the Western world, I believe, and we ought to stop it and have some campaign finance reform.

Terrorist Attack in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

Q. Can we get just one foreign policy question, sir? Have you seen any evidence to support Saudi Arabia's suspicions that Iran may be somehow involved with the Khobar Tower bombing? And if those suspicions do get played out, what kind of consequences might Iran face?

The President. As you might imagine, I have spent a great deal of time on the Khobar issue since it occurred, first of all, making sure that we redeployed our forces in Saudi Arabia, making sure that we strengthened our defenses, making sure that we analyzed very carefully what had been done, because all of us policymakers from top to bottom underestimated the degree of terrorist threat which could be presented to our men and women in uniform, and they don't deserve that. They deserve the best possible decisionmaking by us.

I have also exerted a lot of effort to make sure that we were cooperating and working with the Saudis in investigating the murder. The FBI Director has been there on more than one occasion. We have worked hard on this.

I think it is only fair, however, to say that the investigation is not completed. I have not reached any—been presented with any final conclusions. I have not reached any final conclusions myself. And because of that, anything I say about what we might do if we knew what had happened would only give rise to an inference that I had really concluded someone was guilty of something that I don't know they're guilty of yet. So I can't say more except to say that we are on top of this and we are going to stay on top of it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 132d news conference began at 2 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Archibald Cox, former Watergate special prosecutor. The President also referred to the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority. A portion of this news conference could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Statement on the United Nations Security Council's Selection of Kofi Annan To Be Secretary-General

December 13, 1996

I'm delighted by today's vote in the United Nations Security Council selecting Kofi Annan of Ghana to be the new U.N. Secretary-General. We are hopeful that the General Assembly will concur with the Security Council early next week.

Through his decades of work at the United Nations and in the international arena, Kofi Annan has established excellent working relations with many countries, including the United States. Over the last 4 years as U.N. Under Secretary for Peacekeeping and throughout his impressive career, he has proven himself an able and energetic manager—professional, impartial, well-versed in the issues at hand, and a true proponent of reform. We are confident he will take concrete steps to inspire the world to support the U.N., inspire the U.N. to live up to its ideals, and transform those ideals into action.

Since its founding more than half a century ago, the United Nations has been a vehicle for peace and progress that has served the interests of America and the world. Since taking office, I have worked hard with Congress to sustain America's support for the United Nations.

Precisely because we believe in the United Nations, my administration has also led the fight for far-reaching U.N. reform. To meet the challenges of the 21st century, the U.N. must keep pace with the times—achieving its work with fewer people and resources, reducing waste and rationalizing priorities, and producing better results at lower costs. The world community needs a United Nations that spends less on overhead and outdated agencies and more on services that directly benefit people's daily lives.

I believe the United Nations must have a leader who is committed to these goals. That is why I decided we needed a new Secretary-General. I knew this would be a controversial decision, but it was the right thing to do.

The outgoing U.N. Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is an honorable man who has led a great career—from the breakthrough for Middle East peace at Camp David to his leadership of the United Nations as it celebrated its 50th anniversary. Now we must prepare the United Nations for the demands of the *next* 50 years. I am confident Kofi Annan will rise to this task with conviction.

I am committed to work closely with the Congress to meet America's obligations to the United Nations and to make good on our arrears. And I am sure that my nominee for our U.N. Ambassador, Bill Richardson, will work effectively with the new Secretary-General to renew and revitalize this historic organization to take on the challenges of the future.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Cyprus

December 13, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95–384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I submit this report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. The previous submission covered progress through July 31, 1996. The current submission covers the period August 1, 1996, through September 30, 1996.

I regret that intercommunal violence, including unprecedented killings of civilians, dominated events in Cyprus during this reporting period. These incidents raised intercommunal tensions to their worst level in many years and complicated efforts aimed at achieving a lasting solution to the Cyprus dispute. In meetings with the two Cypriot communities and the governments of Greece and Turkey, my representatives noted that the violence underscored the unsustainability of the status quo and the need for redoubled efforts toward a negotiated settlement. They advised that provocative rhetoric and actions be avoided to permit intercommunal relations to move onto a more constructive track.

Similar calls were made by the United Nations and the European Union.

Notwithstanding the tragic events of August and September, my Administration remains committed to promoting a lasting peace on the island. Given the urgency of the current situation, we are appealing again for the implementation of practical measures to reduce the potential for conflict. We remain hopeful that both sides will recognize the importance of such measures and put them into immediate effect.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jesse Helms, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The President's Radio Address
December 14, 1996

Good morning. Today we're taking important new steps to make adoption easier and to move children out of foster care faster. These efforts will help to give even more children what every child needs and deserves, loving parents and a strong and stable home.

I'm delighted to be joined in the Oval Office today by a remarkable group of children and parents who know firsthand the tremendous possibilities of adoption and by the First Lady, who has worked so long and hard on this issue and whose efforts have made today possible.

I'm especially pleased to be able to take this action now, in this season of hope and light. The holidays we celebrate this month teach us that through faith and love we can truly repair the world. I can think of no better way to fulfill the promise of this season than to bring a child into a family and a family to a child.

There are more than 450,000 children in the Nation's foster care system. They are placed there because of abuse, neglect, or a home life that is neither safe nor secure. While most of these children eventually return to their original homes, nearly 100,000 of them simply don't have that option. Those children wait far too long, typically 3 years or more, to find permanent homes and families to love them.

Promoting adoption has been at the heart of our administration's efforts to protect our children and strengthen our families. Earlier this year I was proud to sign a $5,000 tax credit to help families adopt children. We put an end to racial preferences for adoption. No longer can laws keep children of one race from nurturing arms of adoptive parents of another. This is a good start, but we must do more.

That is why I have just signed a Presidential directive with a clear goal: We will double the number of children we move from foster care to permanent homes, from 27,000 a year today to 54,000 a year by the year 2002. With this effort we're saying no child should be trapped in the limbo of foster care, no child should be uncertain about what the words "family" or "parents" or "home" mean, particularly when there are open arms waiting to welcome these children into safe and strong households where they can build good, caring lives.

As part of this initiative, I'm directing the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, who is also with us today, to launch an extensive effort to determine what steps we must take to meet our goal. I want the Secretary to report back to me with her recommendations in 60 days. This report must tell us how we can help States set and meet urgent new adoption targets. It must describe how we can improve coordination among local, State, and Federal authorities so that every community has access to the best ways to encourage adoption. And it must outline what sensible financial incentives we can provide States to raise adoption rates.

I also want the Secretary to determine what additional changes we can make in Federal laws and regulations to ensure that children won't get trapped in foster care. And I want to know if there are any new provisions we can put in place to move children through the system faster and to protect them when they leave.

There are other steps we are taking immediately. I'm instructing the Departments of Treasury, Labor, Commerce, and Health and

Human Services to launch an all-out effort to heighten public awareness about adoption and to recognize those in the private sector who are committing themselves to this important cause.

Let me also say how grateful I am to those in Congress of both parties who are working so hard to make adoption a reality for America's most vulnerable children. I want to thank especially Senators Rockefeller and DeWine and Representatives Kennelly and Camp for their efforts.

The fact that we are commemorating the birth of a child that began life in a manger and became the Prince of Peace should remind us that the promise of God has been placed in every child. We must work tirelessly to make sure that every boy and girl of America who is up for adoption has a family waiting out to reach him or her. No child should be in foster care for one day longer than he or she needs to be.

This is a season of miracles, and perhaps there is no greater miracle than finding a loving home for a child who needs one.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. Following the address, the First Lady led a discussion with foster care families which was included in this release.

Memorandum on Adoption and Alternate Permanent Placement of Children in the Public Child Welfare System

December 14, 1996

Memorandum for the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Office of Personnel Management

Subject: Steps to Increase Adoptions and Alternate Permanent Placement for Waiting Children in the Public Child Welfare System

During this Holiday Season, as we reflect on the importance of family in our own lives, let us remember the tens of thousands of our Nation's children in the public child welfare system who live without permanent and caring families. Foster care provides temporary shelter and relief for children who have been abused or neglected.

I am committed to giving the children waiting in our Nation's foster care system what every child in America deserves—loving parents and a healthy, stable home. The goal for every child in our Nation's public welfare system is permanency in a safe and stable home, whether it be returning home, adoption, legal guardianship, or another permanent placement. While the great majority of children in foster care will return home, for about one in five, returning home is not an option, and they will need another home, one that is caring and safe. These children wait far too long—typically over 3 years, but for many children much longer—to be placed in permanent homes. Each year, State child welfare agencies secure homes for less than one-third of the children whose goal is adoption or an alternate permanent placement. I know we can do better.

I believe we should increase the number of children who are adopted or permanently placed from the public foster care system each year toward the goal of at least doubling that number by the year 2002. Returning home is not an option for about 100,000 of the over 450,000 children in the Nation's foster care system, yet only approximately 20,000 were adopted last year and approximately 7,000 were permanently placed in legal guardianships. While the number of adoptions each year has been constant for many years, I believe that by working with States to identify and break down barriers to permanent placements, setting annual numerical targets, rewarding successful performance, and raising public awareness, we can meet the target of at least 54,000 children adopted or permanently placed from the public foster care system by the year 2002.

Today, therefore, I direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services, in consultation with State and civic leaders, to report to me within 60 days on actions to be taken to move

children more rapidly from foster care to permanent homes and at least to double, by the year 2002, the number of children in foster care who are adopted or permanently placed out of the public foster care system.

I. To increase the number of children who are adopted or permanently placed each year, this report should include, but should not necessarily be limited to, recommendations in the following areas:

(a) Plans to work with States on setting and reaching State specific numerical targets, using the technical assistance of the Department of Health and Human Services National Resource Centers to make information on best practices available to States and to engage community leaders, parents, and the business and faith communities;

(b) Proposals to provide per child financial incentives to States for increases in the number of adoptions from the public welfare system. Options considered should have little to no net costs, as increases in the number of adoptions from the public system will reduce foster care costs, thereby offsetting much if not all of the incentive payments;

(c) A proposal to ensure continued aggressive implementation of the Multi-ethnic Placement Act, as amended by the Inter-ethnic Adoption Provision of the Small Business Job Protection Act;

(d) Plans to compile and publish an annual State-by-State report on success in meeting the numerical targets; and

(e) Plans to recognize successful States.

II. To move children more rapidly from foster care to permanent homes, the report shall also recommend changes to Federal law and regulations and other actions needed to emphasize the importance of planning for permanency as soon as a child enters the foster care system. The Secretary's report should include, but should not necessarily be limited to, recommendations in the following areas:

(a) Plans to provide States with funding to identify barriers to permanency and to develop targeted strategies to find permanent homes for children who have been in foster care a particularly long time;

(b) Proposals to shorten the period of time between a child's placement in foster care and his or her initial hearing at which a permanency determination is made;

(c) A proposal to clarify that the purpose of "dispositional hearings" is to plan for permanency and, as appropriate, to consider referrals for family mediation, termination of parental rights, adoption, legal guardianship, or other permanent placements;

(d) A proposal to clarify the "reasonable efforts" requirement and other Federal policy as it relates to permanency and safety;

(e) Plans to ensure that States give appropriate weight to permanency planning by establishing standards for securing permanency through adoption or guardianship, once a decision has been made that a child cannot be returned home; and

(f) Plans to examine alternative permanency arrangements, such as guardianship, when adoption is not possible.

Last month, I signed a proclamation designating November as National Adoption Month—a time to increase awareness about the tens of thousands of children waiting for families and to encourage all Americans to consider the rewards and responsibilities of adoption. However, adoption must be a national concern throughout the year. Therefore, I direct:

(a) The Secretary of Health and Human Services to develop and lead a public awareness effort including use of public service announcements, print materials, and the Internet;

(b) The Secretaries of Health and Human Services and the Treasury in consultation with State, civic, and private sector leaders to develop and disseminate information about the new adoption tax credits and other adoption benefits;

(c) The Secretaries of Labor and Commerce, in consultation with State and civic leaders, to identify and recognize companies in the private sector with model policies to encourage and ease adoption among employees; and

(d) The Director of the Office of Personnel Management to direct all Federal agencies to provide information and support to

Federal employees who are prospective adoptive parents.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: The National Adoption Month proclamation of October 29 is listed in Appendix D at the end of this volume.

The President's News Conference With European Union Leaders
December 16, 1996

President Clinton. Thank you very much. Please be seated. It is a pleasure to welcome back to the White House Prime Minister Bruton of Ireland and President Santer of the European Commission.

A year ago in Madrid, the United States and the European Union launched the new transatlantic agenda to fight international crime and terrorism and drug trafficking, to support peacemakers around the world, to bring down barriers to commerce between our two nations. Today I am proud of the concrete progress we have made in that short year.

Our commitment to reducing trade barriers is paying off, clearing the path to greater prosperity. Next month our negotiators will finish work on a set of mutual recognition agreements which will abolish requirements that a broad range of products, including telecommunications and medical equipment, be reinspected and recertified for each other's markets. This will remove barriers on $40 billion worth of trade between the United States and the European Union, cutting redtape for our businesses and prices for our consumers: one standard; one test; one time.

I want to especially thank the Transatlantic Business Dialogue for their leadership in achieving these agreements, especially the European and American cochairs, Jan Timmer, former chairman of the Phillips Corporation—excuse me—Phillips Electronics Corporation, and Dana Mead, chairman of Tenneco. They are both here today, and I'd like to ask them to stand and be recognized. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for what you did.

I also thank our European partners for helping us to complete the landmark information technology agreement finished last week in Singapore. It will eliminate by the year 2000 all tariffs on computers, semiconductors, telecommunications equipment, and software products. That's a $5 billion cut in tariffs on American exports which will benefit producers and consumers all over the world.

We have also deepened our work for peace and freedom in Bosnia. Today we agreed the civilian reconstruction effort there must move faster and that we have to have greater progress on projects for which funds have already been pledged. I thank the European Union for the generosity that has made it the largest donor to reconstruction, and we're working together to ensure the success of another donors conference next year.

The U.S. and the EU are also moving to confront new security threats. Our law enforcement officials are now working on a new joint counternarcotics offensive in the Caribbean. We're on the verge of an agreement for the EU to join the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Corporation. The EU's financial contribution and political support for KEDO are essential so that we can keep frozen and eventually dismantle North Korea's dangerous nuclear program.

And I welcome the EU's positive response in our proposal to establish an African crisis response force. This initiative would help African nations respond under the auspices of the U.N. to humanitarian and peacekeeping needs like those we have seen recently in Rwanda and Zaire. We look forward to working with European, African, and other nations to turn this concept into a reality.

I applaud the European Union for the important step forward it has taken by adopting a common position on Cuba, one that puts support for democracy at the heart of the relationship between Europe and Cuba, in keeping with values shared by great democracies on both sides of the Atlantic. And I hope that together we and our allies will continue to increase our support for freedom there.

As we look ahead, the historic strength of the relationship between the United States and

Europe is deepening and taking new forms as we face new challenges. I thank Prime Minister Bruton and his government for the outstanding leadership that Ireland has given the EU during its Presidency. And I thank President Santer for making the last year's achievements possible. I am determined that we will carry them on in the coming year.

Mr. Prime Minister.

Prime Minister Bruton. Thank you very much. Mr. President, this has been a very successful summit between the European Union and the United States. We have discussed how we can promote peace and stability in the world, how we can enhance our trade between Europe and the United States, how we can meet the new challenges that are emerging on the world's stage.

And one of those I think was very aptly described by you, Mr. President, in your book "From Hope to History" when you said the very openness of our society makes us vulnerable to new forces of destruction that cross national borders: organized crime, drug cartels, the spread of dangerous weapons, including biological and chemical ones, and most of all, vicious terrorism. These were the challenges that this summit, first and foremost, set out to address.

We have identified, in Europe at the Dublin summit, that organized crime represents perhaps the biggest single threat to the security of ordinary individuals in our societies at the present time. Organized crime respects no borders. It is using the most modern technology available to promote its evil ends. And it can only be combated if civilized states are equipped with the same sophistication and are willing to cooperate with one another with the same will as those who are seeking to break our laws and threaten the lives of our people are applying in their illicit activity.

We have taken major steps at this summit in regard to the fight against drugs, which feeds organized crime. We've agreed on a program of action to support the governments of the Caribbean area to ensure that that area is no longer used as a transit area for drugs. We have reached agreements to cooperate on money laundering. And one of the suggestions that I made to the President is that we should also look at how we can pursue the assets gained through crime, so that there will be no place that people who have gained assets through crime can hide those assets in the world without law enforcement being able to confiscate those assets in order to compensate the victims of the crimes that are being committed.

We also, I think, have got to use technology to the full to combat the use of technology for crime. In the book that I've just quoted, Mr. President, you said that when a child born today is old enough to read—that's in 3 or 4 years' time—there would be 100 million users of the Internet in the world. The truth of the matter is that the Internet is being used to promote child sexual abuse. Modern technology is being used to move money across the exchanges from one country to another, money that has been gained through the sale of narcotics or other criminal activities. We must equip ourselves with sufficient sophistication, as civilized governments, to ensure that we can meet that challenge head on. I believe if there's any subject that requires—there's no subject, rather, that requires more cooperation across the Atlantic for which our citizens will give us full support than the subject of the battle against crime.

I'd also like to say, however, that this wasn't the sole subject we discussed. We applauded the work of those who are involved in the very successful World Trade Organization summit in Singapore. And I emphasize the word "very." This was an outstandingly successful summit with a huge number of countries taking part, and yet in Singapore itself, through sophisticated negotiation, we were able to reach major agreements. You've mentioned the result of them. They will free up trade and information technology, and they are showing out a pathway for the future as far as trade is concerned, which is extremely good.

I am glad to say also that we will reach agreement before the end of January on the mutual recognition by our standards authorities of products produced in the EU and in the U.S. A lot of business costs will be saved by ensuring that one certification will apply for a product. If it's safe enough for the United States, it would be safe enough for Europe and vice versa. That will save a lot of money for business and will enable more employment and more innovation to take place.

As the President said, we share concern about the recent annulment of elections in Serbia, and we look forward to the OSCE mission there. We also welcomed the U.S. proposal for an African crisis response force, which you referred

to, which is a practical, longstanding requirement.

We enhanced, during the Irish Presidency of the European Union, Europe's participation in the Middle East peace process. And we hope, as you do, Mr. President, for a rapid conclusion to the negotiations in Hebron. This is a vital and long overdue confidence-building measure as far as the peace process in the Middle East is concerned.

And I, like you, Mr. President, would like to applaud the people who have been involved in the Transatlantic Business Dialogue. They have kept us on our toes. They have ensured that we reached agreements that we mightn't have agreed were it not for their practical pressure.

Finally, I think it's appropriate as we enter 1997 that we should look back in history and say that next year will be the 50th anniversary of the Marshall plan. Through the Marshall plan, a prosperous and triumphant United States assisted a prostrate Europe back onto its feet in one of the greatest acts of generosity in human history. There was no requirement on the United States to do what it did under the Marshall plan. It did it, and it is fair to say that the United States has profited and prospered as a result of that generosity, even though that wasn't its intention.

I think now that Europe and the United States are on an equal footing, we can, I think, continue in that spirit of mutual generosity. We have the capacity to be generous, too, now in Europe, just as you were, the United States, so generous in 1947. And I hope that our dialog will intensify on that basis.

Thank you.

President Santer. Mr. President, Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, 6 months ago in this very room I said the world needed joint leadership from Europe and America as much as ever before. And 6 months later progress in that regard has been impressive.

The new transatlantic agenda signed a year ago has brought us a rich harvest. We have worked successfully together on humanitarian aid and nuclear nonproliferation, and we are cooperating to bring peace to the Great Lakes region as well as making sure it holds in Bosnia and in the Middle East. The new transatlantic agenda has also delivered to the world the prospect of a major deed on information technology in Singapore which will boost trade and provide vast new opportunities for business. We are also working together for a worldwide agreement on telecoms. Next month we are hopeful of promoting transatlantic trade by cutting unnecessary administrative controls on business through a mutual recognition agreement. We are also fighting drugs and drug-related crime by working to stop dangerous chemicals falling into the wrong hands.

Today's summit has helped us take stock and prepare to cooperate in other areas. Let me mention two. Firstly, we have helped clear the air on Cuba. Today's talks have convinced me that although our views may differ on the means, we certainly agree on the end goal. Europe will remain firmly opposed to all extraterritorial legislation, whatever its source, and will continue to defend its interests. But we remain determined to search for common ground with the United States in our desire to bring democracy, freedom, and human rights to Cuba. We must all continue to work to bring Cuba into the international community.

Two days ago European leaders restated in some detail the policies they have held towards Cuba for at least a year. They endorsed a common position calling on Cuba to reform its laws so as to guarantee political and civil rights. We must sustain a dialog with Cuba in which we make clear that the further deepening of our relations with that country is linked to Havana's own efforts to improve human rights and political freedom. No agreement with Cuba could be envisaged if political circumstances did not improve.

Secondly, I have greatly appreciated the chance to discuss China with President Clinton and, in particular, China's entry in the WTO. There is little really that separates us on many of the key issues. We must work to get China into the WTO as soon as possible on the right terms for China and for us all.

I was also able to confirm Europe's determination to press ahead with the enlargement of the European Union to include countries from Central and Eastern Europe. This is vital for the stability of the Continent and as such is a major interest of the United States.

Let me conclude by saying that the stronger Europe becomes, the more effective our joint leadership with America will be. I have reassured President Clinton that a united Europe will be a stable, open, and powerful friend of the United States. Those here in America who

doubt the will of most European Union countries to build such unity should witness their resolve to create a single currency at the EU summit that I and, of course, Prime Minister John Bruton, as President in office, have just attended in Dublin.

President Clinton has shown himself to be a loyal ally of the European Union. We look forward to working with him over the next few years, a time when Europe will undergo great change, change that I believe to be fundamentally in the interest of the United States economically and politically.

Next year, as the Taoiseach said, next year we will see that 50th anniversary of the Marshall plan and the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome which created the European Community. Those events are naturally connected. The Marshall plan has helped to revive and unite Europe, which is now working in a renewed partnership with the United States throughout the world. History shows that there is always more that unites us than divides us.

Thank you.

President Clinton. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, since you've been otherwise preoccupied, the Middle East peace process is going down the drain. The Israeli Prime Minister is encouraging the expansion of settlements in occupied Arab lands and also new financing. Isn't it time that you spoke out? And while we're in the region, are you prepared to lift the ban on travel to Lebanon?

President Clinton. The answer to the second question is that our advisers still tell me they do not believe it is safe for American business people to do that, and so I am not, at this time, prepared to do it.

The answer to the first question is, of course, we have been in active contact with both sides in the negotiations between the Israelis and the Palestinians, pushing for an agreement on Hebron. There's been very little difference between them for weeks and weeks and weeks now. And we need to get the Hebron agreement over and behind us and go on to other issues.

With regard to settlements, I believe the State Department stated yesterday what my position is, which is that it just stands to reason that anything that preempts the outcome of something that both parties have agreed to should be part of the final negotiations cannot be helpful in making peace. And that's my concern about that.

Q. Can you do anything about it?

President Clinton. Well, we can say what we believe and we can press our views on all those issues, and we are. But I want to assure you that we have been in very close contact with both parties for some time now—I have personally, our administration has—and we're pushing ahead.

The talks are at a critical juncture, I think. The situation is full of tension and full of frustration. And I'm pleased that the Prime Minister and Chairman Arafat talked yesterday. That's a good thing, better than not talking. But sooner or later they have to do something. And they've had an agreement within grasp with very little difference on Hebron for some time now. The time has come to make that agreement. But I don't think that on the settlement issue that anything should be done which would, in effect, be seen as preempting the outcome of something they've already agreed to should be part of the final negotiations. And we've had a very clear position on that all along.

Cuba-U.S. Relations and Extraterritorial Impact of Sanctions

Q. Mr. President, Jacques Santer says you've cleared the air on Cuba. Does that mean you won't be implementing Helms-Burton? And Mr. Bruton, does that mean that Europe will be withdrawing its court action against the United States at the WTO? Or are you still at loggerheads?

President Clinton. I thought you'd never ask. [*Laughter*] I don't think it necessarily means either one. I'll let the Prime Minister or President Santer speak for themselves. I have a decision deadline on that which has not been reached, and I have not gotten the final recommendation from Mr. Eizenstat, who's been working on that for me, and others in the administration.

But I would say this was a decision that Europe made on its own that was very impressive to me, not only the common position on democracy but the action taken by all the member nations of the EU on human rights and the decision made to channel further aid through the nongovernmental organizations. All those steps are quite significant and show that we are now working together to promote freedom

and democracy in Cuba. And that, to me—it obviously has to be a factor in the decision I make, but that decision will be made sometime in the middle of next month. And I'm not prepared to announce it yet and haven't received a final recommendation yet.

Prime Minister Bruton. Could I say that there is, of course, a difference in method, but there is absolutely no difference in objective between the European Union and the United States. We both want to see pluralist democracy in Cuba at the earliest possible moment. We believe that the denial of democratic rights to the Cuban people is an anachronism in the modern world and is denying the Cuban people something to which they are absolutely entitled. The United States and the European Union are working with vigor towards the same objective. It's fair to say that at the 2d of December council chaired by Dick Spring, a very strong declaration was adopted by the European Union, absolutely unanimously, calling for democracy in Cuba and saying that we will work together as a union of 15 to achieve that objective.

Of course, there are differences between us in regard to what we consider to be an attempt to apply U.S. law outside U.S. territory, to the detriment of European companies. However, that's an issue that can be—an issue that we will deal with in the course of normal negotiation.

Q. Mr. Santer, does that mean that the European Union is going to drop its effort to take this issue of the Helms-Burton law to the World Trade Organization or to the World Court, in following up the first question?

And Mr. President, if I could ask you a related question: Why is it useful to engage in constructive engagement and trade policy with China, which has a human rights policy which you so strongly oppose, yet it's not worthwhile to engage in constructive engagement with Cuba? And at the risk of following up with a very self-serving question——

President Clinton. You asked three questions there. [*Laughter*]

Q. Very self-serving question. As you know, the Cuban Government——

President Clinton. Do I watch CNN every day? Yes, I do. Go ahead. [*Laughter*]

I was thinking of the most self-serving question I could think of. Go ahead. [*Laughter*]

Q. You're close. [*Laughter*]

Q. The Cuban Government has given CNN permission to open up a bureau in Havana. The U.S. Government is sitting on that request right now. Do you think it's appropriate to give CNN permission to have a bureau in Havana, President Santer?

President Santer. For the first question—[*laughter*]—I must say, I remember it as the Taoiseach said, we have the same target. We are sharing, the United States and the European Union, the same values of democracy, of pluralism, and so on. We are only differing in means. And in that respect, we're sticking, of course, to the decision taken by the European Council about this—about also the panel which is pending before the WTO in Geneva.

But on the other hand, I repeat that we have adopted a clear policy, a common position for Cuba in a positive way, and we are implementing this common position. And the head of states and government in Dublin last weekend, they confirmed this common position. And we're working on that, and we're elevating on that, I hope so, very constructively with the United States to bring the pluralism of democracy to Cuba.

President Clinton. On the question of Cuba versus China or any other country, I can do no better than Ambassador Albright did when she pointed out that the United States cannot afford to have a cookie-cutter approach to the promotion of peace, democracy, and prosperity. We have to have different policies for different nations, different regions, different realities. That's the first point. The second point is the Chinese have not shot down any innocent American citizens out of the sky recently, and that had a very chilling effect on our relationships with Europe—or with Cuba and clearly raised the security issues related to our proximity.

On the bureau location, this is the first I've heard of it. I think you better give me a chance to huddle, think, and I will give you an answer to that, in public or private, but I can't do it right now.

Mr. Fornier [Ron Fornier, Associated Press].

Middle East Peace Process

Q. I want to ask you a question about your CIA designate. But a quick followup to Helen's question. Your aides have been intimating that—more than what you said—the West Bank—it's not helpful, the West Bank settlement issue.

Your aides have been intimating that it's actually an obstacle to peace. Do you agree with that?

President Clinton. Absolutely.

Q. It is an obstacle to peace?

President Clinton. Absolutely.

Director of Central Intelligence-Designate

Q. And on Tony Lake, he is telling congressional leaders that it was a mistake to keep Congress uninformed when your administration looked the other way as Iran shipped arms to the Bosnia Muslims. Do you agree it was a mistake, and do you think his confirmation is in jeopardy?

President Clinton. No, I don't think his confirmation is in jeopardy because he did a superb job as National Security Adviser, and this country is in better shape than it was 4 years ago, and because he's very well-qualified to be head of the CIA.

I believe that what he said is right. A lot of things were happening during that period of time. We were not under any legal obligation of any kind, as far as I'm aware, to make any kind of specific notation about the cables that went back and forth regarding this issue. But in retrospect, he said it probably would have been better to inform key Members of Congress on a confidential basis, and I accept that.

I would like to point out, though, one reason why I don't see how in the world this could be any kind of basis for voting against him—the Congress actually mandated that policy just a few weeks later, if you'll remember. The Congress actually mandated that the arms embargo not be enforced by the United States, going far beyond anything that had transpired in the cables. So I think that ought to be on the public record, and that will be a factor here.

Mutual Recognition Agreements

Q. How long will it take for business—[*inaudible*]—on the MRA's?

Prime Minister Bruton. Pretty well immediately after it comes into force, because any new standards, any new products that are being introduced will not have to go through a twin-track approach, they will be able to get the requisite recognition in one jurisdiction and that would then be recognized in the other.

President Clinton. Do you agree with that?

Mr. Dana Mead. Yes, sir. Essentially immediately.

Central Intelligence Agency

Q. [*Inaudible*]——cooperation in Europe, we have an agency called the Central Intelligence Agency, which you may or may not know much about, but they are living in secret all the time, and they're trying to overthrow other nations around the world and sell arms to nations—even those fighting in a civil war, they sell to both sides. Don't you think that's adverse to cooperation?

President Clinton. They shouldn't do anything illegal, and if they are today, I don't know about it. I can't vouch for what they did before I showed up.

Yes, go ahead.

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, during your second administration, are you prepared to enforce your policy on the settlement issue upon the Israeli Government, using American financial, political means in order to enforce the policy?

President Clinton. Let me say what I have said all along, what I strongly believe. I believe the United States cannot impose a peace in the Middle East. What the United States can do is to create the conditions in which it is easier for peace to be made by the parties because we work to minimize the risks of peace.

From my point of view, sir, the most significant incentive to making peace in the Middle East is the clear consequence of what will flow if it is not made. We cannot—this is not a situation in equilibrium here. It's not as if tomorrow will be like today and the day after tomorrow will be like today and the day after that will be like today. This is a process that, once having been undertaken, is either going to go forward or fall back. It will either lead to greater integration or greater disintegration and greater trouble. And I think the leaders of the Middle East are well aware of that.

It has always been my position that we exercised the influence most profoundly when we did it in that context—when we said what we had to say to them in private, but our public role maintained its essential balanced neutral position that we had to create the conditions in which peace could occur, and then we were morally obligated—and in terms of our interests—obligated to minimize the risks for peace. I still believe that. But I've already said what

I have to say about the present situation, and I think it's pretty clear.

European-U.S. Anticrime Efforts

Q. Taoiseach and Mr. President, could you surmise what kind of financial outlay might be involved in the crime and drugs package you're talking about, put a bit more flesh on the joint action that will be taken by the two governments, by Europe and the U.S.?

Prime Minister Bruton. Well, the bulk of this will be within existing budgets, where people will cooperate on agreed standards. One of the areas where already the United States is very active in Europe is in police training. The United States has set up an institute in Budapest which is helping the Eastern European countries to engage in police training, to bring their police levels up to a sophisticated standard capable of dealing with the modern crime as we know it in the West, unfortunately.

We can see more cooperation in that area. The fact that we will conclude a customs agreement, for example, very shortly will mean that our customs authorities will cooperate much more effectively, within existing budgets, on sharing information in order to stop crime moving from—or stop drugs moving from one jurisdiction to another.

The European Union will be preparing a major report on organized crime as a whole, which is in a sense a new phenomenon on its present scale, by the end of April. And we would hope to see the United States assisting us and participating with us in that study—that we will go forward, if you like, with the next wave of legal changes and also the devotion of resources to back those legal changes up on a transatlantic basis.

Aegean Peace Process

Q. Did you talk about the problems between Greece and Turkey and the crisis in the Aegean and the problems of Cyprus within the context of the accession of Cyprus to the European Union?

President Santer. Yes, of course, we discussed it.

President Clinton. I'll be glad to comment, but since you mentioned the European Union, I think I should let them reply.

President Santer. You know, the position of the European Union in this respect is very clear. We defined it in a package on the 6th of March 1995, in which package we developed the ideas that we would establish a customs union with Turkey. It is in force from the 1st of January 1996 and is benefiting from the European Union, and also third countries are benefiting from it. Unfortunately, the second deal is not yet realized, achieved, because of the financial protocol, because of the blockade of Greece, you know, because the difference they have with some islands in the Aegean Sea. And the third element of this package is also the development of human rights, the promotion of human rights. And we are stressing also these problems with the Turkish Government. And in the financial provisions through our program MIDA, we are providing some programs to Turkey to strengthen the human rights situation in Turkey and also to assist the civil society and also the needs of the population in the southeast, in the poorest part of Turkey.

That is what we are doing for Turkey at this moment. We hope that there would be also some evolution in the human rights situation and that we can deal also with the differences between Turkey and Greece on the basis of the resolution the European Council—not the European Council but the Council of Ministers of the European Union took on the 15th of July to go to the international core to deal with all these legal institutional problems.

For Cyprus, we didn't change our policy, not at all, because Cyprus is a candidate to become a member of the European Union. And we clearly defined on the 6th of March 1995 that negotiations for enlargement with Cyprus would start 6 months after the conclusion of the intergovernmental conference. And this conclusion, we hope, would be finished under the Dutch Presidency in June 1997. So we are starting with the negotiation at the beginning of 1998.

President Clinton. Let me make two general comments. Number one, the United States believes that an integrated and democratic and prosperous Europe is very much in our interest. Therefore we support the expansion of the European Union. But we recognize that it is for the Europeans to decide the terms and the parties and the timetable of that expansion. But in general, we welcome the strengthening and the broadening of the Union.

Secondly, we have spent a lot of time since I've been in office trying to minimize tensions and resolve difficulties between Greece and Turkey. And in particular, I have made an effort

to try to resolve the problems over Cyprus. I believe that the future of the European Union and the future of the United States will be much brighter and much less troublesome if these things can be resolved.

I believe that Greece and Turkey are two great nations that have an enormous commonality of interest, whether in NATO, whether in their interest in European integration, whether in their interest in minimizing chaos in the vicinity in which they both live, if they could simply resolve these longstanding difficulties between them. And I can only say for my part that I intend to do whatever I can in these next 4 years the American people have given me to try to help work out the situation in Cyprus and work out the problems generally between Greece and Turkey.

They are both our allies, and they're both very, very important to a stable 21st century. And I intend to invest an enormous amount of effort in trying to succeed there. And I ask them to reexamine their positions and try to reach out to one another. They plainly have more in common looking to the future than they do which divides them. It is only the past which continues to bedevil them.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 133d news conference began at 2:20 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. The President met with Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland in his capacity as President of the European Council and with President Jacques Santer of the European Commission. In his remarks, the President referred to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of Israel; Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; and Stuart E. Eizenstat, Special Representative of the President and Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Cuba.

Remarks Prior to Discussions With Prime Minister John Bruton of Ireland and an Exchange With Reporters

December 17, 1996

Northern Ireland Peace Process

The President. Let me say I'm delighted to have Prime Minister Bruton here again today, along with the members of his government, and we're going to talk about Northern Ireland today. And I want to reiterate my call for the IRA to institute a cease-fire in words as well as deeds. If they do that, I am convinced that Sinn Fein will be invited to participate in the talks, and we believe that substantive and inclusive peace talks are the only way to resolve this.

Meanwhile, the talks go on. Senator Mitchell is doing a terrific job. And I want to say also a word of appreciation to the loyalists for holding the cease-fire. I think that's a very good thing. We can't make peace until we end violence, and that's what we're going to talk about today, how we can keep working on that.

Q. Do they await the British elections, I mean, the question of movement and progress?

The President. Maybe the Prime Minister ought to answer that.

Prime Minister Bruton. I would like to say that I completely endorse what the President just said. On the contrary, I think an immediate cease-fire would have advantages that a postponed cease-fire wouldn't necessarily carry. I think it would set a policy position in regard to Sinn Fein's participation in talks in place before an election which would carry through into the next British Parliament in a much more durable way, whereas a postponed cease-fire after the election would go into the term of office of a new government, with perhaps a new opposition, and there would be much less certainty about the response.

So I agree entirely with what the President has said. I think from every point of view, the point of view of their own movement, from the point of view of maximum opportunity, from the point of view of maximum durability of inclusive talks, a cease-fire now is the right choice for the republican movement to make. And I'm very, very heartened that the President has said that again in such clear terms.

The President. The British and the Irish Governments have made enormous efforts here, but we can't succeed—or they can't succeed unless there is a cease-fire, an end to the violence, and we ultimately have inclusive talks. And I'm convinced that will happen if there is a cease-fire.

President's Legal Defense Fund

Q. Mr. President, let me ask you about a domestic issue, sir. Is Charles Trie a friend of yours, and do you agree with the decision to return the money he attempted to deliver to your legal defense fund?

The President. Yes, and yes.

Q. Were you aware he was raising money for your legal defense fund?

The President. Not till it came in. But I supported the decision. I was aware of the decision to return the money because—and I think in all these fundraising endeavors, the rules should be that all the checks should be checked to make sure that not only the fact but any even appearance of impropriety should be removed. And Mr. Cardozo was interested in the appearance of that. So was I, and that's why the decision was made. That's what our campaign did, and as the Democratic Party's people have said, that's what they should have done. But the campaign did it, the legal defense fund did it, and I think it was handled appropriately.

Q. Is he a close friend of yours?

The President. I've known him a long time. I knew him when he and his family came over and started a little restaurant about a mile from my home 20 years ago. And I saw them start with nothing and build up their family enterprise. They've worked very hard in this country, and they've done well.

Q. Now we'll get a real story, when the Irish press comes in.

The President. This will be like a Jesuitical examination. [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.*]

Northern Ireland Peace Process

Q. When you meet with Mr. Bruton today, do you think—there has been a lot of discussion over just what Sinn Fein has to do in order to get to the table, but is there anything else that Britain can also do to encourage Sinn Fein to get to the table at this point?

The President. Well, that's what—we're going to discuss all of that. I just want to say again that first I appreciate what the Irish and British Governments have done to date. Secondly, I still believe the IRA should immediately call a cease-fire in words as well as deeds. I'm convinced that Sinn Fein will be invited to participate in the talks if that happens. And I think inclusive talks are the only way to make peace.

The talks will go on. Senator Mitchell, I think is doing a fine job, though the loyalists should be commended for holding the cease-fire. But peace will not come in the presence of violence; it must come with the absence of violence. I'm convinced of that. That's what we're going to talk about today.

Q. Mr. President, in the event of an Irish cease-fire, do you believe—personally believe that Sinn Fein should get immediate and automatic access to the talks process?

The President. Well, I believe that Sinn Fein would be invited to participate in the talks fairly soon thereafter. That's what I believe. But we have to talk about the details, you know. The Prime Minister has to keep me educated here. The texture of the Irish peace struggle is rather complex.

Q. Mr. President, with all your foreign policy challenges in the second term, will Ireland still be a priority as it was in the first term?

The President. Yes.

Q. Mr. President, what was your reaction to this attempt to smear Martha Pope in some of the British newspapers?

The President. She's a fine woman and a friend of mine. And I understand that the charge has been retracted. And if that's true, that's good. It should have been. We ought to have more false charges retracted in this world, and I'm pleased by that.

Q. Do you know anything about a possible cease-fire that would inject new life into the peace talks?

The President. I know nothing more than you do probably about that. We're going to talk about it. I know we're working for it, and we'll keep working for it.

Q. Mr. President, there is a perception that the talks in Northern Ireland are going nowhere at the moment, that an agreement on decommissioning which looked close this week is not now likely in the immediate term. Are you as pessimistic as some people are in Northern Ireland?

The President. No, we can't afford pessimism. I mean, after all, if you just look at the whole sweep of events in the last 3 years or so and compare that to the previous 25 years, I still think that things are moving right along here. We're in a rough patch, but if we just keep at it, I think it will come out all right.

Prime Minister Bruton. Exactly.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Charles Yah Lin Trie, chief executive officer, Diahatsu International Trading Co.; Michael H. Cardozo, executive director, Presidential Legal Expense Trust; George J. Mitchell, Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State on Economic Initiatives for Ireland; and Martha Pope, Mr. Mitchell's deputy. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Statement on Receiving the National AIDS Strategy

December 17, 1996

I am pleased today to receive the first-ever National AIDS Strategy. In the 15 years of this epidemic, we have never had such a unified strategy. This strategy represents an important milestone in the history of the fight to defeat this epidemic.

The National Strategy reiterates our administration's and our Nation's commitment to winning the battle against AIDS. It establishes six major goals for our national efforts: to find a cure and a vaccine; to reduce new HIV infections; to assure people living with HIV and AIDS access to high-quality care; to fight AIDS-related discrimination at every turn; to lead the global fight to end AIDS; and to translate our research advances into treatment as quickly as possible.

These goals will help to guide our work in the coming term and more specifically in the coming year. We have made significant progress in the last 4 years. Researchers working toward a cure and a vaccine are reporting encouraging news and giving us hope. New treatments, approved by the FDA in record time, are producing some very encouraging results in terms of the quality of people's lives and the potential for extending the length of life.

This progress results from more than a decade of investment in AIDS research, prevention, and care. I am very proud that in the four budgets my administration has produced, funding for AIDS programs has increased by 55 percent. We have also strengthened the Office of AIDS Research at NIH and tripled funding for AIDS drug assistance programs.

Despite this progress, we must recognize that the AIDS epidemic is not over. Far too many of our sons and daughters are still losing their lives to this epidemic every day. Far too many are still becoming infected. We will win the battle against HIV, but to do so we must stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight and we must build on the strides we have made. I am confident that my administration will do its part and that we have taken yet another step forward in that battle today.

Statement on Approval of the Operation Plan for the Stabilization Force in Bosnia

December 17, 1996

I have formally approved NATO's new operation plan for the Stabilization Force (SFOR) that will succeed the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia after December 20. I welcome NATO's decision yesterday to approve formally the new operation plan and today to approve the Activation Order that will authorize the start of SFOR's mission.

SFOR's limited and focused mission is to consolidate the peace that IFOR successfully established and maintained. During the past 12 months, IFOR separated and ensured the demobilization of former warring factions. It provided the secure conditions in which democratic elections could be held and the reconstruction of Bosnia's shattered economy could begin. IFOR succeeded in bringing an end to a war that threatened stability in Europe. Now, by preventing the parties from sliding back into armed conflict and providing more breathing space for political and economic efforts to take hold, SFOR will help Bosnians assume full responsibility for their future—a future without an outside military presence.

As the leader of NATO and the principal architect of the Dayton peace, the United States must continue to lead in this new mission to consolidate the peace in Bosnia. At the same time, our European allies are sharing the responsibility for building long-term stability. The European Union is the leading donor to the economic reconstruction effort and shoulders the burden of helping Bosnia's refugees. Europe will also contribute a greater share of the troops for SFOR than it did for IFOR, with the U.S. providing less than half of what we provided for IFOR.

SFOR's mission will last 18 months. Every 6 months we will review and consult with Congress on whether stability can be maintained with fewer forces. By helping the Bosnian people build a peace that is self-sustaining, SFOR will also help advance our fundamental goal of building a Europe that is peaceful, undivided, and democratic.

Remarks Following a Briefing on the Television Rating System and an Exchange With Reporters

December 19, 1996

The President. Let me begin by saying that, as all of you know, that the Vice President and Secretary Riley and members of the White House staff and I have just met with Jack Valenti and Eddie Fritts and Decker Anstrom.

I want to thank the industry leaders for the television rating system which they have proposed today. Earlier this year, in February, I asked them to do this. They said that they would and that they would do it by January 1st. They are on time, and they have done what they said they would do. And they are going to give America's families more help in choosing appropriate television programming for their children.

Now, it is now appropriate to say that it is the personal responsibility of the family, first of all, to make use of this system. In a year, you know, the new televisions will have these V-chips, but for right now there will be other ways that the industry will work to make available the information to parents. They have to use it. They have to evaluate it, and then they have to communicate back to the industry how they feel. Do they like it; do they not like it; where is it inadequate; what suggestions they have for changes. As this system is implemented, the ball will plainly be in the court of the parents of America to make the most of this and to actually give feedback about it.

I would also like to say that at the request of the Vice President, the industry has agreed to make a systematic effort to get the continuous parental input and evaluation so that they will know how this system is going down, to what extent it's being used, and how it's being received by the parents of this country.

So I feel that this is a very important step forward. Over the next several months the industry has agreed that they will review their findings and the reactions to what they're doing. I think that's a very positive thing.

And I want to thank the Vice President for what he has done and ask him to say a word or two. And then if you have any questions, we'll try to answer them.

[*At this point, the Vice President made brief remarks.*]

Q. Mr. President, are you then leaving open the possibility that at some future time the administration might agree with the parents' groups who want this rated by content?

The President. No, what I—let me reformulate the question in a way—what I'm saying is, and I don't think the industry disputes this, I have no idea if this is the very best system that could be devised. I do believe it's a huge step forward over what we have now, which is nothing. And this issue has been debated, as I said the other day, for years and years and years. Now finally something significant has been done.

You know what the argument is. The argument is, should these rating systems be age-related or should they be content-specific? If you think about the literally hundreds and hundreds, maybe thousands and thousands of programs that are on all the stations available, on all the cable channels, as well as all the networks every week, it seems to me that organizing them by age and then letting parents use the system and seeing how it works and giving feedback—if the consensus is reached down the road that there ought to be more content in the rating system, it will be a lot easier to do and to know what the content indicators mean once you group these programs in an age-based way.

So that's what—it was not for me to do. We've been very circumspect here in believing that this is not a Government function; this is a private function. And that's what we mean by—it's not up to—in my view, the only thing that I would condemn would have been bad faith. There has been no bad faith here; there's been an extraordinary effort.

The only point I'm making is, I don't have any idea if we can make it better. We might be able to make it better. The parents' group, the advocacy groups deserve to be heard and considered, but we are now doing what I think ought to be done. The industry kind of put the ball in the parents' court, and then it's going to systematically, rigorously ask them what they think.

So really I would say this is a great day for the parents of America, because what most parents want is more freedom to raise their children according to their own values and to balance the demands of work and childrearing. And this is a big step forward in helping them do that. Now they have to seize the opportunity. They have to give the industry feedback. And if we get strong feedback that something more could be done, I think it will be a lot easier to take the next step, because in the first instance these programs are going to be grouped in this way. So let's see what happens.

Hostage Crisis in Peru

Q. Mr. President, could you give us your evaluation of the hostage crisis in Peru at the moment?

The President. Well, obviously, we are keeping up with it very closely, and we're very concerned about it. We're concerned about all those who are held hostage. But it's been my experience in matters like this that—first of all, the Peruvian Government is doing its best and the President, too, to manage this difficult situation in an appropriate way. We are having communications with them. And I think the less any of us around the world say beyond that, the better, because we don't want to do or say anything that would complicate what is already a very difficult undertaking that we obviously hope will have a good outcome.

Second Term Transition

Q. Do you expect to wrap up your Cabinet announcements tomorrow?

The President. Well, we have, I think, four more announcements to make, and I think we will be making them in a timely fashion. But I don't want to go beyond that. We're working very hard on that, you know, every day we're working on it, and there's more to come.

Q. That means not tomorrow?

Q. You want to wrap up the week with some announcements, don't you? [*Laughter*]

The President. Like I said before, you know, this is a partnership between us. It's Christmas; it's down time. I need to give you something else to do and help you do your job, and it will help me do mine to get it out of the way. So I'm working on it. I want to do it as quickly as I can, but I don't want to tie my hands. You understand how this appointments process has developed over the last several years and all the things that have to be done before you can nail down these decisions. But we're working very hard on it, and I'll do my best not to disappoint you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:53 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jack Valenti, president, Motion Picture Association of America; Edward O. Fritts, president and chief executive officer, National Association of Broadcasters; Decker Anstrom, presi-

dent and chief executive officer, National Cable Television Association; and President Alberto Fujimori of Peru. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks Announcing the Second Term Domestic Policy Team and an Exchange With Reporters

December 20, 1996

The President. Thank you very much. Please be seated.

I thought the era of big Government was over, and then I saw all of these people here. [*Laughter*]

Let me say as we move into my second term, we have the obligation to continue the progress we have made and to build on it to prepare America for the 21st century with a Government that is smaller but works hard not to abandon people but instead to give them the tools they need to make the most of their own lives and to build strong families and strong communities and a strong America. Today I want to announce the members of my domestic policy team who will make this happen.

Today the Labor Department is more critical than ever as we work to make job training available to all who need it and make sure that employee rights are secure and our workplaces are safe. I am very sorry to lose the services of my old friend Secretary Reich, who has truly made this a Department of the American work force. But I am proud to nominate as Secretary of Labor one of my closest advisers, a talented leader, Alexis Herman, who got her start as a social worker for Catholic Charities on the Mississippi Delta. I first met her in the 1970's when she was Director of the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor, pioneering efforts to give women training and economic opportunity. She has been a successful businesswoman and a leader in efforts to bring minorities into the economic mainstream. And for the past 4 years, as Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison, she has been my eyes and ears, working to connect the American people, business and labor, individuals and communities, with their Government.

I said throughout the campaign that we have to help parents succeed at home and at work and give working people the training they need to succeed in the new economy. For years now, I have been trying to prevail upon the Congress to consolidate training programs and pass the "GI bill" for America's workers. All these things we must do in the next 4 years. As Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman will be a true national leader in this mission on behalf of working families.

Let me also say that I considered a number of superbly qualified people for this position. I'd like to mention two in particular and thank them for their willingness to be considered: first, to Congressman Esteban Torres and second, the director of the Corporation for National Service, Harris Wofford, who has done a wonderful job in heading AmeriCorps, which has now enabled 70,000 young people to serve in their communities all across America and which will play a vital role in the next 4 years.

Over the last 4 years Henry Cisneros led a revolution of ideas at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He and his team have spent every day questioning old approaches and searching for new answers. He is my friend, my adviser, someone who has poured his heart into making the American dream of owning a home a reality for all people. Today a smaller and smarter HUD brings more hope and greater opportunities to American communities than ever before, not only in housing but in developing economic opportunities in ways that had not before even been imagined. I think it is not too much to say that he is clearly the finest HUD Secretary who has ever held the position. I will miss him greatly and will continue to rely upon him for his advice and counsel.

I believe that the best person in this country who is today suited to lead HUD into the 21st century is Andrew Cuomo. He has lived and breathed housing and economic development for more than a decade, first at the grassroots as a community housing developer and then as our Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development.

[*At this point, Housing and Urban Development Secretary-designate Andrew Cuomo's baby daughter Cara cried.*]

The President. Relax, this is a pro-family administration. [*Laughter*]

He is a passionate believer in doing what's right, and he is a determined leader who gets it done. His test is never soft sentiments but hard results. The empowerment zones effort he has led so well is a perfect example of the new HUD. Instead of big solutions imposed by Washington, it creates a partnership between Government, business, and private citizens to help communities lift themselves up. This is Andrew Cuomo's vision, and it is why I expect him to be a very strong voice for America's cities and a great HUD Secretary.

The Department of Energy has many missions, ranging from producing nuclear fuels and managing nuclear wastes to widening the frontiers of science at our national laboratories, to promoting energy efficiency and environmental technology. Hazel O'Leary has made huge strides with that Department and has done this while bringing unprecedented openness to the agency. I mention obviously the reports that the Energy Department has done on radiation experiments and the groundbreaking work that the Energy Department did to lead us to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

To manage this diverse and sprawling operation, a Secretary of Energy must be an experienced leader and manager who understands the demands of a large Government agency, who will demand peak performance from Government contractors, who knows why we must reinvent Government and how to do it. As Secretary of Transportation, Federico Pena has proven himself a talented leader of a large and complex Government agency. He found ways to encourage new technologies, promote safety, protect the environment. I am happy to announce today that I will nominate him to be our new Secretary of Energy. He will continue to streamline and reinvent the Energy Department. He will build on its unprecedented commitment to openness. He will oversee the urgent cleanup of our nuclear stockpiles, and he will work with the energy industry to create economic opportunity by using energy in a way that does not hurt our environment. I am very happy that he has agreed to remain in the Cabinet in this new and ever-changing role and very grateful for the service he rendered at the Department of Transportation.

To replace him, I am proud to nominate the Federal Highway Administrator, Rodney Slater. First as the chair of the State highway commission in our home State and then as Federal Highway Administrator, Rodney Slater has managed large programs with skill and high standards. He has rebuilt and expanded our Nation's highways and linked isolated communities to jobs and opportunities. He has built bridges both of steel and of good will to bring people closer together. When the Northridge earthquake struck California with such deadly force, Rodney led our effort to rebuild vital highways in record time. He is the right person to help us meet the many transportation needs and challenges we face as we enter the 21st century. He has been my friend and adviser for many years. Along with his own family, I have watched with pride as he has built his own road to success. I can say that he was recommended by more people from more places in more ways for this job than any person for any position I have ever seen. [*Laughter*] And in spite of that—[*laughter*]—I am confident that he will be a superb and successful Secretary of Transportation.

Over the past 4 years, first with Erskine Bowles' leadership and then Phil Lader's, we have worked hard to revitalize and broaden the mission and increase the impact of the Small Business Administration. SBA has doubled the number of loans to small businesses, tripled the loans to women-owned businesses, even as its staff has been cut by 25 percent. Phil Lader told me several months ago that he wanted to return to private life after the election. However, I have asked him to serve in another senior role in my administration, and he will be considering this over the holidays. I hope he and his family agree to accept my offer. I can only stand so many of these people leaving. [*Laughter*]

To replace Phil Lader, I will nominate Aida Alvarez. She has been an award-winning journalist and investment banker. For the past 3½ years she has been the Director of the Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight, responsible for the safety and soundness of $1.4 trillion in housing finance institutions. She combines business savvy with a dedication to public service. I have known her for many years and have been very proud to have her as a part of this administration. I am also proud that this

is the first time a person born in Puerto Rico has been appointed to a President's Cabinet.

To complete our economic team, I will nominate Janet Yellen to be Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers. Since it was created by President Truman 50 years ago, the CEA has provided objective and rigorous economic advice to the President. Under Laura Tyson and then Joe Stiglitz, the CEA has been unflinchingly honest, and our economic policy has had hard work—hard-won credibility. As we work together to balance the budget in a way that reflects our values and will continue to grow our economy, the CEA's role will be more important than ever. Janet Yellen will provide the leadership and experience to get the job done. She is currently a member of the Federal Reserve Board of Directors. She had been a professor of economics at the University of California-Berkeley and at Harvard, where she taught, among others, the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, Larry Summers, who said that his grade was sufficiently high for her to be recommended for the job. [*Laughter*] She is an esteemed writer and thinker who will serve our country well.

The Domestic Policy Council coordinates the work of our domestic policy agendas—agencies. It finds innovative ways to use our most enduring values to meet our newest challenges. Today I am proud to appoint Bruce Reed as Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy and Director of the Domestic Policy Council, replacing Carol Rasco about whom I will say more in a moment.

Bruce is an original thinker, someone who long ago rejected the easy answers from any part of the political spectrum, and no one has had a greater impact on the thinking of the administration or the President. He combines a unique practical knowledge with a real, powerful concern for the welfare of ordinary Americans. He has been at my side from the day I announced my candidacy for President in 1991. He was an architect of welfare reform. He has been a driving force behind our efforts to shrink Government, expand educational opportunity, and fight crime. For the past year, as Assistant to the President for Policy Planning, he has worked to hone our goals for the next 4 years, and now he will have a chance to make that agenda happen. He is the intellectual core of the vital center. Under his leadership, the Domestic Policy Council will be a place where dynamic ideas are turned into actions that will make a difference in the lives of our people. He is a person of the highest integrity, a good friend, and I am proud that he will be by my side as we complete the work of preparing our country for the next century.

Finally, I have prevailed upon my friend of long standing Mack McLarty to stay on for a second term as Counselor to the President, remaining as a member of the National Economic Council. In addition, Mack will take on new responsibilities as Special Envoy to the President and the Secretary of State for Latin America.

With this new role, I expect him to deepen and broaden his portfolio as he helps to coordinate and strengthen our policies toward Latin America. He is well suited to carry out this important role because of his business experience and his broad understanding of the new global economy. His perspective was clear when he served as one of the principal architects of our economic strategy and played a key role in passing our deficit reduction plan in 1993. Throughout this administration he has been central to our efforts to build our relationships with our neighbors in our hemisphere. His leadership was instrumental in passing NAFTA and he led our efforts, along with Vice President Gore, to host the Summit of the Americas in Miami and the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. The 1994 summit was a historic meeting and will require significant followup as we move forward to the second Summit of the Americas in Santiago. He will head the United States delegation to the signing of the Guatemala peace accords later this month. And this new assignment for Mack should underscore the importance that we in this administration and I personally place upon Latin America as we move forward.

The other members of my domestic policy team are here with us today. Attorney General Reno has led our crusade to put police on our streets and take guns off our streets. Donna Shalala has worked tirelessly and well to give our people quality health care, to move millions from welfare to work, to care for our children and their future. Dick Riley has succeeded in reforming the student loan program and lowering its costs and making it more available to millions of people. He has challenged our schools to reach even higher standards. We have expanded educational opportunity, enhanced reform, and we will do much, much more of this in the next 4 years. As I said in the campaign

this year, education must now be our highest priority, and I am pleased that Secretary Riley will continue to lead our efforts.

Earlier this week I announced that one of my oldest and closest advisers, domestic policy adviser Carol Rasco, will join the Education Department as Senior Adviser to the Secretary and Director of the America Reads Challenge. The importance of this initiative to me should be underscored by my asking someone this close to me to act on my behalf. If you will remember in the campaign, I talked a lot about the importance of mobilizing one million volunteer tutors all across America to work with parents and teachers, to make sure that by the year 2000 every 8-year-old in this country can read independently. If every third grader can read independently, when 40 percent of them are not reading at grade level today, it will dramatically alter the future of America's landscape for the better.

Secretary of Veterans Affairs Jesse Brown has been a strong and effective voice for our veterans. He will continue to ensure that they have the health care and the services they deserve.

Federal emergency management administrator James Lee Witt has transformed that agency into a model for disaster assistance and helped communities all across our country to rebuild. In community after community, from the Southeast to the Middle West to the West, he has made the term "Federal bureaucrat" a positive, not a negative, appellation.

General Barry McCaffrey will stay on as the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. We need his vigorous leadership, and he is in the process of doing something that Presidents for more than 30 years have wanted to do but never succeeded in doing, actually developing a coordinated, disciplined, long-term approach to dealing with the drug problems and reducing drug abuse in America, particularly among our youth.

Secretary Babbitt has been a wise steward for our precious natural resources and has helped us to solve some of the thorniest challenges facing America in this regard. He sent me a letter right after the election saying that in one way or another we have protected over 20 million acres of America's precious land in the last 4 years, a legacy of conservation equaled only in the two Roosevelts' administrations, and I thank him for that.

Secretary Glickman has worked to keep our food the safest and most plentiful in the world as we have overhauled our food safety standards for the first time in decades and decades. And I thank him also for finding ways to promote agriculture and protect the environment.

As EPA Administrator, Carol Browner has cut redtape and curbed pollution. She has brought common sense back to the task of protecting our environment, enlisted more allies, and will lead the way in the next 4 years to making sure we do close those hundreds of toxic waste dumps that keep our children from growing up next to parks, not poison.

All these leaders have done a remarkable job. I am delighted they have agreed to stay in their positions. And now I'd like to ask the new appointees to come up and make some statements, beginning with the next Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman.

[*At this point, Secretary of Labor-designate Alexis Herman, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development-designate Andrew Cuomo, Secretary of Energy-designate Federico Pena, Secretary of Transportation-designate Rodney Slater, Small Business Administrator-designate Aida Alvarez, Council of Economic Advisers Chair Janet Yellen, Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Bruce Reed, and Special Envoy to the President and the Secretary of State for Latin America Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty each made brief remarks.*]

The President. Thank you.

Who is first? I'll take a couple of questions. It's almost Christmas. [*Laughter*]

White House Access

Q. Mr. President, as you move forward into your new term, questions continue to be asked about the first 4 years, especially in the area of campaign fundraising. Last February at the request of a friend of yours in Little Rock and the Democratic National Committee, an arms dealer from China was invited to a private event with you inside your residence at the White House. Four months later this man's company was implicated in U.S. gun-smuggling. What do you remember about your contact with this man at this meeting? Does it concern you that he was perhaps not adequately screened in order to gain access to the White House? And do you feel in any respect that in situations like this you were taken advantage of?

The President. Well, first of all, I'm disappointed that it happened. It was clearly inappropriate. And I think what is obviously called for and what I have instructed to be done is to establish some sort of better screening provisions that are tighter to minimize this. Thousands of people come in and out of the larger White House office complex all the time, but we have to develop some way of screening them. I am disappointed. It was inappropriate. We must have a better screening system. We will have.

I remember literally nothing about it. I'm not sure that the gentleman ever said anything at this coffee. I asked my staff to let me see the records of it when this story broke, and there were disparate people from different walks of life from all over the country there. And normally what would happen in one of those conversations is I would talk for 5 or 10 minutes and then we would either go around the table and let people say whatever they wanted to say—and as I said there were all different kinds of people from all different walks of life always. I'm not sure that—I have no recollection of meeting him. I'm not sure he ever said anything. And I can tell you for sure nothing inappropriate came from it in terms of any governmental action on my part.

But we have to do a better job of screening people who come in and out of here.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], go ahead.

Investigations

Q. Mr. President, do you have a sense of *deja vu* all over again—4 years of Whitewater, now new investigations——

The President. No.

Q. ——on the Hill, Justice Department?

The President. No.

Q. What does this bode for the next administration and how do you cope?

The President. I show up for work every day. The American people ought to feel good about me. They spent $30 million or something, and there has been not a single solitary shred of evidence of any wrongdoing on my part. I feel good about it. I think it's unfortunate for democracy, and I think, as I said, this special counsel thing ought to be reviewed in light of what Archibald Cox and others have said, because the costs outweigh the benefits.

But on the other issue, any questions that are raised about contributions ought to be answered and any records that are needed ought to be provided. That's no different than what happened in Senator Dole's campaign when one of his officials was charged with money laundering and had to plead guilty and pay the biggest fine in FEC history. That didn't reflect on everybody else in the campaign. Those things happen. If there's any question about what happened, the evidence, the information should be provided, and we ought to determine whether anyone did anything wrong.

Q. Well, how are you coping?

The President. That's not a—how am I coping? [*Laughter*] It's not a problem. If you haven't done anything wrong and a problem comes up, you fix it and you go on. I cope by thinking about the 11 million jobs we created and the millions more we have to create. I think about the millions of people that have a better deal going to college and the millions of more that will have. I cope by thinking about what the American people hired me to do and the questions they ask me when I see them.

Yes, Gwen [Gwen Ifill, NBC News].

Second Term Transition and Diversity

Q. Mr. President, your spokesman said earlier today that you've been very displeased with these events of the last couple days. I wonder if you could characterize your displeasure? And also, 4 years ago when you appointed your first Cabinet, you said very much up front that you wanted a Cabinet that looked like America. It took some juggling and you weren't as public about it this time, but it looks like you've assembled that. Did you feel like you were under any special pressure from special interest groups?

The President. No, the pressure was pressure I put on myself. I believe that one of my jobs at this moment in history is to demonstrate by the team I put together that no group of people should be excluded from service to our country and that all people are capable of serving. So I have striven to achieve both excellence and diversity. The same thing is true about the Federal judges I've appointed. It's the most diverse Federal bench of appointees in history. It also has the highest rating from the American Bar Association since the bar started rating judges.

So I'm very proud of the first Cabinet that I appointed. I am very proud of this Cabinet.

I am proud that they are diverse, but I would not have appointed a single one of them because of their gender or their racial or ethnic background had I not thought that they could succeed. And if you look at the comparative record in department after department after department of the people who served in the first 4 years and compare the results they achieved, the work they did, I think that the evidence will indicate that.

And it goes back to something you asked me. You know, what we do, we all show up for work every day, and we create a team and work like crazy for the American people. We have goals, we have objectives, we hold ourselves to timetables, and we keep score about what we're doing for other people. And if that is your focus, which is what people hire us to do, that's what you worry about, and that's what you do. So I feel good about it.

Now, this is——

Campaign Financing and White House Access

Q. [*Inaudible*]—feel pressure——

The President. Well, my feelings are that, in the areas where we had more direct control—our campaign and the legal defense fund—as far as I know, the proper decisions were made because the proper scrutiny was applied. The Democratic Party officials have already admitted that they did not apply the proper review, and I am very displeased about it because 99 percent-plus of all the contributors did not do anything wrong, and over 98 percent of the money appears to be perfectly in order, and the other 1 percent got all the publicity and, thereby, disserving the Democrats around the country, the people who gave, and everything else. That is wrong.

And all they have to do is to institute a simple review system. Now, from time to time, mistakes may be made. If you have over a million contributors, as both parties do now, that may happen from time to time, but common sense and strict review are the order of the day.

I feel the same way about this. I realize that the Secret Service and others are reluctant to be too burdensome with all the thousands and tens of thousands of people that come in the White House complex every year, but I'm confident that if they put their minds to it they can come up with a better screening procedure so that things like this don't happen.

It's not a press conference. We've been here a long time. We'll have another press conference early next year.

Merry Christmas. I'll see you early next year.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:32 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Chinese businessman Wang Jun, chairman, Poly Technologies; and Archibald Cox, former Watergate special prosecutor. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks at the White House Children's Christmas Party

December 20, 1996

The President. Thank you. Give them a hand. Weren't they great? [*Applause*] Hello.

Children. Hello. Hi, Bill Clinton.

The President. Thank you, Antonio. Welcome to the White House. We're very glad to have you here. Every year the First Lady and I love to meet with some children about this time and read the night before Christmas story, because Christmas is really a time for children, isn't it?

Children. Yes.

The President. And a time when we give gifts to each other and to our children to say how important you are. And it's a very special time for us. You know, Hillary wrote a book about children and families, and just today she gave a great gift—she gave the money that came in from the book to children's hospitals all across the country and to other things for children.

And one of the things that we hope will come out of this is that not only all of you here but all the children all over our country will feel very special; and as Christmas celebrates the birth of Baby Jesus, that all the little children in our country will feel that they are very, very special.

So I want you to listen carefully to this story. A lot of you know this story, don't you?

Children. Yes.

The President. Do you?

Hillary Clinton. You can chime in.

The President. So you can chime in. If you know any of the lines when I read it in this wonderful book—see the pictures, can you see it—you say the lines, too. Okay? Okay, here we go. "The Visit of Saint Nicholas."

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:47 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. Prior to his remarks, a group of carolers sang for the audience.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Deployment of United States Military Forces for Implementation of the Balkan Peace Process

December 20, 1996

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In my report to the Congress of June 21, 1996, I provided further information on the deployment of combat-equipped U.S. Armed Forces to Bosnia and other states in the region in order to participate in and support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization-led Implementation Force (IFOR). I am providing this supplemental report, consistent with the War Powers Resolution, to help ensure that the Congress is kept fully informed on continued U.S. contributions in support of peacekeeping efforts in the former Yugoslavia.

We continue to work in concert with others in the international community to encourage the parties to fulfill their commitments under the Dayton Peace Agreement and to build on the gains achieved over the last year. It remains in the U.S. national interest to help bring peace to Bosnia, both for humanitarian reasons and to arrest the dangers the fighting in Bosnia represented to security and stability in Europe generally. Through American leadership and in conjunction with our NATO allies and other countries, we have seen real progress toward sustainable peace in Bosnia. We have also made it clear to the former warring parties that it is they who are ultimately responsible for implementing the peace agreement.

Approximately 9,000 U.S. troops currently are deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina under NATO operational command and control as part of the current Stabilization Force (SFOR) total of about 35,800. All NATO nations and 18 others, including Russia, contributed troops or other support to IFOR and most will continue to provide such support to the follow-on force, discussed below. Most U.S. troops are assigned to Multinational Division, North, centered around the city of Tuzla. In addition, approximately 6,900 U.S. troops are deployed to Hungary, Croatia, Italy, and other states in the region in order to provide logistical and other support to SFOR.

Consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1031 (1995) and the North Atlantic Council decision of December 16, 1995, IFOR has now successfully accomplished its mission to monitor and ensure compliance by all parties with the military aspects of the Peace Agreement initialed in Dayton and formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. War no longer rages throughout Bosnia. Weapons have been cantoned, troops demobilized, and territory exchanged. While inter-ethnic tensions remain, the killing has ended and peace is taking hold. Building on its accomplishment of military tasks that established the necessary environment for civilian implementation, IFOR also assisted in the overall civilian implementation effort, including elections support, support to the international criminal tribunal and the facilitation of freedom of movement of civilian persons. IFOR also stood ready to provide emergency support to the United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES).

In order to contribute further to a secure environment necessary for the consolidation of peace throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, NATO has approved, and I have authorized U.S. participation in, an IFOR follow-on force to be known as the Stabilization Force (SFOR). The United Nations Security council authorized member states to establish the follow-on force in UNSCR 1088 of December 12, 1996. Transfer of authority from IFOR to SFOR occurred on December 20, 1996. The parties to the Peace

Agreement have all confirmed to NATO their support for the SFOR mission. In particular, Bosnia and Herzegovina has indicated that it welcomes SFOR.

SFOR's tasks are to deter or prevent a resumption of hostilities or new threats of peace, to consolidate IFOR's achievements, to promote a climate in which the civilian-led peace process can go forward. Subject to this primary mission, SFOR will provide selective support, within its capabilities, to civilian organizations implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement.

NATO has planned for an 18-month SFOR mission, to be formally reviewed at 6 and 12 months, with a view to progressively reducing the force's presence and, eventually, withdrawing. I expect the U.S. force contribution to SFOR to be about 8,500, less than half that deployed with IFOR at the peak of its strength. Many of the U.S. forces participating in SFOR are U.S. Army forces that were stationed in Germany. Other participating U.S. forces include special operations forces, airfield operations support forces, air forces, and reserve personnel. An amphibious force is normally in reserve in the Mediterranean Sea, and a carrier battle group remains available to provide support for air operations.

IFOR's withdrawal has begun, on a schedule set by NATO commanders, consistent with the safety of the troops and the logistical requirements for an orderly withdrawal. A covering force of approximately 5,000 troops, drawn primarily from the U.S. 1st Infantry Division, deployed to Bosnia in November to assist in IFOR's withdrawal. During IFOR's one-year mission, U.S. forces sustained a total of 13 fatalities, all resulting from accidents. Twenty-one American servicemembers were also injured in accidents. As with U.S. forces, traffic accidents, landmines, and other accidents were the primary causes of injury to IFOR personnel.

A U.S. Army contingent remains deployed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as part of the United Nations Preventive Deployment force (UNPREDEP). This U.N. peacekeeping force observes and monitors conditions along the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, effectively contributing to the stability of the region. Several U.S. Army support helicopters are also deployed to provide support to U.S. forces and UNPREDEP as required. Most of the approximately 500 U.S. soldiers participating in these missions are assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 63rd Armor, 1st Infantry Division. A small contingent of U.S. military personnel is also serving in Croatia in direct support of the UNTAES Transitional Administrator.

U.S. naval forces continued, until October 2, to assist in enforcing the U.N.-mandated economic sanctions as part of NATO's participation in Operation SHARP GUARD. Because the economic sanctions have been terminated, U.S. naval activities in support of Operation SHARP GUARD have ceased. U.S. naval forces will remain on call to provide assistance should economic sanctions be reimposed.

I have directed the participation of U.S. Armed Forces in these operations pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive, and in accordance with various statutory authorities. I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed about developments in Bosnia and other states in the region. I will continue to consult closely with the Congress regarding our efforts to foster peace and stability in the former Yugoslavia.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Strom Thurmond, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Statement on the Anniversary of the Bombing of Pan American Flight 103

December 21, 1996

On this day 8 years ago, Pan American Flight 103 was savagely torn from the skies over Lockerbie, Scotland. We have not forgotten the 270 victims who perished in that cowardly act

of terrorism. And we have not forgotten their families. On behalf of the American people, we remember your loss today. We draw strength from your dignity and your courage. You are not alone in your determination to see that the perpetrators of this evil deed are brought to justice. Your country stands with you and shares your continuing grief.

The sponsors of terrorism hope that with the passing of time the world will forget their crimes. We will not forget. Time has not diminished our outrage, and it never will. We are determined to see that those who committed these murders are brought to justice. That is why we continue to demand the extradition of the two Libyans who have been indicted for this vicious offense to stand trial in the U.S. or U.K. It is also why we have pushed for and secured tough international sanctions against Libya that we strengthened further with legislation in 1996. We will not rest until this case is closed and justice is done.

NOTE: This statement was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 20, but it was embargoed for release until December 21, the anniversary date of the bombing.

The President's Radio Address

December 21, 1996

In just a few days we celebrate the miracle of Christmas, the gift of light and hope that has lasted for nearly 2,000 years. I'd like to talk about how we can share that gift by shining the light of literacy on millions of precious children and families.

Literacy is about reading, but it's about much more, too. It's about opportunity, giving people the tools to make the most of their God-given potential. It's about preparing people for the 21st century, when a fully literate work force will be crucial to our strength as a nation. Without literacy, the history books and job manuals are closed, the Internet is turned off, and the promise of America is much harder to reach.

To achieve our full potential as a nation, we must make sure everyone can read, adults as well as children. I'm proud that we're increasing the assistance we give to States for adult education and literacy by more than 50 percent, the largest increase in more than 30 years. This will help hundreds of thousands of adults to rise to the obligations of family and community and to make the most of their own lives.

When it comes to children, the first teachers must always be their parents. Hillary and I still talk about the books we read to Chelsea when we were so tired we could hardly stay awake. I urge all of America's parents, make sure there are books beneath your Christmas tree. Share the joy of reading as a family.

Of course, parents can't do it alone. Our country has outstanding teachers and educators on the frontlines of the literacy crusade, but all the rest of us must work with them to make sure that every child and every adult can read.

This summer in Wyandotte, Michigan, I announced a national literacy campaign called America Reads that begins with a clear national goal: Every American child should be able to read on his or her own by the third grade. I proposed to meet that goal by using 30,000 reading specialists and volunteer coordinators to mobilize a million volunteer reading tutors all across America. This week I announced that my Domestic Policy Adviser, Carol Rasco, will move to the Education Department with Secretary Riley to head this effort, to make absolutely sure we have the highest level attention to get the job done.

We know that individualized tutoring works. Here in the Nation's Capital there are many remarkable tutoring programs, such as the St. Ann's Infant Home; Growing Together, which helps public school children to double their rate of learning; and the Academy of Hope, which teaches adults to read.

Yesterday some of these students joined me for my annual reading of "'Twas the night before Christmas," and they're here with me now. If more Americans could see their joy in reading and learning, we'd have our one million volunteers overnight.

Today we're taking the next major step in our America Reads campaign, to build our army of reading tutors on college campuses all across America. This fall, at my request, Congress created over 200,000 new work-study jobs on America's college campuses. Work-study helps young people to work their way through college, often by serving their school. I want a large portion of work-study to be devoted to community service and especially to teaching our children to read.

Today I'm happy to announce that 20 of our Nation's leading college presidents, from San Francisco to Texas to southern Illinois, are unleashing the energy and enthusiasm of their students to help every 8-year-old learn to read. As members of a new America Reads college presidents steering committee, they will each dedicate half of their new work-study slots to students who work as reading tutors. Right away this should give us thousands of new tutors, a downpayment toward our goal of enlisting 100,000 work-study students to help America read.

The steering committee members will also recruit at least five more college presidents to join the effort. To help them I am making an important change in the work-study program. If a student works as a reading tutor, colleges will no longer be required to pay one-quarter of that student's work-study costs. With today's actions by these college presidents and with the steps we are taking to help them, college students can now work their way through school by teaching our children to read. That is how we will take more responsibility, create more opportunity, and build a stronger, more united community for all Americans.

These students will create a whole new culture of service, working alongside our AmeriCorps volunteers who will be doing the same, inspiring hundreds of thousands of Americans to tutor not just children but adult learners as well.

There is simply no better way to serve your country and your community than by helping children and adults to read. And there is no better time to start than Christmas, the season of enlightenment. By reading to your own children, by giving your time so that others might learn to read, you can light a spark that keeps the spirit of Christmas burning every day of the year.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 5:36 p.m. on December 20 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on December 21.

Christmas Greeting to the Nation

December 23, 1996

The President. Hillary and I wish all of you the peace and joy of the holiday season, a time for us to rejoice in each other's company and in the spirit of the season, a spirit of sharing and giving and making peace.

I want to send a special greeting to all the peacemakers among us, especially to our brave men and women in uniform who are away from home. You're on a mission of peace. I join with all Americans to thank you for your service and to pray for your safe return.

The First Lady. Christmas is an opportunity for all of us to give thanks for the blessings we share as families, friends, and Americans. But most important, it is a time for children, and I hope that during this holiday season we will remember our Nation's neediest children and extend the spirit of giving to them with our love, our prayers, and our generosity.

The President. May the spirit of Christmas and the magic of the wonderful season be with you and your loved ones throughout the holidays and in the new year to come. Merry Christmas, Happy New Year, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The greeting was videotaped at 11 a.m. on December 9 in the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House for later broadcast, and it was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 23.

Remarks at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina

December 23, 1996

Thank you very much. Please sit down. Lieutenant General Wilhelm, Sergeant Major Wilson, Major General Howard, Major General Smith, members of the Camp Lejeune and Jacksonville community, my good friend Governor Hunt, Representative McHale, Representative-elect McIntyre, Mayor Choate, Chaplain. I also want to thank Chief Warrant Officer Anderson and the 2d Marine Division Band. Thank you all.

Lieutenant General Wilhelm was not quite right; one person here at least would have preferred to hear him speak—me. [*Laughter*] I've heard me speak before. And he spoke so well, even if briefly, that he said most of what I meant to say in fewer words.

He reminds me of the first speech I ever gave, 20 years ago, as a public official. It was at a Rotary Club installation banquet. And the banquet began at 6:30, and I was introduced to speak at 10. You know, it was one of those things—there were 500 people there; everyone was introduced except 3 people—they went home mad. Ten people spoke first, and the guy got up to introduce me, and he said, "We could stop now and have had a very nice evening." [*Laughter*] Now, he didn't mean that, but I knew how he felt.

Let me tell all of you, beginning with you, General Wilhelm, this day has been especially moving to me. When I got on the plane this morning, on Air Force One in Washington, flying down here with General Shalikashvili and Secretary of Veterans Affairs Brown and Navy Secretary Dalton, the Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps, and yes, General Krulak himself—[*laughter*]—I was looking forward to this day. But I have enjoyed it beyond my wildest expectations. I can't say it the way you do, but I would like to say at least hoo-rah—thank you very much.

I'm delighted to be here today to join you in the holiday season, to welcome back the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit and the 3d Battalion, 2d Marines, from their long deployments, and to make a few Christmas deliveries.

This year at the White House Hillary and I asked the staff, instead of giving us traditional Christmas gifts, instead to donate toys to Toys for Tots, founded by the Marine Corps Reserve almost 50 years ago and represented here on the stage with me. Since then, Toys for Tots has become part of America's Christmas. It's brought holiday happiness to millions of children. And here in the Camp Lejeune-Jacksonville community you have set an outstanding example by collecting thousands of toys. Well, today we brought several sacks filled with toys from the White House to add to your efforts. I want to thank you for giving us the chance to do it. And I want to thank the members of my staff for representing all of us at Christmas in this special way.

Above all, I wanted to bring to Camp Lejeune some heartfelt thank-yous—first, to our men and women in uniform who put themselves on the line every day. You should know at Christmastime that you do have the knowing and profound gratitude of all Americans. You are helping us to fulfill a sacred pledge—to keep our Nation the greatest force in the world for peace and freedom, for security and prosperity. Your service is helping America to remain the world's indispensable nation, to lead in this time of tremendous change all over the world in how people work and live, relate to each other, and relate to people far beyond their Nation's borders. Only the United States today, thanks largely to you, has the ability to lead the world in its advance of peace and freedom, in its advance of security and prosperity. We simply could not do it without the overwhelming superiority of Armed Forces which you represent.

America knows that you at Camp Lejeune are America's forces in readiness—forces like the 3d Battalion, 8th Marines, whom I just met at the mess hall and who must stay on alert over Christmas so the rest of us can celebrate this holiday of peace in peace. In the last 18 months, three/eight has provided vital security for our embassies in Africa, supported the mission of giving democracy a new chance in Haiti, and performed the spectacular rescue of Captain Scott O'Grady in Bosnia. I am very, very proud of all of you.

After the battle of Iwo Jima, Admiral Nimitz said that among the marines who fought there, uncommon valor was a common virtue. Now, more than 50 years later, you still demonstrate

that high standard. We see that in units like the 24th MEU, which suffered such a tragedy when two helicopters collided last May, reminding all of us of the dangers of serving in the Armed Forces even in peacetime. The families of the victims are still in our thoughts and prayers, and today I salute Captain Walt Kulakowski and Major Chuck Johnson, who survived the crash, thank God. They're both fully recovered and are here with us now.

I know from my conversation with Colonel Natonski at the time how deeply those losses affected the 24th MEU and their extended family here at Camp Lejeune. Yet, despite the tragedy, you never lost a stride. You fulfilled your mission in the Mediterranean with the skill and discipline that is a hallmark of the Marines. And your replacement, the 26th MEU and Battalion Landing Team one/eight, are showing the same excellence even as we meet here today.

Because of these units' devotion to duty, our forces on the ground in Bosnia can now go forward with their important mission. They know, and as Commander in Chief I know, that if trouble strikes there, the Marines will be there. There is no better insurance policy than that.

As Lieutenant General Wilhelm said, this has been a good year for America. Throughout this year Camp Lejeune's marines and sailors and, indeed, all of our Armed Forces have advanced our Nation's interest and achieved a record of outstanding success. You have shown what is best about our country, the determination to stand up for freedom, to stand against oppression, the readiness to give a helping hand. Because of your example, people everywhere look to America for help and inspiration.

In the Persian Gulf, America's men and women in uniform tightened the straitjacket around a dangerous tyrant. And off the Taiwan Straits, they calmed a rising storm. Because of all you have accomplished, more people in this holiday season in places like Haiti and Bosnia and, indeed, all around the globe can look forward to the blessings of a more normal life in the new year. I thank you for the service that has made that possible, and your Nation thanks you for that service.

I want to give special thanks, too, today to our Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General George Joulwan, for all the years of arduous service at home and untold years abroad and especially for his leading role in bringing peace to Bosnia. Today General Joulwan is announcing his intent to retire from the United States Army next spring. I thank him for his extraordinary service to the Nation, and I wish him and Mrs. Joulwan well. He has served in the finest American tradition. [*Applause*] Thank you.

Finally, in this holiday season, as families come together all across our country, I want to say a special word of thanks to the families here. The burden of America's leadership in the world weighs heavily on the families of our men and women in uniform, as the families of marines who have just departed here for the Mediterranean and Okinawa know all too well. Our Nation asks a lot of our military families, long separations, uncertainty, living with danger.

I have visited our forces from Bosnia to the Middle East, from Haiti to the Korean DMZ, and all across our Nation. I have seen the strong backing our troops get from their loved ones, backing that is absolutely essential for them to do their jobs, to keep their families together, to raise their children with love and good values and discipline, and to build strong communities. In the best of times, providing that kind of support takes hard work and sacrifices. In other times, it can require even more.

This year in the Camp Lejeune and Jacksonville community, you have shown the strength to overcome real crises, one after the other. In May you had to pull together as one after the helicopter crash. You got the seabags packed and got your sailors and marines off on their mission. Then the mission on the homefront became even tougher than the one in the Mediterranean. First, Hurricane Bertha ripped up homes and trees, knocked out power, and turned North Carolina into a disaster area. No sooner had you cleaned up from that storm when Hurricane Fran arrived, packing stronger winds and causing even more damage. But with energy and resolve, with the special efforts of your Key Volunteers, you met these challenges well, and housed and fed those who couldn't go home, and put Lejeune back on its feet.

This time of year more than any other is a time of family and faith, of love and giving gifts. I thank the families here for the gifts they have given to America, to enable us to have a Marine Corps, a Navy, an Armed Forces that can serve as well as any in all of history.

For all of America, surely there is no greater gift at Christmastime than the peace and free-

dom we enjoy. Because you are standing watch, our Nation has the greatest freedom in history. Because you are there, we can grow stronger and everyone has the chance to make the most of his or her God-given abilities. Because you are standing watch, we can raise our children in freedom and give them their chance, too. Because you are standing watch, those children can sleep without fear and wake up to the kinds of holidays we are about to celebrate.

Day-in and day-out, your sacrifice makes all this possible. It is your gift to your country. For all your fellow Americans, in a very real sense you make every day Christmas. You have always been faithful to America, and America must always be faithful to you.

Thank you. *Semper Fi.* Happy holidays. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:48 p.m. at Goettge Memorial Fieldhouse. In his remarks, he referred to Lt. Gen. Charles E. Wilhelm, USMC, Commander, Maj. Gen. Ray L. Smith, USMC, Deputy Commander, and Sgt. Maj. Albert S. Wilson, USMC, Marine Forces Atlantic; Maj. Gen. Patrick G. Howard, USMC, Commanding General, Camp Lejeune; Gov. James B. Hunt, Jr., of North Carolina; Mayor Marvin Choate of Jacksonville, NC; Lt. Bern Nowack, USN, Chaplain, Battalion Landing Team, 2d Battalion, 8th Marines; Chief Warrant Officer Tommy L. Anderson, USMC, Director, 2d Marine Division Band; and Col. Richard Natonski, USMC, Commanding Officer, 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit.

Statement on the Retirement of General George A. Joulwan, USA

December 23, 1996

Today Gen. George Joulwan, the Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, and the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, announced that he plans to retire next spring, after 36 years of active duty service. I want to take this opportunity to commend this extraordinary soldier for his exemplary service to his Nation, particularly his role in building a new post-cold-war security structure in Europe.

His sound military advice on the use of military power to back U.S. diplomacy, his crucial role in shaping new security structures and partnerships, and his superlative leadership in implementing peace in Bosnia will ensure that the NATO alliance will remain the anchor of American engagement in Europe and the linchpin of transatlantic security. In Bosnia, a breakthrough was achieved when he married appropriate military power to diplomatic leadership. He seized this opportunity for peace which he had created, helped to broker a cease-fire, and then, through his command of the multinational force IFOR, he ensured a stable and secure environment so that the parties had the confidence to carry out their obligations under the Dayton agreement.

As General Joulwan worked to bring peace to Bosnia, he also led the effort to transform NATO so that it could better address such conflicts and remain the guarantor of Europe's democracy and the central force for European stability. He was the architect of the adaptation of NATO to meet the new challenges of a changed world, enhancing its security through the Partnership For Peace program and by modernizing its command structure. His efforts have built a foundation for a Europe that is safe, secure, and democratic well into the 21st century.

General Joulwan's leadership and wise counsel will truly be missed in the senior decisionmaking ranks of our national security structure. Hillary and I join our NATO allies in wishing him the very best.

The President's Radio Address
December 28, 1996

As we approach the New Year, I hope all Americans will think about the blessings we share and our obligation to use those blessings wisely. The New Year is about opportunity, about renewed chances to make the most of our God-given potential. But as always, with opportunity comes responsibility; that is America's basic bargain.

Today I want to talk about one of our greatest responsibilities, taking care to protect ourselves and our children. One of the most important places to do that is on the road. Especially at this time of year, too many people pose a threat to themselves and to others by drinking and driving. That's why I fought to make it illegal for all people under 21 to drive with any alcohol in their blood, and that is now the law in 34 of our States. We should use the privilege of a driver's license to demand responsibility when it comes to drugs by insisting that teens pass a drug test as a condition of getting a driver's license. Let's send a simple message to our children, our families, and our friends: Driving under the influence of drug or alcohol is wrong; it's illegal; it can kill.

There's more we must do to meet the fundamental rules of safety. We must all wear seatbelts, which are the first line of defense against injuries and fatalities, saving 10,000 lives last year alone. We must use child safety seats for small children and always keep children 12 and under buckled up in the back seat, where they are safest. And we must all learn about the proper use of airbags, one of our most important safety tools.

In recent months, some concerns have been raised about airbags. But this much is clear: Airbags do save lives, almost 1,700 since their introduction. At the same time, airbags inflate with considerable force and can pose risks to children sitting unbuckled in the front passenger seat, instead of buckled up in the back seat where they belong. That's why our Department of Transportation is working with auto and insurance companies, safety groups, and parents and families to make airbags safer for children, so that together with seatbelts and other safety measures, they do provide the full protection our families need.

Researchers are now developing a new generation of "smart" airbags, which will determine the size of the passenger and inflate just enough to protect them without hurting them. But while we wait for this new technology, there are steps we can take now to protect our children.

This November our administration's Department of Transportation announced we would soon propose a series of short-term steps to make airbags safer for kids. Right away, we required better and more visible warning labels in cars and on child safety seats, so that no one forgets to keep small children buckled up in the back seat.

Today I am pleased to announce we are sending forward three additional proposals to protect our children, as outlined last month by the Department of Transportation. First, under these new rules, auto manufacturers will be able to install less powerful airbags, to reduce the risk to children and to smaller and older adults. Second, car dealers will be able to deactivate the airbags of any owner who requests it, as long as the owner understands the risk of doing so. For both of these measures, we will begin taking public comment next week, and they could take effect as early as this spring. Finally, effective immediately, we are extending a rule that lets manufacturers install cut-off switches in cars that don't have back seats or room for child safety seats. Those who cannot buckle a child safely in the back seat will be able to switch off the airbag while the child rides in the front.

Of course, airbags have always been just part of the solutions. In rear or side collisions, airbags are not even meant to inflate. That's why we must always wear our seatbelts: it protects us in all kinds of collisions. If there is one thing we can do to save thousands of American lives, it is to increase seatbelt use nationwide. Today I am directing the Secretary of Transportation to work with the Congress, the States, and other concerned Americans to report back to me with a plan to do just that.

The steps we are taking will make our roads safer and our children more secure. We are making airbags safer for our children. We are working to increase the use of seatbelts nationwide. And we are demanding the responsibility

that comes with the privilege of driving. That's the way to ensure that families go for a drive with safety, security, and peace of mind. If we'll all just take that responsibility, both on and off the road, if we all do our share to protect our children and our families and meet our obligations to each other, we will be able to seize the remarkable opportunities that this New Year will bring.

In this season of renewal, let us resolve to seize that opportunity and to rise to that responsibility, to make the most of 1997. Hillary and I are very grateful we've had the chance to serve in this last year; we're very grateful for all the American people have done for our family in this past year. We wish you and your families a happy New Year, and we look forward to working with you in the years ahead to meet our challenges and make our Nation a stronger, safer place for all Americans.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 10:41 a.m. on December 27 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on December 28.

Statement on the Resolution of the Korean Peninsula Submarine Incident

December 29, 1996

I welcome today's official statement by North Korea conveying its deep regret for the submarine incident in South Korea last September. I am pleased that P'yongyang has pledged to prevent the recurrence of such an incident and has expressed its willingness to work with others for durable peace and stability on the Peninsula. This is a significant development, which I hope will contribute to the reduction of tensions on the Korean Peninsula.

I extend my appreciation to President Kim Yong-sam for his personal efforts to resolve the submarine incursion in a way that opens the door for future South-North dialog. The United States and South Korea have cooperated closely as firm allies to resolve this issue. I hope discussions can now begin to move forward on the four-party peace talks which President Kim Yong-sam and I offered last April.

Subject Index

A&P—1113
ABC News—2249
ABC Radio—2249
Abortion. *See* Health and medical care
Accountable Pipeline Safety and Partnership Act of 1996—1823
Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). *See* Health and medical care
ADAC Laboratories—2172
Advancement of Colored People, National Association for the—1101
Aeronautics and Space Administration, National—1267, 1677, 1678, 1703, 2158, 2159
Aerospace industry—1684, 1882, 2192
Affirmative action. *See* Civil rights
Afghanistan, illicit drug production and transit—2162
AFL-CIO. *See* Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Federation of
Africa
  See also specific country
  United Nations convention to combat desertification—1248
African-Americans
  See also specific subject; Civil rights
  Church burnings. *See* Law enforcement and crime
  Homeownership—1103
  Painting by African-American artist, White House acquisition. *See* White House
Agricultural Communicators Congress, U.S.—1130
Agriculture
  Cattle prices—1133
  Exports—1133, 2130
  Grain reserves—1047
  Pesticide use—1199, 1249, 1251, 1252, 1730
Agriculture, Department of
  Budget—1264
  Dairy Export Incentive Program (DEIP)—2130
  Deputy Secretary—1047, 1250
  Export Enhancement Program (EEP)—2130
  Food recovery and donation—1737, 2145, 2146
  Food Stamp program—1234, 1329, 1331, 2198
  Forest Service—1831
  Meat inspection, role—1080, 1133
  Secretary—1047, 1080, 1131, 1134, 1331, 2108, 2147, 2226, 2249
  Water quality, role—1134
Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996, Federal—1133
Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997—1264
AIDS. *See* Health and medical care
Air Force, Department of the
  See also Armed Forces, U.S.
Air Force, Department of the—Continued
  Elmendorf Air Force Base, AK—2155
  McClellan Air Force Base, CA—1190
  Robins Air Force Base, GA—1932
Alabama
  President's visit—1911
  Welfare reform—2177
Alaska
  Governor—2155
  President's visit—2155
Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Bureau of. *See* Treasury, Department of the
Algeria, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development, Institute of—2240
American Legion—1148
American Medical Association—1334
Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990—1208
America's Heritage Abroad, Commission for the Preservation of—2242
AmeriCorps—1381, 1479, 1495, 1569, 1676, 1679, 1714, 1925, 2145, 2223
Amnesty International—1511
Angola
  Economic sanctions—1624
  National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—1587, 1623
  Trade with U.S.—1864
  U.S. national emergency—1587, 1623
Antarctic Science, Tourism, and Conservation Act of 1996—1742
Antigua and Barbuda, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Antiquities Act of 1906—1601
APEC. *See* Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum
Apparel industry—1244
Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board—2247, 2250
Arctic Research Commission—2245
Argentina, President—2251
Arizona
  Arrest of paramilitary group members—1047, 1057
  President's visits—1543, 1600, 1990
Arizona State University—1990
Arkansas, President's visits—1454, 2027, 2080, 2243, 2249
Armed Forces, U.S.
  See also specific military department; Defense and national security
  Affirmative action programs—1846
  Armed Forces Reserve Medal—1472
  Base closures and conversions—1185, 1190, 1282, 1284
  HIV-positive service members—1646
  Joint Chiefs of Staff—2121

Armed Forces, U.S.—Continued
Marine helicopter crash near Camp Lejeune, NC—2234
Medicare-eligible military retirees, demonstration project—1279, 1526, 1647
Military housing and support services—1215, 1473, 1505, 1643, 1645, 1840, 2107
Military strength and deterrence—2107
National Guard—1471
Pay—1215, 1473, 1505, 1643, 1645, 1840
Security—1087, 1258, 1507, 1561, 1581, 1794
Supreme Allied Commander, Europe—2234, 2235
Terrorist bombing of U.S. military complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia—1123, 1351, 2206
Arms and munitions
See also Defense and national security; Law enforcement and crime; Nuclear weapons
Arms control negotiations and agreements—1202, 1505, 1525, 1528, 1546, 1559, 1567, 1584, 1644, 1648, 1892, 2112, 2135
Chemical and biological weapons—1259, 1505, 1507, 1546, 1559, 1567, 1584, 1646, 1648, 1892, 2083, 2112, 2135
Explosives—1223, 1226, 1242, 1246, 1258, 1289, 1416, 1507, 1650, 1731
Export controls—2113, 2123, 2124, 2132
Illegal gun trafficking—1083, 1084
Landmines—1649, 1892, 2135
Missile systems and technology—1416, 1646, 2114
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, U.S.—1526
Arms Proliferation Policy, President's Advisory Board on. *See* Defense, Department of
Army, Department of the
See also Armed Forces, U.S.
Corps of Engineers—1568, 1728, 1830
Secretary—1471, 1473, 1830
Art and Preservation in Embassies, Friends of—1140
Aruba
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Trade with U.S.—1864
ASEAN. *See* South East Asian Nations, Association of
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum—1182, 1893, 2129, 2149, 2151, 2152, 2246, 2251
Asia-Pacific region
See also specific country
Security—2129, 2133, 2136, 2137, 2152
Trade and investment—2129, 2133, 2138, 2149
U.S. military role—2129, 2137, 2152
Aspira Association, Inc.—1511
Atlantis. *See* Space program, shuttle
Atomic Energy Agency, International. *See* United Nations
Aurora Foundation—1511
Australia
Ambassador to U.S.—2133
Foreign Minister—1526
Governor General—2250
International Coral Reef Initiative—2142
Minister for Industry, Science, and Tourism—2142
Minister for the Environment—2142
Australia—Continued
Minister for Trade—2130
President Clinton's visit—2127, 2128, 2133, 2134, 2139, 2142, 2250
Prime Minister—2102, 2127, 2128, 2133, 2134, 2139, 2250
Relations with U.S.—2129, 2133, 2137
Trade with U.S.—2129, 2130
Austria, taxation convention with U.S.—1477
Automobile industry—1375
Aviation. *See* Aerospace industry; Transportation
Aviation Administration, Federal. *See* Transportation, Department of
Aviation Reauthorization Act of 1996, Federal—1793, 1796
Aviation Review Commission, National Civil—1797
Aviation Safety and Security, White House Commission on—1506, 2243

Bahamas
Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Balkans, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Banking—1413, 1491, 1536, 1672, 1679, 1728, 1732, 1883, 1928, 1977
Baptist Convention, U.S.A., National—1487
Belize
Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act—1737, 2146
Bioethics Advisory Commission, National—2240, 2245, 2249
Birmingham Southern College—1911
Blind or Severely Disabled, Committee for Purchase From People Who Are—2244, 2247
Bolivia, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Arms embargo—2216
Bosnian Federation President—1098
Bosnian women's initiative—1116, 2181
Defense assistance—1098
Economic sanctions—2175, 2230
Elections—1574, 2244
NATO peacekeeping role—1894, 2095, 2119, 2126, 2142, 2220, 2229
Peace efforts—1098, 1804, 2119, 2126, 2141, 2220, 2229
President—1098
Reconstruction efforts—2211, 2221
United Nations Security Council resolutions—2175, 2229
U.S. military role—2095, 2120, 2126, 2142, 2221, 2229
Botswana
Trade with U.S.—1864
Boys Nation—1148
Brazil
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Nuclear Suppliers Group membership—2116
President—2250
Breast Cancer Awareness Month, National—1939

Broom corn broom industry—2158
Budget, Federal
See also specific agency; Economy, national
Balanced budget proposals—1128, 1411, 1658, 2092, 2110, 2186, 2193, 2198, 2201
Defense funding—1473, 1505, 1560, 1643, 1645, 1841
Deferrals—2166
Deficit—1953
Enrollment requirement waiver legislation—1729
Fiscal year 1997—1096, 1560, 1587, 1588, 1643, 1645, 1676, 1678, 1682, 1696, 1713, 1721, 1727-1729, 1813, 2239, 2240
Intelligence funding—1257, 1813
Research and development funding—1940
Supplemental appropriations, fiscal year 1996—1560, 1642
Building Sciences, National Institute of—2242, 2244
Bulgaria, trade with U.S.—1141, 1154
Bureau. *See* other part of subject
Burma
Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Illicit drug production and transit—2153, 2162
Burundi
U.S. Special Coordinator—2245
U.S. Special Envoy—2240
Business and industry
See also specific company or industry; Employment and unemployment; Taxation
Computers in schools, efforts—1802
Economic espionage and trade secret theft, legislation—1814
Empowerment zones. *See* Empowerment zones
Employee training and education—1315, 1318, 1384, 1388
Environmental cleanup incentives—1403, 1518, 1677
Loans and investors—1977, 1978
Small and minority business—1097, 1103, 1300, 1302, 1314, 1317, 1589, 1780, 1781, 1845, 1846, 1853, 1976
Tobacco sales to minors, prevention efforts—1113

C-Span—2251
California
Affirmative action proposition—2006, 2183
Alameda Corridor project—1728
Chaffey Community College in Rancho Cucamonga—1556
Democratic Party events—1181, 1192, 1285, 1561, 2240, 2242, 2244
Fires—2248
John Muir Middle School in San Jose—1268
Monrovia High School—1175
Morris E. Dailey Elementary School in Fresno—1551
President's visits—1175, 1181, 1185, 1190, 1192, 1268, 1275, 1281, 1285, 1551, 1556, 1561, 1836, 1837, 1857, 1859, 2001, 2007, 2240, 2242, 2244
Welfare reform—2177
Cambodia
Democracy and freedom—1669
Cambodia—Continued
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Trade with U.S.—1669
Canada
Migratory bird protection protocol with U.S.—1247
Prime Minister—1476, 2131, 2249
Cancer Advisory Board, National—2245
Cancer Institute. *See* Health and Human Services, Department of, National Institutes of Health
Cancer Survivorship, Office of. *See* Health and Human Services, Department of, National Institutes of Health
Capital Planning Commission, National—1158, 1159
Caribbean region
See also specific country
Economic recovery, report—1737
Carjacking Correction Act of 1996—1735
Cayman Islands, trade with U.S.—1864
Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association—1139
Central Intelligence Agency—1225, 1814, 2124, 2130, 2166, 2193, 2216
Chemical and biological weapons. *See* Arms and munitions
Chicago, University of—1408
Children and youth
Adoption—1277, 1316, 1317, 1350, 1415, 2208, 2209
Child support—1166, 1172, 1208, 1234, 1326, 1329, 1711, 1886, 1907, 1917
Community-based curfews—1068, 1104
Drunk and drugged driving—1867, 1868, 1886, 1922, 1929, 2105
Foster care system—2208, 2209
Juvenile crime and violence—1082, 1084, 1105, 1177, 1277, 1413, 1580, 1824, 1886, 1937
Juvenile drug abuse—1121, 1344, 1414, 1425, 1474, 1697, 1763, 1867, 1868, 1886, 1922, 1928, 2236
Juvenile use of tobacco products—1053, 1113, 1120, 1332, 1335, 1395, 1414, 1842, 2105
Teenage pregnancy and parenting—1350, 1754, 1781
Violence in entertainment, effects—1833
Children's Island Act of 1995, National—1158, 1159
Chile, President—2250
China
Arms control negotiations and agreements—2137
Defense Minister—2251
Economic development—1125
Human rights—2137
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
President—1525, 2137, 2147, 2148, 2251
Trade with U.S.—1854
U.S. policy—1182, 2131, 2137
Christmas—2170, 2191, 2228, 2232, 2233
Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996—1071, 1100
Church burnings. *See* Law enforcement and crime
CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
Cities
See also State and local governments
Community development—1413, 1491, 1518, 1536, 1672, 1679, 1883, 1977, 2163

Cities—Continued
Empowerment and enterprise zones. *See* Empowerment zones
Civil justice system
Independent counsels—2199
Legal expenses—1349
Presidential pardons—1752, 1775
Product liability legislation—1761
Witness and jury tampering, legislation—1735
Civil rights
See also specific subject
Affirmative action—1846, 1884, 1928, 2006, 2183
Discrimination—1526, 1573, 1635, 1731, 1846, 1850, 1855, 2093
Religious freedom—1050, 1057, 1068, 1101, 1108, 1310, 1855, 1884
Same-gender marriage—1526, 1635
Cleveland State University—2058
CNN—1344, 2215
Coast Guard, U.S. *See* Transportation, Department of
Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1996—1869
Colombia
Economic sanctions—1888
Illicit drug production and transit—1859, 1888, 2162
Colorado
Democratic Party events—1162, 1980, 2240
Governor—1162, 1167, 1539, 1540, 1818, 1980, 1985, 2184, 2187
President's visits—1162, 1167, 1540, 1818, 1824, 1980, 1985, 2240
Columbia University—2246
Columbus Day—1817
Commerce, Department of
Assistant Secretaries—1802, 2244, 2247
Export controls, administration—1832, 2123, 2124
General Counsel—2241
Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National—1099
Secretary—1101, 1815, 1854, 2123-2125, 2171, 2196, 2209
Standards and Technology, National Institute of—2171
Technology development programs—1730
Telecommunications grants—2246
Under Secretary—1299
Commerce, international
See also specific country or subject
Broom corn broom imports—2158
Economic sanctions against countries supporting terrorism—1227, 1254, 1258, 1289, 1416
Encryption export policy—2123, 2124
Export controls—1298, 1832, 2113, 2160
Exports, U.S.—1284, 1375, 1415, 1535, 1849, 1891, 1893, 2130
Free and fair trade—1283, 2136
Generalized System of Preferences (GSP)—1863
Group of Seven nations (G-7)—1223, 1258
Trade expansion, U.S.—1534, 1536, 1660, 1765, 1849, 1854, 1891, 1893, 2095, 2104, 2136, 2189
Trade negotiations and agreements—1133, 2149, 2152, 2195, 2211
Commerce, international—Continued
U.S. sanctions against countries supporting terrorism—2135
Commission. *See* other part of subject
Committee. *See* other part of subject
Communications
Educational television—1153, 1216, 1834
Electronic information, access and literacy—1176, 1197, 1271, 1347, 1411, 1479, 1495, 1588, 1713, 1791, 1801, 1807, 1900, 1968, 2189
Electronic information, content—1123
Encryption export policy—2123, 2124
Information systems technology—2129, 2149, 2152, 2195, 2211
Internet expansion—1803, 2075
Nonemergency police telephone lines—1189
Television programming blocking device—1217, 1414, 1834
Television rating system—2203, 2221
Violence in entertainment—1833
Wireless telecommunications—1138, 1142
Communications Commission, Federal—1153, 1189, 1217, 1802, 1834, 2241
Community Development Financial Institutions Fund—1679
Community Service, Corporation for National and—1779, 2241, 2248
Computers. *See* Communications; Education; Science and technology
Congress
See also specific subject
Black Caucus—1570
Budget—1588
Enrollment requirement waiver legislation—1729
Hispanic Caucus Institute—1670
House minority leader—1210, 1220, 1242, 2239, 2243, 2246
Lobby reform—2010
Members, meetings with President—1241, 1589, 1681, 2245, 2249
Senate majority leader—1210, 1220, 2239, 2243, 2246
Senate minority leader—1210, 1220, 1242, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2246
Speaker of the House of Representatives—1210, 1220, 1248, 1599, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2246
Staff drug testing policy—1588
Connecticut
Democratic Party events—1756, 1778
President's visit—1756, 1757, 1778, 1779
Conservation
See also Environment
Aquatic systems and fish stocks—1815, 1938
Coastal zone management—1099
Endangered species protection—1731
Federal lands—1601, 1726, 1744, 1751, 1817, 2108, 2111
Forest preservation—1604, 1730, 2143
International cooperation—2142
International Coral Reef Initiative—2142
Water resources—1817, 1830

Conservation—Continued
Wilderness and wildlife preservation—1073, 1220, 1247, 1290, 1292, 1600, 1604
Wildlife Refuge System, National—1744
Council. *See* other part of subject
Crime. *See* Law enforcement and crime
Crime Control and Prevention, National Commission on—2242
Croatia
Bosnia conflict. *See* Bosnia-Herzegovina
President—2241
United Nations Transitional Administrator for Eastern Slavonia—2240
Cuba
Democracy and freedom—1299, 1767
Economic sanctions—1126, 1136, 1299, 1767, 1872, 2214
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
U.S. restrictions on travel and other activities—1126
U.S. Special Representative—1299, 2214
Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996—1126, 1136, 1299, 1767, 2214
Custom Research, Inc.—2173
Customs Service, U.S. *See* Treasury, Department of the
Cyprus
Conflict resolution—1160, 1710, 2207, 2218
President—1710
Trade with U.S.—1864
U.S. Special Emissary—1710
Czech Republic, President—2065

Dairy Export Incentive Program (DEIP). *See* Agriculture, Department of
Dallas Morning News—1694
Dana Commercial Credit Corp.—2172
Dartmouth College—2246
Defense and national security
See also Arms and munitions; Nuclear weapons
Air surveillance systems—1916
Counterterrorism efforts—1047, 1057, 1089, 1210, 1219, 1223, 1225, 1227, 1241-1243, 1245, 1254, 1257, 1280, 1288, 1416, 1474, 1506, 1560, 1650, 1713, 1730, 1794, 1796, 1893, 2083, 2135, 2211
Export controls, U.S. national emergency—1298, 2160
Intelligence funding—1813
Military strength and deterrence—1214, 1415, 1473, 1643, 1766
Nazi war crimes disclosure legislation—1901
Nicholson espionage case—2130
Terrorists threatening Middle East peace efforts, U.S. national emergency—1280
Weapons of mass destruction, U.S. national emergency—2112
Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997, National—1643, 1645
Defense, Department of
See also specific military department; Armed Forces, U.S.
Defense, Department of—Continued
Arms Proliferation Policy, President's Advisory Board on—1141
Assistant Secretaries—1471, 1939
Budget—1587, 1643, 1645, 1731
Deputy Under Secretary—1539
Joint Chiefs of Staff—1560, 2106, 2168, 2233
Management reorganization—1722
Military Academy, U.S.—2251
National Security Agency—2124
Secretary—1087, 1159, 1160, 1472, 1476, 1509, 1581, 1589, 1591, 1647, 2098, 2121-2125, 2166
Under Secretary—1471
Defense of Marriage Act—1635
Democratic Leadership Council—1779, 2184
Democratic National Committee—1303, 1307, 1308, 1417, 1419, 1532, 1663, 1756, 1779, 1864, 1902, 2093, 2101, 2240-2242, 2244-2246, 2248, 2249, 2251
Democratic Party
See also specific State; Elections
Democratic National Convention—1126, 1294, 1304, 1372, 1409, 1417, 1419, 1426
Fundraising—1672, 2093, 2101, 2132, 2205, 2219, 2227, 2228, 2250
Department. *See* other part of subject
Development Cooperation Agency, U.S. International
Development, Agency for International (AID)—2153, 2180
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)—2067, 2249
Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act Amendments of 1996—1265
Disability, National Council on—2248
Disabled American Veterans—1209
Disabled persons—1208, 1212, 1261, 1265, 1588, 1847, 2198
Disaster assistance
California fires—2248
Florida, Tropical Storm Josephine—2247
Hawaii storms and flooding—2250, 2251
Hurricane Fran—1512, 1539, 1567, 1642, 2244, 2247
Hurricane Hortense—1642, 2244
Illinois storms and flooding—2240
Indiana storms and flooding—2239
Iowa storms and flooding—2242
Maine storms and flooding—2248, 2249
Maryland storms and flooding—1512, 2245
Massachusetts flooding—2248
Michigan storms and flooding—2240
New Hampshire storm—2249
New Jersey storms and flooding—2250
New York storms and flooding—2250, 2251
North Carolina hurricanes—1488, 1512, 1567, 1642, 2239, 2244
Oregon storms, flooding, and high winds—2252
Pennsylvania storms, flooding, and tornadoes—1512, 2240, 2245, 2252
Puerto Rico hurricane and gas leak explosion—2244, 2250
Rhode Island water main break—2250

Disaster assistance—Continued
South Carolina hurricane—2247
Southern Plains States drought—1047
Virgin Islands hurricane—2239, 2241
Virginia storms and flooding—1512, 2244
West Virginia storms and flooding—1512, 2242, 2244
Wisconsin storms, flooding, and tornadoes—2241
Discovery. *See* Space program, shuttle
Discrimination. *See* Civil rights
District of Columbia
Budget—1527, 2194
Children's Island, National—1158, 1159
Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority—2200
Revitalization—2200
District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1997—1527
Domestic Policy Council—1331, 2225
Domestic Violence Awareness Month, National—1746
Dominican Republic, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Drug abuse and trafficking
See also Law enforcement and crime
Drug control strategy, national—1414, 1473, 1756, 1763, 1842
Drug-induced rape—1824
Drug testing of prisoners and parolees—1543, 1581, 1586, 1693, 1730, 1746, 1749, 2194
Drunk and drugged driving—1867, 1868, 1886, 1922, 1929, 2105, 2236
Illicit drug production and transit—1812, 1859, 1888, 2162
International cooperation—1812, 2153, 2211
Juvenile drug abuse—1121, 1344, 1414, 1425, 1474, 1697, 1763, 1867, 1868, 1886, 1922, 1928
Maritime interdiction—1869
Methamphetamine trafficking—1746, 1749
Prevention and treatment efforts—1345, 1359, 1474, 1542, 1586, 1645, 1650, 1693, 1697, 1702, 1713, 1730, 2194
Drug Control Policy, Office of National—1104, 1121, 1333, 1414, 1425, 1473, 1542, 1553, 1586, 1745, 1747, 1756, 1763, 1764, 1868, 2153, 2156, 2194, 2226, 2244
Drug Enforcement Administration. *See* Justice, Department of
Drug-Induced Rape Prevention and Punishment Act of 1996—1824
Drug Policy Council, President's—2194

Eastern Michigan University—1975
Economic Advisers, Council of—1078, 2225, 2244
Economic Council, National—1331, 2195, 2196
Economic Espionage Act of 1996—1814
Economy, national
See also Budget, Federal; Commerce, international
Growth—1077, 1239, 1244, 1300, 1657, 1678, 1684, 1700, 1711, 1754, 1759, 1850, 1897, 1901, 1976, 2172
Inflation-protected bonds—1662, 1663, 1670
Interest rates—1781
Economy, national—Continued
Investment—1657
Securities legislation—1812
Stock market—2203
Ecuador
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Education
See also specific institution; Taxation
Bilingual education—1207
Blue Ribbon schools—1596
Charter schools—1553, 1558, 1771, 1967, 2205
College grants and loans—1112, 1713, 1730, 1879, 1880, 1968
Electronic information, access and literacy—1176, 1197, 1271, 1347, 1411, 1479, 1495, 1588, 1713, 1791, 1802, 1807, 1900, 1968, 2189
Goals 2000—1730
Goals, national—1067, 1879, 1899, 1943, 1966
Literacy campaign, national—1381, 1385, 1411, 1423, 1443, 1479, 1495, 1791, 1899, 1925, 1967, 2226, 2231
Postsecondary and job training—1112, 1135, 1411, 1431, 1595, 1661, 1729, 1917
Public school system—1771, 1772, 2204
Religious expression in schools—1068
Safe schools programs and efforts—1068, 1345, 1359, 1474, 1542, 1713, 1730, 1928, 1967
School choice—1771, 1967, 2205
School nutrition programs—1329
School reconstruction—1114, 1176, 1342, 1380, 1411, 1480, 1531, 1806, 1899, 1967
School uniforms—1068, 1177, 1664
Service program, national—1676, 1679, 1925, 2145
Standards, national—1380, 1411, 1553, 1967, 2187, 2205
Teachers—1436, 1554, 1555, 1771
Truancy prevention efforts—1069, 1104, 1177, 1279
Work-study programs—2232
Education Association, National—1065
Education, Department of
America Reads Challenge—2226, 2231, 2252
Secretary—1065, 1069, 1261, 1554, 1555, 1797, 1802, 1966, 1970, 2187, 2225, 2226, 2250
Special Adviser to Secretary—1065
Egypt
See also Middle East
President—1221, 1222, 1726, 2241, 2243, 2247, 2249
Election Commission, Federal—1836, 2246
Elections
See also specific party or State
Campaign finance reform—1410, 1428, 1763, 1852, 2009, 2082, 2087, 2092, 2093, 2097, 2101, 2188, 2204, 2206
Foreign. *See* specific country
1996 Presidential campaign—1078, 1081, 1097, 1126, 1206, 1304, 1309, 1408, 1409, 1421, 1426, 1572, 1644, 1672, 1694, 1696, 1699, 1761, 1832, 1836, 1864, 1873, 1884, 1907, 1928, 2021, 2044, 2102, 2248
Political action committees—2010

Elections—Continued
Presidential debates—1752, 1753, 1755, 1757, 1789, 1832, 1834, 1836, 1837, 1860
Presidential election, victory celebrations—2080, 2085, 2086
Vice Presidential debate—1798, 1804
Voter registration and participation—1852, 2103
Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996—1743
Emergency Management Agency, Federal—1048, 1100, 1108, 1114, 1190, 1200, 1479, 1488, 1504, 1508, 1509, 1512, 1568, 1642, 1677, 2226, 2244
Employment and unemployment
See also Business and industry; Economy, national; Labor issues
Family-friendly initiatives in the workplace—1414
Family leave—1067, 1145, 1215, 1414, 1519, 1848, 1938, 2188
Job creation—1077, 1239, 1244, 1300, 1314, 1347, 1386, 1413, 1431, 1450, 1468, 1490, 1516, 1521, 1536, 1658, 1668, 1727, 1776, 1780, 1783, 1791, 1811, 1821, 1844, 1881, 1883, 1887, 1917, 1929, 1950, 1976, 2173, 2178, 2187, 2198
Job training and education—1112, 1135, 1411, 1431, 1595, 1661, 1729, 1917
Labor-management relationship—1232, 1377, 1384, 1388
Minimum wage—1067, 1095, 1103, 1116, 1170, 1201, 1241, 1300, 1314, 1317, 1334, 1375, 1449, 1464
Pension plans—1104, 1134, 1315, 1317, 1334, 1589, 1781, 1853
Workplace conditions and safety—1244, 1274, 1685
Empowerment zones—1413, 1491, 1518, 1536, 1573, 1883, 2163
Energy
Alternative technologies—1122, 1728
Federal oil and gas royalties—1292, 1293
Fuel-efficient automobiles—1386
Low-income home energy assistance—2198
Nuclear energy—1728
Petroleum reserves—1788
Western States power outage—1071
Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1997—1728
Energy, Department of
Assistant Secretary—1539
Budget—1728
Nuclear stockpile stewardship program—1728
Secretary—1071, 1647, 2224, 2249
Entertainment industry—1153, 1217, 1414, 1833, 2203, 2221
Environment
See also Agriculture; Business and industry; Conservation; Science and technology
Community right-to-know protections—1403
Environmental negotiations and agreements—2143
International cooperation—2143, 2153
Nuclear waste management—1728
Pollution prevention and reduction—2143, 2153
Superfund program—1402
Environment—Continued
Toxic waste—1402, 1415
Waste disposal—1646
Water quality—1134, 1232, 1262, 1263, 1403, 1730, 1817, 1830
Environmental Protection Agency—1251, 1262, 1403, 1539, 1677, 1678, 1730, 2197, 2226
Environmental Quality, Council on—1251, 1290
Environmental Technology, White House Conference on—1539
Ethiopia, trade with U.S.—1864
Europe
See also specific country
Defense and security—2136
Free and fair trade—1894
NATO enlargement—1894, 2180, 2184
Reforms, political and economic—1894, 2136
U.S. Special Envoy for property restitution—1300
European Commission—2211
European Union—1514, 2175, 2211, 2249
Executive Office of the President
See also specific office or council
Employment and labor laws, applicability—1937
Export Enhancement Program (EEP). *See* Agriculture, Department of
Export Policy, Advisory Committee on—1833
Exports, U.S. *See* Commerce, Department of; Commerce, international

FBI. *See* Justice, Department of
Federal. *See* other part of subject
FEMA. *See* Emergency Management Agency, Federal
FHA. *See* Housing and Urban Development, Department of
Fire Prevention Week, National—1831
Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. *See* Interior, Department of the
Fishery agreements. *See* Maritime Affairs
Fishing industry—1815
Florida
Democratic Party events—1902, 2244, 2248
Empowerment zone initiative for St. Petersburg—2163
Everglades restoration—1484, 1817, 1819, 1830
Governor—1479, 1480, 1493, 1497, 1521, 1896, 1902, 1904, 1907, 2035, 2039, 2163
Gulf Coast Community College in Panama City—1497
Hillsborough High School—1479
Miami-Dade Community College—1896
President's visits—1479, 1480, 1487, 1493, 1497, 1502, 1896, 1902, 1904, 2035, 2039, 2244, 2248
Tropical Storm Josephine—2247
Valencia Community College in Orlando—1493
Welfare reform—1498
Food and Agricultural Development, Board for International—2244
Food and Drug Administration. *See* Health and Human Services, Department of
Food Quality Protection Act of 1996—1249, 1250, 1252

Food recovery and donation. *See* Agriculture, Department of; Government agencies and employees
Food Stamp program. *See* Agriculture, Department of
Foreign Assets Control, Office of. *See* Treasury, Department of the
Foreign policy, U.S.
  See also specific country, region, or subject
  Economic and political involvement abroad—1256, 1415, 1731, 1765, 1891, 2090, 2104, 2120, 2136, 2166, 2189, 2215
  Human rights—2180, 2198
  Refugee protection and asylum—1732
Forest Service. *See* Agriculture, Department of
France, President—1525, 2243, 2250
Freedom, Presidential Medal of—1510, 1570, 2244, 2245

Gambling Impact Study Commission Act, National—1253
General Services Administration—1159, 1160
Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). *See* Commerce, international
George Washington University—1255
Georgia
  Governor—1204, 1923, 1931, 2241
  Olympic games in Atlanta. *See* Sports
  President's visits—1156, 1923, 1926, 1931, 2239, 2240
  Terrorist bombing at Centennial Olympic Park—1204, 1210, 1219, 1289, 2241
Germany, Chancellor—1476, 2244
Girls Nation—1148
Government agencies and employees
  See also specific agency
  Adoption promotion efforts—2208, 2209
  Buyout program—1732
  Child support enforcement, facilitation—1166, 1711, 1712
  Disaster areas, excused absences—1539
  Electronic freedom of information—1743
  Expedition of naturalization process—1331
  Food recovery and donation—2145, 2146
  Military aircraft conversion for wildfire suppression—1831
  Nazi war crimes records, disclosure—1901
  Pay—2144
  Presidio Trust—2111
  Procurement—2117
  Reform—1628, 1630, 1644, 1722, 2172, 2189
  Transportation disasters—1509
  Youth crime gun interdiction initiative—1083, 1084
Governors' Association, National—1127
Governors' Association, Southern—1520
Grand Canyon National Park—1600
Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument—1600, 1604
Grand Teton National Park—1292
Great Lakes Fisheries Commission—2248
Greece
  Cyprus conflict. *See* Cyprus
  Prime Minister—1160
Greece—Continued
  Relations with Turkey—2217
Greenland, trade with U.S.—1864
Grenada, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Guatemala, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Guinea, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Guinea-Bissau, Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Gun control. *See* Law enforcement and crime

Habitat For Humanity—1510
Haiti, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Hanukkah—2169
Hawaii, storms and flooding—2250, 2251
Health and Human Services, Department of
  Assistant Secretaries—1332, 2245
  Consumer Affairs, Office of—2242
  Deputy Assistant Secretary—1939
  Deputy Secretary—2241, 2243
  Food and Drug Administration—1195, 1250, 1332, 1333, 1414, 1842
  Head Start—1713, 1730
  Health, National Institutes of—1730, 1800, 1939, 1940, 2164
  HIV/AIDS, Presidential Advisory Council on—2242, 2251
  Inspector General—1166
  Medicare and Medicaid—1053, 1054, 1208, 1279, 1320, 1329, 1411, 1426, 1484, 1526, 1647, 1658, 1760, 1774, 1839, 1843, 2098, 2100, 2102, 2109, 2186
  Secretary—1130, 1320, 1323, 1330-1332, 1486, 1509, 1510, 1647, 1745, 1751, 1939, 2164, 2197, 2208, 2209, 2225, 2250, 2251
Health and medical care
  Abortion—1268, 1415, 1646, 2202
  Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)—1196, 1730, 1800, 2153, 2164, 2220, 2240
  Cancer—1939
  Food safety—1199, 1249, 1250, 1252
  Health care reform—1768
  Insurance—1117, 1134, 1201, 1238, 1239, 1242, 1245, 1246, 1319, 1322, 1334, 1414, 1485, 1589, 1641, 1768, 1776, 1839
  Low-income health care—1816
  Managed care—1816, 1851
  Medical research. *See* Science and technology
  Mental illness—1320, 1323, 1386, 1557, 1628, 1639, 1641, 1677, 1679
  Patient right-to-know—1486, 1851
  Physicians—1732
  Post-partum hospital stays—1399, 1484, 1557, 1628, 1639, 1641, 1652, 1677, 1679, 1768, 1839
  Quality and consumer protection—1486
  Respite care—1485, 1639
  Safe drinking water—1232, 1262, 1263
  Teenage pregnancy—1350, 1754, 1781
  Veterans illnesses. *See* Veterans
Health Care Industry, Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the—1486
Health Centers Consolidation Act of 1996—1816

Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996—1319, 1322
Health, National Institutes of. *See* Health and Human Services, Department of
Helium Privatization Act of 1996—1796
Helms-Burton act. *See* Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996
Historic Preservation, Advisory Council on—2244
HIV/AIDS, Presidential Advisory Council on. *See* Health and Human Services, Department of
Homeless persons—2194
Hong Kong, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Housing
  Homeownership—1103, 1169, 1438, 1897, 1901
  Public housing—1677
Housing and Urban Development, Department of
  Annual report—1221
  Budget—1676, 1678
  Community development grants—1679
  Housing Administration, Federal (FHA)—1438
  Secretary—1206, 1510, 1513, 1901, 1908, 2023, 2163, 2186, 2194, 2223
Houston Chronicle—1694
Human rights. *See* specific country or region; Foreign policy, U.S.
Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week—2180
Humanities, National Council on the—2240, 2241, 2245

"I Have A Dream" Program—1511
Idaho, President's visit—1302
Illinois
  Democratic Party events—1056, 1062
  Homewood-Flossmoor High School—1595
  President's visits—1049, 1056, 1062, 1408, 1409, 1430, 1595, 1961
  Storms and flooding—2240
Imagery and Mapping Agency, National—1646
Immigration and naturalization
  Expedition of naturalization process—1330, 1675
  Federal policy—1117, 1675, 1682, 1731
  Illegal immigration, prevention efforts—1125, 1248, 1713, 1731
  Public benefits for legal immigrants—1235, 1329, 1331, 1521, 1695, 1713, 1731, 2198
Immigration and Naturalization Service. *See* Justice, Department of
Immigration Reform, Commission on—2245
Inaugural Committee 1997, Presidential—2250
Independence Day—1056, 1072, 1074
India, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Indiana
  Governor—1404
  President's visit—1404
  Storms and flooding—2239
  Welfare reform—2177
Indians, American. *See* Native Americans
Indonesia
  Human rights—2094, 2131
  Taxation convention with U.S.—1478
  U.S. arms sales—2094, 2132
Information Agency, U.S.—1511, 2182
Infrastructure, development—1728
Infrastructure Protection, President's Commission on Critical—2252
Insurance industry—1108
Intelligence. *See* Central Intelligence Agency; Defense and national security
Interior, Department of the
  Budget—2243
  Deputy Secretary—1072
  Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S.—1073, 1744
  Helium refining program, privatization—1796
  Land Management, Bureau of—1602
  Park Service, National—1158, 1726, 1751, 2108, 2112
  Secretary—1072, 1159, 1160, 1512, 1544, 1600, 1602, 2226
Internal Revenue Service. *See* Treasury, Department of the
Internet. *See* Communications
Invasive Species Act of 1996, National—1938
Investigation, Federal Bureau of (FBI). *See* Justice, Department of
Iowa
  President's visits—1575, 2065, 2245
  Storms and flooding—2242
Iran
  Compensation for 1988 shootdown of Iran Air 655—2119
  Economic sanctions—1254, 1258, 1564, 2117
  Illicit drug production and transit—2162
  U.S. national emergency—1563, 2117
Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996—1254, 1258
Iraq
  Attack on northern Kurdish zone by Iraqi military forces—1442, 1469, 1471, 1505, 1508, 1567, 1591, 1768, 2243
  Economic sanctions—1296, 1872, 2078
  Human rights—1085, 1297, 2078
  Humanitarian assistance—1085, 1469, 2077, 2078
  Kurdistan Democratic Party—2077
  Maritime sanctions enforcement—1086, 2078
  No-fly zones—1085, 1469, 1471, 1476, 1505, 1508, 1567, 1575, 1581, 1589, 1768, 2077
  Patriotic Union of Kurdistan—2077
  President—1470, 1476, 1575, 1768, 2077
  Reparations to Kuwait—1085, 1297, 2078, 2079
  United Nations Security Council resolutions—1085, 1296, 1469, 2076, 2103
  U.S. military role—1442, 1508, 1546, 1574, 1581, 1589, 1590, 1645, 1768, 1769, 2077
  U.S. missile strikes—1469, 1471, 1476, 1505, 1566, 1591
  U.S. national emergency—1185, 1295
  Weapons of mass destruction, development—2078
Ireland
  Deputy Prime Minister—1516
  Prime Minister—1514, 2104, 2211, 2218
  U.S. Special Adviser—1514, 1789, 2051, 2103, 2104, 2218
Ireland, Northern. *See* Northern Ireland

Israel
See also Middle East
Ambassador to U.S.—1513, 2247
Closure of Palestinian areas—1095
Counterterrorism efforts—1089
Economic assistance—1092
Gaza Strip/West Bank conflict—1680, 1725, 1739, 1769
Prime Minister—1087, 1088, 1222, 1225, 1227, 1228, 1477, 1513, 1538, 1680, 1726, 1733, 1738, 1841, 2102, 2214, 2239, 2247, 2248, 2250
Security relationship with U.S.—1089
Trade with U.S.—2247

Jamaica, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Japan
Prime Minister—1651, 2137, 2148
Security alliance with U.S.—1651, 2136
Semiconductor agreement with U.S.—1246, 1247
Trade with U.S.—1854, 2148
U.S. military presence on Okinawa—1651
Jewish Organizations, Conference of Presidents of Major—2240
Joint Chiefs of Staff. *See* Defense, Department of
Jordan
See also Middle East
King—1726, 1733, 1738, 2102, 2243, 2247, 2250
Justice, Department of
Assistant Attorneys General—1107, 1332, 2117
Attorney General—1082, 1084, 1166, 1189, 1204, 1223, 1225, 1323, 1330, 1335, 1509, 1580, 1586, 1731, 1745-1747, 1751, 1794, 1812, 1889, 2094, 2124, 2125, 2183, 2197, 2225, 2241
Community Relations Service—2241
Deputy Attorney General—2241
Drug Enforcement Administration—1730
Immigration and Naturalization Service—1235, 1329, 1330
Investigation, Federal Bureau of (FBI)—1107, 1147, 1166, 1204, 1210, 1223, 1225, 1257, 1289, 1335, 1506, 1507, 1561, 1730, 1756, 1794, 2084, 2124, 2130, 2206, 2241
Violence Against Women, Office of—1745

Kazakstan, arms control negotiations and agreements—2084
Kennedy Center. *See* Smithsonian Institution
Kentucky
Governor—1339, 1432, 1433, 1807, 2062
President's visits—1339, 1432, 1433, 1439, 1441, 1807, 2062
Kentucky, University of—2062
Korea, North
Apology to South Korea for submarine incursion—2237
Nuclear weapons development—2137
Korea, South
Korean Peninsula security—2137, 2250
Nuclear Suppliers Group membership—2116
President—2137, 2148, 2237, 2250
Korean Peninsula
See also specific country
Korean Peninsula—Continued
Peace efforts—2148, 2237
Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization—1324, 2211
Kwanzaa—2192

Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Federation of—1314, 1464
Labor Day—1424, 1459, 1464
Labor, Department of
Secretary—1098, 1245, 1314, 1486, 2180, 2209, 2223, 2249
Women's Bureau—2241
Labor issues
See also specific industry; Employment and unemployment
General Motors strike, mediation efforts—2032
Labor-management partnerships—1232
McDonnell Douglas strike, mediation efforts—1502
Railroad disputes—1232, 2239
Replacement of workers on strike—1274, 1685
Labor Relations Authority, Federal—1710
Labor Relations Board, National—1685, 2243
Land Management, Bureau of. *See* Interior, Department of the
Laos, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Latin America
See also specific country
U.S. Special Envoy—2225
Law enforcement and crime
See also Civil justice system; Drug abuse and trafficking
Antistalking legislation—1643, 1646, 1735
Assault weapons ban—1105, 1713, 1764
Capital punishment—1205
Carjacking—1735
Child support enforcement—1166, 1172, 1208, 1234, 1326, 1329, 1711, 1886, 1907, 1917
Church burnings—1047, 1050, 1057, 1071, 1100, 1107, 1264, 1310, 1312, 1327, 2117, 2242
Community-based curfews—1068, 1104, 1178, 1213
Community policing—1177, 1342, 1362, 1499, 1542, 1581, 1584, 1713, 1730, 1781, 1824, 1921, 1934
Counterterrorism efforts. *See* Defense and national security
Crime prevention efforts—1745, 1823, 1824, 1920, 1934, 1936, 2188
Domestic violence—1186, 1188, 1358, 1413, 1585, 1599, 1644, 1713, 1730, 1736, 1746, 1751, 1936
Drug-induced rape—1824
Drug testing of prisoners and parolees—1543, 1581, 1586, 1693, 1746, 1749
Economic espionage and trade secret theft—1814
Gun control—1305, 1358, 1394, 1413, 1599, 1644, 1713, 1730, 1736, 1746, 1764, 2159
Illegal immigration—1125, 1248, 1713, 1731
Inter-American Convention on Serving Criminal Sentences Abroad—1732
International cooperation—1057, 1089, 1219, 1223, 1227, 1243, 1254, 1257, 1288, 1475, 1561, 1650, 1893, 2135, 2153, 2211

Law enforcement and crime—Continued
Juvenile crime and violence—1082, 1084, 1105, 1177, 1277, 1413, 1580, 1824, 1886, 1937
Juvenile drug abuse—1886
Money laundering—1259, 1507
Neighborhood watch groups—1138, 1142, 1781, 1921
Sex offenders—1335
Top Cop award—1745
Victims' rights—1413, 1644, 1936
War crimes—1323
Lebanon
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Prime Minister—1864, 2247
Terrorist attack in Beirut, anniversary—1866
U.S. restrictions on travel—1865, 2214
Legal Expense Trust, Presidential—2219
Legal Services Corporation—1189, 1730, 2241
Legal system. *See* Civil justice system
Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1997—1588
Libraries and Information Science, National Commission on—2252
Library of Congress—1588
Libya
Bombing of Pan Am 103 and UTA 772 flights, role—1180, 1229, 1254, 2231
Economic sanctions—1179, 1254, 1258, 2231
Leader—1229
U.S. national emergency—1179
Liquor industry—2105
Literacy, National Institute for—2240
Lobby reform. *See* Congress
Louisiana, President's visits—1209, 1916, 1919, 2032, 2241
Luxembourg, taxation convention with U.S.—1477

Macau, trade with U.S.—1864
Machinists and Aerospace Workers, International Association of—1502, 1683
Madagascar, trade with U.S.—1864
Maine
President's visits—1788, 2051
Storms and flooding—2248, 2249
Malaysia
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Trade with U.S.—1863, 1864
Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Awards—2171, 2248
Management and Budget, Office of—1745, 1794, 2091, 2092, 2124, 2195, 2200
Maritime Administration. *See* Transportation, Department of
Maritime affairs
See also Conservation
Aquatic invasive species control—1938
Fishery agreement—2242
International maritime convention—1736
Merchant marine, U.S.—1792
Maritime Security Act of 1996—1792
Maryland
President's visits—1072, 2251
Storms and flooding—1512, 2245
Maryland, University of—2246
Massachusetts
Boston Harbor cleanup efforts—1722, 1730
Democratic Party events—1723, 2246
Flooding—2248
President's visits—1718, 1721, 1723, 2047, 2246
Mauritania, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Mauritius, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Meat. *See* Agriculture; Agriculture, Department of
Medal of Honor—1646
Medical care. *See* Health and medical care
Medicare and Medicaid. *See* Health and Human Services, Department of
Megan's Law—1335
Mental Retardation, President's Committee on—2191, 2252
Merchant marine, U.S. *See* Maritime affairs; Transportation, Department of, Maritime Administration
Methamphetamine Control Act of 1996, Comprehensive—1745
Mexico
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
U.S. loans—1892
Michigan
Democratic Party events—2248
Detroit airport expansion—1880
President's visits—1378, 1382, 1388, 1391, 1395, 1399, 1592, 1880, 1882, 1890, 1975, 2245, 2248
Storms and flooding—2240
Welfare reform—1727
Michigan State University—1391
Middle East
See also specific country; Palestinian Authority
Peace efforts—1088, 1222, 1223, 1225, 1226, 1228, 1280, 1477, 1538, 1566, 1680, 1725, 1731, 1733, 1738, 1752, 1769, 1841, 1864, 1911, 2101, 2214, 2216, 2246, 2247, 2250
U.S. Special Coordinator—1738
Military Academy, U.S. *See* Defense, Department of
Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1997—1587
Military Families Appreciation Week—2155
Mine Safety and Health Review Commission, Federal—2243
Mining
Grand Canyon National Park, proposed coal mine—1601
Yellowstone National Park, mine property agreement—1290, 1292
Minnesota, President's visit—1956
Minorities in Engineering, Inc., National Action Council for—2246
Mississippi River Commission—2239
Missouri
Democratic Party events—1532, 2244
Governor—1422, 1520, 1528, 1532
President's visits—1422, 1516, 1520, 1525, 1528, 1532, 1952, 2244
Samuel Shephard Gateway Educational Park in St. Louis—1528
Welfare reform—1422, 1516, 1522, 1783
Mollie Beattie Wilderness Area Act—1220
Mongolia, trade with U.S.—1478

Montenegro
Economic sanctions—2174
U.S. national emergency—2174
Morocco, Crown Prince—2251
Morris K. Udall Scholarship and Excellence in National Environmental Policy Foundation—2245, 2247
Mozambique, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
MSNBC's InterNight—1118
MTV—1425

NAACP. *See* Advancement of Colored People, National Association for the
Namibia, Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Narcotics, President's Council on Counter-. *See* Drug Policy Council, President's
NASA. *See* Aeronautics and Space Administration, National
National. *See* other part of subject
Native Americans
Gambling rights—1836
Navajo-Hopi land dispute settlement—1816
Tribal governments—1835
NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996—1816
Navy, Department of the
See also Armed Forces, U.S.
Marine Corps, U.S.—2233
Naval Academy, U.S.—2245, 2246
Naval petroleum reserves. *See* Energy
Secretary—2233
Nebraska, welfare reform—2177
Netherlands Antilles
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Trade with U.S.—1864
Nevada
Governor—1995
President's visits—1995
New Hampshire
President's visits—1784, 2055, 2249
Storm—2249
New Jersey
Democratic Party events—1872
President's visits—1652, 1870, 1872, 2044
Storms and flooding—2250
New Mexico
President's visits—1825, 1831, 1835, 2017
Wildfires—1831
New Mexico MESA, Inc.—2246
New Mexico State University—2017
New York
Democratic Party events—1303, 1307, 1308, 1875, 2248
Governor—1148, 2239
President's visits—1199, 1200, 1303, 1307, 1308, 1647, 1651, 1747, 1752, 1755, 1875, 2246, 2248
Storms and flooding—2250, 2251
TWA Flight 800 crash off Long Island—1147, 1148, 1160, 1167, 1190, 1199, 1200, 1243, 1351, 1507, 1794, 2239
New Zealand, Prime Minister—2102
Newborns' and Mothers' Health Protection Act of 1996—1677, 1679
Nigeria
Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Nobel Prize—1799
Nonproliferation, Committee on. *See* Security Council, National
North Atlantic Treaty Organization—1081, 1082, 1324, 1415, 1501, 1649, 1894, 1916, 2120, 2180, 2184, 2189, 2235
North Carolina
Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte—1109
Governor—1554, 1568, 1951, 2233
Hurricanes—1488, 1512, 1567, 1642, 2239, 2244
President's visits—1101, 1109, 1567, 2233
Northern Ireland
Cease-fire—1515, 2218, 2219
Peace efforts—1514, 1789, 2051, 2103, 2218, 2219
Sinn Fein—2218, 2219
U.S. Special Adviser—1514, 1789, 2051, 2103, 2104, 2218
Norway, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Nuclear Regulatory Commission—2239
Nuclear weapons
Arms control negotiations and agreements—1202, 1525, 1528, 1546, 1644, 1648, 1892, 2112, 2135
Fissile materials production—1648
Illegal importation, prevention efforts—2083
Nonproliferation—1643, 1646, 1648, 1892, 2112, 2129, 2135
Nuclear-free zones—1648
Nuclear materials security—1648, 1728
Nuclear stockpile stewardship program—1728
Test ban—1202, 1525, 1528, 1546, 1644, 1648, 1892, 2115, 2129, 2135

OAS. *See* States, Organization of American
Ocean Leadership Council, National—1646
Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National. *See* Commerce, Department of
Ohio
Cuyahoga Community College in Parma—1878
Democratic Party events—2248
Governor—1262
President's visits—1074, 1352, 1355, 1360, 1364, 1368, 1373, 1582, 1803, 1878, 1964, 2058, 2248
Youngstown airport expansion—1075
Ohio State University—1964
Oil. *See* Energy
Oil and Gas Royalty Simplification and Fairness Act of 1996, Federal—1292, 1293
Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act, 1997—1729
Oregon
Democratic Party event—2246
President's visit—1628, 1632, 2246
Storms, flooding, and high winds—2252
Oregon Graduate Institute of Science & Technology—2246
OSCE. *See* Security and Cooperation in Europe, Organization for

Pakistan
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Trade with U.S.—1863, 1864
Palestinian Authority—1089, 1092, 1094, 1095, 1477, 1513, 1538, 1680, 1726, 1733, 1738, 1841, 2102, 2214, 2247, 2248
Palestinians
See also Middle East
Gaza Strip/West Bank conflict—1680, 1725, 1739, 1769
Pan Am Flight 103, anniversary of bombing—2230
Panama
Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Paraguay, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Park Service, National. *See* Interior, Department of the
Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996, Omnibus—2108, 2111
Partnership Council, National—2244
Partnership For Peace—1324, 1501, 1895
Peace, U.S. Institute of—2245
Pennsylvania
Democratic Party events—1663, 2246
President's visits—1656, 1663, 1969, 2246, 2251
Storms, flooding, and tornadoes—1512, 2240, 2245, 2252
Pennsylvania, University of—1969
Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation—2239
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996—1325, 1328, 1331
Personnel Management, Office of—2209
Peru
Guerrilla siege on Japanese Ambassador's residence—2222
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
Philippines
President—2149, 2246, 2251
President Clinton's visit—2147-2149, 2251
U.S. Ambassador—2149
Poland, President—1081
Police Organizations, National Association of—1745
Polish American Heritage Month—1793
Postal Rate Commission—2247
Postal Service, U.S.—1711
President. *See* other part of subject
Presidential and Executive Office Accountability Act—1937
Presidio of San Francisco—1726, 1751, 1818, 2108, 2111
Public Broadcasting, Corporation for—1099, 2243
Puerto Rico
Gas leak explosion—2250
Governor—1127
Hurricane—2244

Radio Free Europe. *See* Information Agency, U.S.
Railroad industry—1795
Railroad Retirement Board—1710
Railroad Unemployment Insurance Amendments Act of 1996—1795
Reconstruction and Development, European Bank for—2245, 2248
Red Cross, American—1323, 1512, 1569, 2242
Red Cross, International—1324
Refugees. *See* Foreign policy, U.S.
Republican Party
See also Elections
Fundraising—2093, 2101, 2206
Presidential nominee—1345, 1697, 1757, 1789, 1834, 1837, 1880, 1903, 2081, 2096, 2121, 2243
Research and development. *See* Science and technology
Rhode Island
Democratic Party event—2246
President's visit—1712, 2246
Water main break—2250
Richmond Battlefield National Park—1727, 1751
Robert Morris College—1656
Romania, trade with U.S.—1253
Rosh Hashana—1502
Russia
Ambassador to U.S.—2158
Arms control negotiations and agreements—2084
Deputy Foreign Minister—1118, 2239
Economic and Technological Cooperation, U.S.-Russian Joint Commission on—1142
Elections—1070, 1072, 1074, 1077, 1078
Foreign Minister—1644, 2246
Mars space probe—2250
NATO expansion—1895
President—1073, 1077, 1078, 1118, 1347, 1525, 1644, 2079, 2160, 2245, 2251
Prime Minister—1078, 1142, 1644, 2080, 2160
Rwanda
Humanitarian assistance—2161, 2181
Zaire conflict. *See* Zaire
U.S. Special Coordinator—2245

Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1996—1262, 1263
Salary Council, Federal—2244
Santa Barbara City College—2007
Saudi Arabia
Foreign Minister—2246
King—2243
Terrorist bombing of U.S. military complex—1123, 1351, 2206
U.S. Ambassador—2242
Saxophone Club—1162, 1285, 1607, 1974
Schools. *See* specific institution or State; Education
Science and technology
Antarctic scientific research—1742
Communications. *See* Communications
Environmental technology—1539
Medical research—1196, 1212, 1384, 1425, 1494, 1730, 1791, 1800, 1939, 1940, 2153, 2164, 2220, 2241
Research and development—1318, 1494, 1605, 1611, 1660, 1688, 1728, 1730, 1781, 1787, 1799, 1826, 1938, 1965, 2075
Space program. *See* Space program
Supercomputer development—1203, 1365, 1425, 1494
Science and Technology, National Medals of—1202

Science Board, National—2241
Science Foundation, National—1679, 1799, 2247
Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Mentoring, Presidential Awards for Excellence in—2246
Science, President's Committee on the National Medal of—2244, 2246
Scientists and Engineers, Presidential Early Career Awards for—2252
Securities and Exchange Commission—1812
Securities Markets Improvements Act of 1996—1812
Security Agency, National. *See* Defense, Department of
Security and Cooperation in Europe, Organization for—2160
Security Council, National
  See also White House Office
  Foreign Intelligence, Committee on—1813
  Nonproliferation, Committee on—1814
  Nonproliferation Matters, National Coordinator for—1814
  Transnational Threats, Committee on—1813
Senior Citizens, National Council of—1049
Sequoia National Park—1727, 1751
Serbia (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)
  Economic sanctions—2174
  Elections—2183
  U.S. national emergency—2174
Shenandoah National Park—1727, 1751
Shipbuilding industry—1722
Sierra Leone, Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Silvio O. Conte National Fish and Wildlife Refuge—1744
Singapore, Ambassador to U.S.—2241
Single Audit Act Amendments of 1996—1079
Slovakia, President—2065
Small Business Administration—1314, 1316, 1319, 1568, 1781, 1975, 2091, 2224
Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996—1314, 1317
Small Business, White House Conference on—1316
Smithsonian Institution, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts—2178, 2240, 2241, 2245, 2247, 2248, 2251, 2252
Social Security—1121, 1843, 1853, 2100, 2102, 2164
South Africa
  Executive Deputy President—2240
  President—2250
South Carolina, hurricane—2247
South Dakota
  Brandon Valley High School—1635
  President's visits—1635, 2071, 2252
  Welfare reform—2177
South East Asian Nations, Association of (ASEAN)—2137, 2151
Space Medal of Honor, Congressional—2158
Space program
  International cooperation—1612, 1704, 2159
  Mars exploration—1267, 1270, 1534, 1583, 1611, 2159
  Shuttle—1611, 1682, 1703, 2158
  U.S. policy and goals—1611, 2159, 2246
Spain, Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Sports
  Baseball—2248
  Football—1798, 2251
  Golf—1352, 2127
  Olympic summer games—1156, 1161, 1164, 1204, 1210, 1255, 1266, 1286, 1288, 1472, 2140, 2155, 2239-2241
  Paralympic games—1260
Stalking Punishment and Prevention Act of 1996, Interstate—1643, 1646
Standards and Technology, National Institute of. *See* Commerce, Department of
State and local governments
  See also specific State or subject; Cities
  Federal audits—1079
  Welfare reform—1124, 1404, 1518, 1520, 1782, 2177, 2209
State, County, and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—1464
State, Department of
  Assistant Secretaries—2077, 2141, 2180
  Deputy Secretary—2130
  Secretary—1247, 1501, 1509, 1510, 1680, 1681, 1726, 1752, 1769, 1815, 1864, 1866, 1889, 2089, 2104, 2121, 2122, 2124, 2125, 2141, 2166, 2168, 2180, 2184
  Special Adviser to Secretary—2249
  Treaties and conventions, reports—1470, 1477, 1478, 1566, 1732, 1736
States, Organization of American—1732
Sterling Forest—1726, 1751, 1818, 2108, 2111
Sustainable Fisheries Act—1815
Sweden, Prime Minister—2239, 2242
Syria
  Illicit drug production and transit—2162
  President—1091

Taiwan, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Tajikistan, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve—1726, 1751, 1818, 2108, 2111
Taxation
  See also Budget, Federal; Business and industry; Economy, national
  Adoption tax credit—1277, 1316, 1317, 1350, 1415, 2208
  Business investment deductions—1134, 1315, 1317, 1780, 1801, 1977
  Capital gains—1412, 1438, 1845, 2199
  Earned-income tax credit—1235, 1315, 1327
  Flat tax—1123
  Individual retirement account contributions—1301, 1362, 1368, 1411, 1589, 1774, 1792, 1853, 1879, 1900, 1968
  Research tax credit—1318
  Tax cut proposals—1255, 1277, 1301, 1306, 1338, 1343, 1346, 1355, 1362, 1363, 1410, 1412, 1423, 1432, 1435, 1659, 1761, 1774, 1845, 1848
  Tax incentives for environmental cleanup—1403, 1518, 1677

Taxation—Continued
Tax incentives to hire people off welfare—1783, 1887, 1917, 1929, 1950, 2188
Tax system reform—1123, 1230
Treaties and conventions—1470, 1477, 1478, 2150
Tuition tax credit—1068, 1106, 1112, 1123, 1136, 1152, 1183, 1197, 1301, 1347, 1410, 1480, 1496, 1774, 1792, 1879, 1900, 1968, 2092
Tuition tax deduction—1112, 1123, 1135, 1152, 1183, 1197, 1301, 1347, 1411, 1480, 1496, 1774, 1792, 1879, 1900, 1968, 2092
Taxpayer Bill of Rights 2—1230
Technology. *See* Science and technology
Telecommunication Union, International—1565
Telecommunications. *See* Communications
Television. *See* Communications; Entertainment industry
Tennessee
President's visits—1310, 1312, 1441, 1442, 1445, 1447, 1452, 1797, 1945
Welfare reform—1948
Terrorism. *See* specific State, country, or region; Defense and national security
Texas
Democratic Party event—2246
Governor—1521
President's visits—1689, 1694, 1698, 1703, 1704, 2013, 2023, 2246
Thailand
AIDS prevention efforts—2153
Deputy Prime Minister—2150
Economic development—2152
Elections—2152
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
King—2151, 2153, 2154, 2251
President Clinton's visit—2150, 2151, 2154, 2251
Prime Minister—2150, 2154, 2251
Prime Minister-elect—2251
Queen—2153, 2154, 2251
Taxation treaty with U.S.—2150
Thai Women of Tomorrow Project—2153
Trade with U.S.—2150, 2151
U.S. Ambassador—2150
Thanksgiving Day—2145, 2156, 2157, 2251
Thrift Supervision, Office of. *See* Treasury, Department of the
Tobacco industry—1120, 1332
Tongass National Forest—1727, 1730, 1751
Trade agreements. *See* specific country; Commerce, international
Trade and Investment Policy, Commission on U.S.-Pacific—2242
Trade Commission, U.S. International—2158, 2241
Trade Representative, Office of the U.S.—1246, 1247, 1854, 2124, 2130, 2196, 2250
Transportation
See also specific industry; Infrastructure
Aviation safety and security—1200, 1210, 1219, 1223, 1254, 1259, 1289, 1416, 1475, 1506, 1650, 1713, 1728, 1730, 1750, 1794, 1796, 1893, 2192
Motor vehicle safety—2236
Transportation—Continued
Pipeline safety—1823
Transportation disasters—1509
Transportation, Department of
Aviation Administration, Federal—1147, 1259, 1506, 1561, 1727, 1793, 1796
Budget—1727
Coast Guard, U.S.—1147, 1474, 1794, 1869
Deputy Secretary—1794
Highway and motor vehicle safety, reports—1752
Maritime Administration—1792
Pipeline safety programs—1823
Secretary—1200, 1206, 1284, 1506, 1509, 1513, 1722, 1794, 1868, 1870, 1881, 2186, 2192, 2224, 2236, 2249
Transportation Safety Board, National—1147, 1201, 1507, 1509, 1727, 1794, 1796, 2247
Treasury, Department of the
Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Bureau of—1084, 1107, 1264, 1561, 1745
Assistant Secretary—1107
Customs Service, U.S.—1297, 1474, 1561, 1565, 1824, 2084, 2176
Deputy Secretary—2195
Foreign Assets Control, Office of—1180, 1281, 1296, 1297, 1564, 1624, 1889, 2175, 2176
Internal Revenue Service—1230, 1711
Secretary—1082, 1084, 1230, 1589, 1656, 1670, 1745, 1812, 1824, 2124, 2175, 2195, 2209
Thrift Supervision, Office of—2247
Under Secretary—1048, 1082, 1745
Treaties and conventions. *See* specific country, region, or subject; State, Department of
Trident Precision Manufacturing, Inc.—2173
Turkey
Cyprus conflict. *See* Cyprus
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
President—1710
Relations with Greece—2217
Taxation agreement with U.S.—1470
"20/20"—2245

Uganda, Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Ukraine, Nuclear Suppliers Group membership—2116
UNITA. *See* Angola
United Auto Workers—2032
United Kingdom
Northern Ireland. *See* Northern Ireland
Prime Minister—1525, 2104, 2243
United Nations
Administrative reform—2168, 2207
Atomic Energy Agency, International—1648
Convention on women's rights—2181
Convention to combat desertification—1248
General Assembly—1644, 1647, 2143, 2245-2247
Reform—1650, 1651
Secretary-General—1645, 1648, 1651, 2078, 2207, 2246, 2252
Security Council—1085, 2078, 2175, 2207, 2229
Under Secretary—2078
U.S. participation—1199, 1645, 1650, 1651

United Nations—Continued
U.S. Representative—1299, 1710, 2166, 2168, 2181, 2196, 2252
United Service Organization, Inc.—2246
U.S. *See* other part of subject
United Steel Workers—1273
Utah
Governor—1602
School trust land exchange efforts—1602
Uzbekistan
Ambassador to U.S.—2247
Illicit drug production and transit—2162

Vanderbilt University—1945
Venezuela, illicit drug production and transit—2162
Vermont, Governor—1779
Veterans
Agent-Orange-related disability benefits for Vietnam veterans—1212, 1629, 1677, 1679
Benefits—1211, 1795
Disabled veterans—1209
Health care—1211, 1279, 1796
Persian Gulf conflict veterans, undiagnosed illnesses—1212, 2098, 2107
Veterans Affairs, Department of
Budget—1211, 1676, 1678
Deputy Secretary—1211, 2106
Secretary—1209, 1211, 1279, 2106, 2226, 2233
Veterans' Benefits Improvements Act of 1996—1796
Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1996—1795
Veterans Day—2106
Veterans' Health Care Eligibility Reform Act of 1996—1796
Vice President
Aviation safety and security, role—1201, 1219, 1259, 1289, 1416, 1506, 1650, 1728, 1750, 1794, 1796, 2193
Community development, role—2163
Economic and Technological Cooperation, U.S.-Russian Joint Commission on, role—1142
Federal Government reform, role—1628, 1630, 1644, 2172
Telecommunications and electronic information infrastructure, role—1802
Vice Presidential debate. *See* Elections
Vietnam
Illicit drug production and transit—2162
U.S. Ambassador—1497, 1503
Violence Against Women, Office of. *See* Justice, Department of
Virgin Islands, hurricane—2239, 2241
Virginia
Democratic Party event—2247
Lee High School in Springfield—1941
President's visits—1941, 2106, 2247, 2252
Storms and flooding—1512, 2244
Voice of America. *See* Information Agency, U.S.

War Crimes Act of 1996—1323
Washington
Democratic Party event—2245
President's visit—1603, 1607, 1609, 1613, 1616, 1620, 1625, 2245
Washington, DC. *See* District of Columbia
Water Resources Development Act of 1996—1817, 1830
Weapons. *See* Arms and munitions; Law enforcement and crime; Nuclear weapons
Welfare system
See also specific State; Immigration and naturalization; State and local governments
Reform—1106, 1116, 1121, 1124, 1128, 1130, 1171, 1186, 1191, 1194, 1208, 1214, 1221, 1231, 1233, 1305, 1325, 1328, 1331, 1335, 1347, 1351, 1366, 1404, 1412, 1420, 1468, 1490, 1516, 1520, 1536, 1668, 1711, 1727, 1751, 1782, 1791, 1811, 1821, 1844, 1887, 1917, 1929, 1948, 2096, 2173, 2177, 2187, 2198, 2208, 2209
West Virginia
Governor—1336
President's visit—1336
Storms and flooding—1512, 2242, 2244
Western Samoa, trade with U.S.—1864
White House
Curator—1974
Henry Ossawa Tanner painting—1973
Home page—1632
Security—2227, 2228
Staff drug testing policy—1241
Travel office—1240, 2250
White House Office
Assistants to President
Deputy Chiefs of Staff—2182, 2250
Domestic Policy—1261, 2225
Domestic Policy Planning—1325
Economic Policy—1779, 2124, 2196
International Economic Policy—2196
National Security Affairs—2124, 2131, 2166, 2243
Policy and Strategy—2165
Press Secretary—2160
Public Liaison, Director—1779
Science and Technology—1202, 1267, 1539, 2124, 2158
Chief of Staff—1147, 1223, 1275, 1568, 1864, 2091, 2122, 2124, 2243
Counselor to President—1779, 2225, 2250
Counsels to President—2197, 2201, 2250
Deputy Assistant to President for Women's Initiatives and Outreach—1975
Deputy Press Secretary—2239
Employment and labor laws, applicability—1937
Special Advisers to President—2249
Whitewater Development Corp. investigation—1119, 1242, 1348, 2097, 2227, 2239, 2250
Wildfire Suppression Aircraft Transfer Act of 1996—1831
Wildlife. *See* Conservation
Wisconsin
President's visit—1459, 1464, 2243
Storms, flooding, and tornadoes—2241
Welfare reform—1129, 1172, 1727, 2177
Women Escaping A Violent Environment (WEAVE)—1186
Women's Bureau. *See* Labor, Department of
Women's Leadership Forum—1142

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars—2245
World Trade Organization (WTO)—2195
Wyoming
  Crash of Air Force transport plane near Jackson—1303, 2242
  President's visit—1290, 1292, 1294, 1298, 2242

Yellowstone National Park—1290, 1292
Yom Kippur—1603
Yugoslavia, former
  See also specific country
  International commission on missing persons—1116

Zaire
  Civil conflict—2121, 2126, 2131, 2161, 2249, 2250
  Humanitarian assistance—2121, 2126, 2131, 2161
  Trade with U.S.—1864
  United Nations Security Council resolutions—2161
  U.S. military role—2119, 2126, 2131, 2161
Zambia, trade with U.S.—1864

Name Index

Aaron, Henry (Hank)—1930
Abbey, George—1703
Abrahamson, James A.—2243
Abramson, Jerry E.—1808, 2062
Absher, Martha G.—2246
Adams, Floyd, Jr.—1931
Adams, Howard G.—2246
Adams, Joseph—1952
Adamu, Alhaji Hassan—2241
Agassi, Andre—1995
Akers, Tom—2158
Alarcon, Richard—1282
Albano, Michael J.—2047
Albee, Edward—2178
Albright, Madeleine K.—1299, 1710, 2166, 2168, 2169, 2181, 2183, 2184, 2252, 2254
Alexander, Sally—1859
Alexander-Minter, Rae—1973
Ali, Muhammad—1198
Allaire, Paul—1779
Allard, Wayne—1980, 1986
Allen, Erica—1479
Allen, George—1512, 1520
Allen, Robert—1802
Allen, Tom—1789
Alm, Alvin L.—1539
Alstrom, Pat—1824
Alvarez, Aida—2224, 2226
Alvarez, Tensia—1319
Amnuai Wirawan—2150
Anastos, Peggy—1206
Anaya, Toney—1827
Anderson, Alethia—1459
Anderson, Bernard E.—2249
Anderson, Tommy L.—2233
Andrew, Mark—1956
Andrews, Theodore—2035
Angelou, Maya—1562
Annan, Kofi—2207, 2252
Annenberg, Lee—1140, 1141
Annus, Suzie—2133
Anstrom, Decker—2221
Antoine, Denis—2241
Apodaca, Jerry—1827
Apt, Jay—2158
Arafat, Yasser—1092, 1094, 1095, 1477, 1513, 1538, 1680, 1726, 1733, 1738, 1739, 1741, 1841, 2102, 2247, 2248
Archer, Dennis W.—1419, 1882, 1890, 1928, 1962, 2086
Armey, Richard K.—2003, 2199
Armstrong, Ana—1904
Armstrong, David—1808
Armstrong, John A.—2241, 2253
Arnberger, Rob—1600
Arnesen, Deborah (Arnie)—1785, 2055-2057
Arnold, Tom—1575
Arnold, Truman—1695
Arrington, Richard—1911
Arrow, Kenneth J.—2244
Asad, Hafiz al- —1091
Asher, Baron H.—1904
Ashford, Evelyn—1556
Atkinson-Gates, Yvonne—1995
Atwood, J. Brian—2180
Aung San Suu Kyi—2152
Aupperle, David—1268

Babbage, Bob—2062
Babbitt, Bruce—1072, 1073, 1159, 1512, 1513, 1600, 1602, 2226
Baca, Elizabeth Shirley—1825, 2019
Backlar, Patricia—2240
Baer, Donald—2184
Bagayoko, Diola—2246
Bailey, Jim—1360
Bailey, Robert F.—1595
Bailey, Russell B.—1445
Baily, Martin N.—1078
Baird, Brian—1607, 1617
Baker, Cindy—1354
Baker, James A., III—2103
Balanoff, Clem—1962
Baldacci, John Elias—1789, 2051
Baldrige, Margaret—2171
Banhan Sinlapa-acha—2150, 2154, 2251
Baracy, Gregory J.—1592
Barnes, Holly—1162
Barnes, T.W.—1488
Barnett, Lincoln—1310
Barney, Bruce—1396
Barr, Kenneth L.—1698
Barram, David J.—1271
Barrett, Thomas M.—1464
Barry, Donald J.—2248
Barshefsky, Charlene—1246, 2130, 2196, 2250
Bartlet, Robert T.—1175
Barzani, Massoud—2077
Bass, Bob—1698
Bass, Ed—1698
Bass, Sid—1698
Baucus, Max—1230, 1732
Baumgartner, Bruce—1156
Baumhower, Bruce—1373
Bayer, Ian—1290
Bayh, Birch—1290

Bayh, Evan—1404
Beasley, David M.—1520
Beattie, Mollie—1220
Beattie, Richard I.—1710
Beatty, Michael—1540, 1980
Beazley, Kim—2133, 2134, 2250
Becker, George F.—1049, 1273, 1656, 1659, 1683
Belafonte, Harry—1875
Bell, Coleman—1479
Bell, Edward—1974
Belton, Sharon Sayles—1962
Ben-Elissar, Eliahu—1513, 2247
Bennett, Robert F.—1602
Bennett, Steven Alan—2245
Berg, Laura—1552
Bergen, Candice—1417
Bergen, Chloe—1417
Berger, Samuel R.—2166-2168, 2201, 2252
Berkeley, Robert—1839
Bernardin, Joseph Cardinal—1510, 2116, 2126, 2191, 2244
Berry, Marion—1448, 1452, 2027, 2029, 2247
Berry, Mary Frances—1570
Berte, Neal—1911
Berwick, Mike—2142
Beshear, Steven—1432, 1433, 1686, 1808, 1811, 2062
Besser, Chaskel O.—2242
Betchkal, John J.—2170
Betz, Don—1568
Beuchamp, Jesse Lee (Jack)—2243
Bevill, Tom—1911
Beyer, Donald—1941
Biden, Joseph R., Jr.—1219, 1745, 2183
Bifford, Richard—1488
Bilirakis, Michael—1250, 1319, 2163
Billings, Judith A.—2242
Bingaman, Jeff—1732, 1826, 1831, 2017
Bishop, Sanford D., Jr.—1931
Black, George W., Jr.—2247
Blagojevich, Rod R.—1962
Blahunka, Jenna—1388
Blanchard, James J.—1375, 1881, 1882, 1890, 1979
Blanchard, Janet—1890
Blaustein, Arthur I.—2241, 2253
Bliley, Thomas J., Jr.—1250
Blitzer, Wolf—1344
Bloch, Kathy—1395
Blume, George—1149
Blumenthal, Susan J.—1143, 1939
Bogosian, Richard W.—2245, 2255
Bojazhiu, Agnes Gonxha (Mother Teresa)—1736
Boldt, Gerald M.—1878
Bolger, James—2102
Bond, Hannah—1285
Bonior, David E.—1314, 1881, 1882, 1890
Borbidge, Jennifer—2142
Borbidge, Robert—2142
Borski, Richard A.—1969
Bosley, Freeman R., Jr.—1528, 1532
Boswell, Leonard—2065
Bourgeois, John—1209
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros—1645, 1647, 1648, 1651, 2078, 2207, 2246
Bowles, Erskine—1110, 1977, 2091-2093, 2122, 2224
Boxer, Barbara—2001, 2003, 2108
Boyd, Allen—2185
Boyle, Jack—1481
Boyle, Janet—1481
Bradley, Bill—1652, 1677, 1686, 2044, 2108
Bradley, Nancy—1882
Brady, James S.—1362, 1373, 1510, 2244
Brady, Sarah—1357, 1362, 1373, 1510
Bragg, Lynn Munroe—2241
Brann, Joseph—1138
Branstool, Eugene—1353
Bratton, Bill—1990
Breaux, John B.—1117, 1129, 1319, 1688, 1916, 1919, 2032
Brender, Art—1698
Brennan, Joseph—1686, 1788, 2051, 2053
Brillson, Sheila Bergerson—1404
Brinkley, David—2249
Briscoe, Dolph—2013, 2023
Bristow, Lonnie—1334
Brito, Arturo—2240
Broderick, Patricia—2255
Brokaw, Tom—1118
Brooks, P.A.—1890
Brooks, Pat—1487
Brown, Alma—1570, 1927
Brown, Corrine—1487, 1904, 1908
Brown, Dave Nolan—2248
Brown, David—1360
Brown, E. Lynn—1487
Brown, George E., Jr.—1202, 1556, 1743
Brown, Jesse—1209, 1211, 1279, 1571, 2086, 2106, 2226, 2233
Brown, Lee—1572, 1697
Brown, Mary—1400
Brown, Michael—1101
Brown, Sherrod—1878, 2059
Brown, Willie—1192, 1419
Browner, Carol M.—1251, 1262, 1897, 2197, 2226
Bruggere, Tom—1628, 1632
Bruton, John—1514, 2104, 2211, 2212, 2214-2218
Bryant, Winston—2027, 2241
Bryson, Peabo—1902
Buchheit, Scott E.—2239
Buckhorn, Bob—1479
Buffenbarger, Tom—1049
Buffet, Jimmy—2040
Bujon de l'Estang, Francois—1199
Bumpers, Dale—1658, 2027
Bundy, McGeorge—1587
Burkle, Jan—1561
Burkle, Ron—1561, 2250
Burns, Conrad R.—2158
Burns, Dwayne—1848
Burriss, Shaira—1521
Burton, Ronald Kent—2245, 2255

Bush, George—1465, 1469, 1471, 1560, 1567, 1893, 2174, 2205
Bush, George W.—1521, 1696
Bush, Gordon—1962
Bush, Marcia—1905
Bustoz, Joaquin—2246
Butler, Arlington Griffith—2241
Butterworth, Bob—2039
Byers, Brook—1192
Byers, Sean—1192
Byrn, Arthur—1439
Byrne, Leslie L.—2242
Byron, John—1493

Cabalero, Anna—1275
Cabral, Sam—1275
Caesar, Shirley—1143
Calabia, Dawn—2180
Califano, Joseph A., Jr.—1332
Camp, Dave—2209
Campbell, Bill—1204, 1923, 1926, 2241
Campbell, Bonnie—1143, 1644, 1745
Campbell, Jane L.—1878, 2059
Campbell, Wayne—1568
Canales, Johnny—2023
Caouette, Joseph—1149
Caperton, Gaston—1325, 1336, 1520
Capizzi, Tony—1804
Capps, Walter—2007
Capron, Alexander M.—2240
Cardin, Benjamin L.—1114, 1254, 1255
Cardoso, Fernando—2250
Cardozo, Michael H.—2219
Carnahan, Mel—1422, 1516, 1520, 1528, 1532, 1952, 1954
Carper, Thomas R.—1325
Carr, Bob—2139
Carr, Helena—2139
Carr, Mike—1268
Carson, Michelle—1990
Carter, Bennett Leslie—2178
Carter, Jimmy—1923
Carter, Joe A.—1870
Carville, James—2165
Case, Steven—1802
Cash, Johnny—2179
Cash, June Carter—2179
Cassell, Eric J.—2240
Castle, Michael N.—1117, 1129, 1325
Castle, Mike—1391
Castro, Fidel—1872
Castro, Ida L.—2241, 2254
Centers, Desi—1543
Chafee, John H.—1117, 1129
Chaffin, Charlie Cole—1458, 2027
Chambers, Letitia—2240, 2247, 2253
Chan Heng Chee—2241
Chancellor, John—1117
Chapman, Gladys—1503
Chapman, Jim—1689
Chapman, Joseph, III—1503
Charo, R. Alta—2240
Charren, Peggy—1218
Chase, Bob—1065
Chavalit Yongchaiyudh—2251
Chavez, Martin—1825, 1835
Chavez-Thompson, Linda—1572, 1672, 2023, 2250
Chayes, Antonia Handler—2243
Checchi, Alfred A.—1880, 1882
Chernomyrdin, Viktor—1078, 1118, 1142, 1644, 2080
Chery, Joseph—1082
Chery, Tina—1082
Chi Haotian—2251
Childress, James—2240
Chiles, Lawton—1479, 1480, 1487, 1493, 1497, 1521, 1896, 1898, 1902, 1904, 1907, 2035, 2041, 2163, 2250
Chirac, Jacques—1525, 2243, 2250
Chisholm, Shirley—1282
Choate, Marvin—2233
Chretien, Jean—1476, 2131, 2249
Christian, Tom—1493
Christianson, Paul—1995
Christopher, Warren M.—1219, 1229, 1501, 1509, 1510, 1591, 1680, 1681, 1726, 1752, 1769, 1864, 2085, 2089, 2104, 2121, 2122, 2141, 2166, 2168, 2180, 2183
Chu, George—1192
Cianci, Vincent A., Jr.—1712
Cisneros, Henry G.—1103, 1206, 1207, 1510, 1513, 1548, 1631, 1677, 1901, 2023, 2163, 2186, 2194, 2200, 2223
Cisneros, Marc Anthony—2251
Cisneros, Mary Alice—2023
Clancy, Todd—1369
Clark, Jamie—1072
Clark, Melvin E., Jr.—2246
Clark, Mike—1290
Clavery, Gus—1920
Clay, William (Bill)—1314, 1528, 1952
Clayton, Eva M.—1568, 1569
Cleaver, Emanuel, II—1516, 1518, 1532, 1926, 1929
Cleland, Max—1923, 1930
Clement, Bob—1945
Clinard, Lillian A.—1798
Clinton, Chelsea—1123, 1205, 1298, 1361, 2080, 2251, 2252
Clinton, Hillary Rodham—1101, 1119, 1126, 1218, 1319, 1320, 1348, 1409, 1414, 1429, 1607, 1623, 1818, 2080, 2096, 2107, 2153, 2157, 2180-2182, 2197, 2198, 2208, 2228, 2229, 2232, 2252
Clough, G. Wayne—1156
Cochran, Dale—1575
Coffin, Bob—1996
Cohen, Ed—2196
Cohen, William S.—1319, 1643, 2166-2169
Cole, Jeffrey I.—1833, 1834
Cole, Patricia—1378
Coleman, Ronald D.—2013
Collins, Barbara Rose—1570

Collins, Cardiss—1510, 1570, 1961
Collins, Judy—1454
Comer, Linda—1400
Concepcion, Marilyn—1714
Condit, Gary A.—1250
Connell, Kathleen—1282
Connor, Martin—1875
Connor, Richard L.—1698
Conrad, Ron—1373
Conyers, John, Jr.—1100, 1219, 1319, 1383, 1487, 1493, 1510, 1570, 1736, 1745, 1881, 1882, 1885
Cook, Dan—1400
Cooke, Bekki—1952
Cooper, Cardell—1652
Cooper, Jim—2156
Cooper, Roscoe D., Jr.—1487
Coopersmith, Jeff—1607
Copeland, Bob—1698
Coppersmith, Sam—1544
Correa, Lou—1860
Correnti, John—1781
Corwin, Peter—1616
Cowan, Geoffrey—2182
Cowan, Louis—2182, 2183
Cox, Archibald—2199, 2227
Cox, Bobby—2248
Cox, David—2240
Coyne, Thomas J., Jr.—1878, 2059
Craig, Larry E.—1831
Crawford, Bob—2039
Crawford, Linda—1332
Crawford, Michael J.—1544
Cronin, Kevin—1962, 2062
Cuevas-Chavera, Yolanda—1698
Cumisky, Brendan—1596
Cummings, Elijah E.—1114
Cunningham, William—1882
Cunninghame, Donna H.—2241, 2248, 2254
Cuomo, Andrew M.—2223, 2224, 2226
Cutler, Lloyd—2201
Cyrus, Billy Ray—1340
Cyrus, Ron—1340

Dailey, Jim—1454, 2027
Daley, Margaret—1062, 1408, 1417
Daley, Richard M.—1049, 1057, 1062-64, 1408, 1417, 1961
Daley, William M.—1057, 1059, 1062, 1417, 2196, 2197, 2201
Dalton, John H.—2233
D'Amato, Alfonse—1254, 1348, 1430, 1760, 1774, 1775, 2099
Daniels, Charlie—2027
Dart, Justin—1049, 1261, 1945, 2088
Dasburg, John—1881
Daschle, Linda Hall—2192
Daschle, Thomas A.—1210, 1219, 1241, 1242, 1314, 1637, 1678, 1681, 1687, 1876, 1907, 2071, 2074, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2246
David, George—1779
David, Tim—1847
Davidson, Tom—1518, 1521
Davis, Danny K.—1962
Davis, Gail—1975
Davis, Gray—1175, 1186, 1192, 1268, 1282, 1859, 2001
Davis, Jim—2035
Davis, Lanny J.—2250
Davis, Thomas M.—2200
Dawida, Mike—1656
de la Garza, E.—1207, 1670, 2023
de Oyarzabal, Antonio—2247
De Priest, Jesse—1644
De Priest, Sheri—1644
Dean, Howard—1799
Deane, William—2250
Deavenport, Earnest—2171
DeBakey, Edward—2080
DeBerry, Lois—1313
Deering, Ted—1396
Degan, Karen—1745
DeGette, Diana—1980, 1985, 1987
Del Papa, Frankie Sue—1995
Del Vecchio, David M.—1652, 2044
Delco, Wilhelmina—2023
DeLee, Debra—1062, 1065, 1419
Delgado, Oscar—1842
Dellums, Ronald V.—1510, 2001, 2003
DeMarco, Brian—1904, 1906
Demb, Ada—2244
Demirel, Suleyman—1710
Denver, John—1291
DeSana, James—1378
Det, Carol—2062
Det, Vanessa—2062
Deutch, John M.—1225, 2130, 2166, 2167
Deutsch, Peter—1480
Deveaux, Jon P.—2240, 2253
DeWine, Mike—2209
Diamond, Katherine—1985
Diaz, Nils J.—2239, 2253
Dicks, Norman D.—1603, 1605
Dimora, Jimmy—1878
Dingell, John D.—1250, 1378, 1677, 1881, 1882, 1890
DiNicola, Ron—1656
Dinkins, David—1570
Divine, Gary W.—2244
Dixon, Richard—1072
Docking, Jill—1686
Dodd, Christopher J.—1142, 1202, 1273, 1417, 1691, 1779, 1859, 1876, 1907, 2085, 2086, 2101
Dole, Bob—1053, 1061, 1078, 1081, 1096, 1098, 1121, 1124, 1126, 1142, 1144, 1211, 1236, 1308, 1338, 1345, 1410, 1426, 1427, 1445, 1446, 1504, 1535, 1616, 1644, 1697, 1698, 1753, 1755, 1757, 1758, 1788, 1789, 1819, 1826, 1832, 1834, 1835, 1837, 1880, 1903, 1965, 1986, 1996, 2002, 2003, 2010, 2059, 2081, 2096, 2098, 2101, 2106, 2121, 2199, 2206, 2227, 2239, 2243, 2252
Dole, Elizabeth Hanford—2097

Domenici, Pete V.—1628, 1677
Dominquez, Marianna—1269
Donaldson, Daniel—1310
Dooley, Calvin M.—1250, 1551, 2185
Dorgan, Byron L.—1319, 1802
Dorin, John—1149, 1256, 2239
Dougherty, Jill—1344
Dougherty, Kathleen Stevens—2252
Downer, Alexander—1526
Downey, Mortimer L.—1794
Downing, Wayne A.—1087, 1243, 1258, 1581
Dozier, Terry—1065
Dozoretz, Beth—2250
Dozoretz, Ronald I.—2245
Drach, Ron—1212
Drake, Steve—1130
Driskell, David—1974
Driver, Mike—1162
Duby, Evette—1855
Duchin, Peter—1309
Dugan, Mike—1628
Duka, Brian—1592, 1595
Dukes, Hazel—1101
Dumas, Rhetaugh Graves—2245
Duncan, John J., Jr.—1794, 1795
Durbin, Loretta—1056
Durbin, Richard J.—1049, 1056, 1062, 1332, 1431, 1596, 1686, 1962

Eagleton, Tom—1533, 1952
Early, Norm—1980
Eastin, Delaine—2007
Ebersole, Brian—1609
Edelheit, Joseph A.—2251
Eder, Tim—1400
Edwards, Teresa—1156
Eizenstat, Stuart E.—1299, 1300, 2214
Ekeus, Rolf—1085, 2078
Elder, Irma B.—1975
Elizondo, Rita—1670
Ellison, Larry—1802
Emanuel, Ezekiel J.—2240
Engel, Eliot L.—1875
Engel, Ron—1149
Engler, David—1074
Ensign, John—1996
Erickson, Jeffrey H.—1532, 2239
Erlendson, William J.—1268
Espinosa, Judith—2247, 2256
Espy, Mike—1572
Esrey, William T.—1524, 1779, 1783
Esserman, Susan G.—2241, 2254
Eu, March Fong—1181
Evans, Lane—1678
Evers-Williams, Myrlie—1101, 1102
Evey, Walker Lee—2244
Exon, J. James—1686, 1802

Faircloth, Lauch—1100
Falcon, Walter—2244
Farr, Sam—1275
Farrell, Dan—1858
Fascell, Dante B.—1299
Fattah, Chaka—1969
Fauntroy, Walter—1487
Fawell, Harris W.—1319
Fay, Toni—1570
Fayerwether, Dawn—1714
Fazio, Vic—1186, 1190, 1250, 1745
Feingold, Russell D.—1459, 1763, 2010, 2093, 2189
Feinstein, Dianne—1644, 1745, 2001, 2003, 2103, 2108
Ferguson, Joel—1419
Ferraro, Geraldine—2180
Ferrel, Janet—1325
Ferrer, Freddy—1206
Fey, Barry—1162
Fields, Cleo—1570, 1919, 1980, 2032
Filner, Bob—1858
Finkbeiner, Carlton—1368, 1962
Finley, Michael V.—1290
Firebaugh, Emily—1422
Fischer, David J.—2163
Fischer, Timothy—2130
Fish, Hamilton, Jr.—1192
Fisher, Jimmy Lee—2027
Fiske, Robert B., Jr.—2097
Fitz-Gerald, Joan—1819
Flake, Floyd H.—1927
Flanigan, Alan H.—2244, 2255
Fleck, Jack—1843
Fleming, G. Andrew—1260
Flemming, Arthur—1506
Florio, James J.—1873, 2044
Flowers, Robert Bernard—2239, 2254
Fluzas, Eleanor—1804
Flynn, Kathaleen—2243
Flynn, Laurie M.—2240
Foglietta, Thomas M.—1969
Foley, Robert F.—2106
Ford, Harold E.—1452, 1570
Ford, Harold E., Jr.—1447, 1452
Ford, Wendell H.—1339, 1432, 1433, 1807, 2062
Ford, William D.—1592
Forester, Lynn—1798, 1802
Foster, Henry W., Jr.—1319
Fowler, Donald L.—1142, 1162, 1181, 1193, 1417, 1562, 1663, 1876, 2085, 2086, 2101
Fowler, Wyche, Jr.—2242, 2254
Fox, Jon D.—1745
Fox, Leslie—1062
Fox, Mary Pauline—1341
France, Richard—1396
Francis, Robert T., II—1794
Frank, Barney—1718
Frank, Lorraine Weiss—2245, 2255
Frankel, Jeffrey A.—2244
Frankel, Marshall—2051
Fraser, Douglas—1049
Freeh, Louis J.—1204, 1210, 1225, 1756, 2130, 2206, 2241

Frei, Eduardo—2250
Freitas, Victor—1268
Frey, Barbara—2180
Friedman, Cynthia—1142
Frisby, Gerald—1905
Frist, Bill—1677
Fritts, Edward O.—1218, 2221
From, Al—2184
Frost, Martin—1698, 1745
Fuller, Linda—1510
Fuller, Millard—1510, 2244
Furse, Elizabeth—1628

Gaillard, Mary K.—2241, 2254
Gallardo, Yolanda—1175
Gallegos, Gil—1582
Gallo, Richard—1931
Gamble, Patrick K.—2155
Ganim, Joseph P.—1779
Gantt, Harvey—1109
Garamendi, John R.—1072
Garcetti, Gil—1175
Garcia, Hector—1204, 1206
Garcia, Leonard D.—1835
Garcia, Mary Jane—2018
Gardner, John—2010
Garmire, Elsa—2244
Garnett, Kevin—1956
Garrison, Frank—1396
Gates, Bill—1123
Gavin, Peggy—1838
Geffen, David—1561
Geiger, Keith—1065, 1396
Gejdenson, Sam—1254
Genega, Stanley—1568
Gephardt, Richard A.—1210, 1219, 1241, 1242, 1314, 1502, 1528, 1533, 1570, 1681, 1876, 1908, 1952, 2239, 2243, 2246
Gershenfeld, Gladys—2239
Gershon, Bruce—1518, 1521
Gharekhan, Chinmaya—2078
Gianotti, Bridget—1849
Gibbons, John H.—1202, 1267, 1539, 1941, 2158
Gibbons, Martha—2035
Gibbons, Sam—1479, 2035
Gibson, Bynum—2027
Giffin, Gordon D.—2250
Gifford, Kathie Lee—1244
Gilley, Wade—1336
Gillmor, Paul E.—2156
Gilman, Benjamin A.—1140, 1202, 1254
Gingrich, Newt—1117, 1124, 1210, 1219, 1338, 1345, 1346, 1426, 1427, 1446, 1510, 1575, 1599, 1616, 1697, 1698, 1760-1763, 1845, 1880, 2003, 2009, 2100, 2190, 2195, 2199, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2246
Ginsberg, William W.—2247, 2255
Gist, Nancy—1048
Giuliani, Rudolph—1148, 2239
Glenn, John—1352, 1582, 1878, 2056, 2058, 2158
Glickman, Dan—1047, 1080, 1130, 1134, 2108, 2226, 2249
Glidden, Sue—1290
Gliozzo, Anthony—1656
Glover, Clarence—1487
Glover, Gene—1049
Gnehm, Edward William, Jr.—2254
Gober, Hershel—1211, 1931, 2106
Gold, Dore—1513
Goldberg, Whoopi—1286, 1307, 1876, 2044
Golden, Marilyn—2247
Goldfarb, Bob—1850
Goldin, Dan—1703, 2158
Goldwater, Barry M.—1544
Gonzales, Delia—1993
Gonzalez, Eduardo Morgan—2247
Gonzalez, Henry B.—2023
Gonzalez, Stephanie—1826
Gonzalez, Suzanne—1844
Good, Mary L.—1202, 2171
Goodman, Jeff—1990
Goodman, Sherri W.—1539
Goodwin, Doris Kearns—2010
Gordon, Houston—1441, 1452
Gordon, Sherry—1400
Gore, Albert, Jr.—1059, 1080, 1082, 1096, 1100, 1108, 1110, 1112, 1118, 1138, 1139, 1142, 1146, 1152, 1153, 1171, 1176, 1201, 1204, 1206, 1217-1219, 1222, 1223, 1236, 1251, 1259, 1266, 1267, 1289, 1312, 1313, 1332, 1409, 1414, 1416, 1476, 1486, 1506, 1507, 1554, 1600, 1612, 1616, 1623, 1625, 1628, 1630, 1634, 1644, 1681, 1713, 1728, 1731, 1743, 1750, 1756, 1794, 1796, 1798, 1802, 1804, 1817, 1826, 1897, 1946, 1986, 2002, 2003, 2058, 2068, 2080, 2085, 2090, 2091, 2108, 2121, 2122, 2142, 2160, 2163, 2164, 2169, 2189, 2192, 2196, 2197, 2221, 2225
Gore, Albert, Sr.—1799
Gore, Tipper—1142, 1218, 1313, 1320, 1386, 1401, 1414, 1623, 1641, 1676, 1677, 1833, 2080
Gorelick, Jamie S.—2241, 2252
Gorsuch, Edward Lee, II—2245
Gould, Mary—1360
Grabowski, Christy—1493
Graham, Bob—1114, 1745, 1902, 1904, 2039, 2163
Graham, James—1568
Graham, Nancy—2040
Graham, Nora—1175
Gramm, Phil—1696
Grams, Rod—2253
Grassley, Chuck—1230
Graves, William H.—1101, 1487
Greco, Dick—1479
Green, Al—1528
Green, Mark—1332, 1875
Greenspan, Alan—2203
Greenwood, M.R.C.—2241, 2253
Greider, Carol W.—2249
Griffin, John—1072
Griffiths, Jose-Marie—2252
Gueli, Charles A.—2244, 2255
Gulson, George—1636

Gunderson, Kevin—1340
Gunther, Harry—1049
Gurule, Al—1540
Guthrie, Marc D.—2250
Gutierrez, Carlos G.—2246
Gutierrez, Luis V.—1049, 1206, 1207

Hagen, Melissa—1353
Hagerman, Richard—1745
Hahn, James—1282
Hale, Albert—1835
Hall, Bobby—2149
Hall, James E.—2192
Hall, Tony P.—1804
Halverson, Bob—2133, 2134
Halverson, Maggie—2133
Hamburg, David—1510, 2244
Hamilton, Art—1544
Hammer, Susan—1268
Hanks, Tom—1562
Hansen, Fred J.—1539
Harden, Lillie—1325, 1844
Harding, Harry—1255
Hariri, Rafiq al- —1864, 2247
Harkin, Ruth—2067
Harkin, Tom—1244, 1575, 2066, 2069
Harris, Bill—2170
Harris, Elihu Mason—2001
Harrison, Alvin—1276
Hartigan, Laura—2086
Hashimoto, Ryutaro—1651, 2137, 2148
Hastert, J. Dennis—1319, 1321
Hatch, Orrin G.—1219, 1602
Hatfield, Antoinette—1155
Hatfield, Mark O.—1155
Hauer, Joseph M.—2245
Havel, Vaclav—2065
Hays, Patrick Henry—1454, 2027
Heflin, Elizabeth (Mike)—1912
Heflin, Howell—1138, 1250, 1686, 1911, 1912
Heine, Patricia—1540
Helms, Jesse—1569
Henderson, Wade—1570
Henley, Don—1686
Henry, Ann—2027, 2028
Henry, Steve—1433, 2062
Herenton, Willie W.—1447
Herman, Alexis M.—1143, 1570, 1572, 1779, 1911, 1926, 2223, 2226
Herman, Janet S.—2246
Hickenlooper, John—1162
Hicks, Barbara—1209
Hickson, Sandra—1487
Higgins, John E., Jr.—2243, 2254
Hill, Amy—1181
Hill, Diana—2142
Hill, Robert—2142
Hilliard, Earl F.—1911
Hinchey, Maurice D.—2108
Hinson, David R.—1794
Hoag, Todd—1592
Hobbie, John Eyres—2245
Hobbs, Gayle—1516, 1518, 1521
Hobson, David L.—1319
Hoeffel, Joe—1969
Hoffman, Wesley K.—1364
Holbrooke, Richard—1574, 2141, 2244
Holden, Bob—1952
Holden, Nate—1282
Hollings, Ernest F.—1686
Holtzman, Steven H.—2240
Hooks, Benjamin L.—1101
Hooley, Darlene—1628
Hope, Judith—1875
Hopper, Kristen—1319
Hormel, James C.—1192, 2247
Horn, Joan Kelly—1528, 1533, 1952
Horne, Douglas A.—2240
Horne, Rex—2081
Hornsby, Bruce—1804, 1974
Howard, Janette—2133, 2139
Howard, John—2102, 2127, 2128, 2133, 2134, 2138, 2139, 2250
Howard, Patrick G.—2233
Howard, Penelope—1325
Hoy, Andrew—2139
Hoyer, Steny H.—1072
Huang, John—1181, 2094, 2095, 2132
Hubbard, Thomas C.—2149
Huckabee, Mike—1520
Hufstedler, Shirley M.—2245
Hume, Brit—2199
Humphrey, Hubert H., III—1956
Hunger, Frank W.—1332
Hunt, James B., Jr.—1554, 1568, 2233
Hurley, Susan—1472
Hurst, Lionel Alexander—2241
Huseboe, Doris Eggers—2241
Hussein, Saddam—1085, 1122, 1469, 1471, 1476, 1505, 1508, 1559, 1567, 1575, 1581, 1589, 1591, 1643, 1766, 1768, 1769, 1872, 2077
Huston, Allan S.—2242
Hutchinson, Y. Tim—2028
Hutchison, Kay Bailey—1644
Hyde, Henry J.—1100, 1219

Ibarra, Mickey—1672
Ickes, Harold—1602, 2250
Inderfurth, Karl Frederick—2254
Irving, Larry—1802
Isbell, Michael T.—2242
Itoh, William H.—2150
Izetbegovic, Alija—1098

Jackson, James—1355
Jackson, Jeanne—1911
Jackson, Jesse—1419, 1487, 2086
Jackson, Keith—1466
Jackson, Mark—1985
Jackson, Maynard—1266
James, P.J.—1488

James, Sharpe—1870
Jaskolski, Stanley Vincent—2241, 2253
Jefferson, William J.—1570, 1919, 2032
Jemison, T.J.—1488
Jenkins, Brian Michael—2243
Jensen, Dennis—1544
Jensen, Marvin—1290
Jesseramsing, Chitmansing—2241
Jewell, Richard—2132
Jiang Zemin—1525, 2137, 2148, 2251
Johnson, Brian—1109
Johnson, Chuck—2234
Johnson, Don—1382
Johnson, Earvin (Magic)—1286
Johnson, James A.—2245
Johnson, James E.—1107
Johnson, John H.—1511, 1570, 2244
Johnson, Johnnie—1911
Johnson, Nancy L.—1230
Johnson, Pamela—1845
Johnson, Paul—1544
Johnson, Peter—1149
Johnson, Robert—2250
Johnson, Robert W.—1159
Johnson, Roger—1860
Johnson, Ronald S.—2242
Johnson, Tim—1636, 1637, 1686, 2074, 2243
Johnson, Woody—2241
Johnston, J. Bennett—1686, 1916
Johnston, Kelly D.—2246, 2255
Jones, Albert—1434
Jones, Charlie—2023
Jones, Chet—1636
Jones, Ed—1441
Jones, Elaine—1570
Jones, Gail—1185
Jones, Ingrid Saunders—1570
Jones, Jan Laverty—1995
Jones, O.C.—1488
Jones, Odell—1882
Jones, Tommy Lee—2023
Jordan, Ann Dibble—2245
Jordan, Mary Lucille—2243, 2254
Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.—1309
Jorgenson, Ann—2255
Joseph, Jim—1572
Joseph, Stephen—1939
Joulwan, George A.—1864, 2234, 2235
Joyner, Tom—2249
Judd, Ashley—2062
Justice, Nell—1995

Kamarck, Elaine C.—2184, 2189
Kantor, Michael (Mickey)—1101, 1138, 1202, 1284, 1413, 1536, 1570, 1684, 2171, 2195
Kaptur, Marcy—1364
Karnes, Jim—1356
Kasem Suwannakul—2151
Kassebaum, Nancy Landon—1319, 1320, 1323, 2108, 2109
Kaszans, Rosemary—1931
Katz, Vera—1628
Keating, Paul—2138
Keaton, R.J.—1488
Keefe, Joseph F., Jr.—1785, 2055-2057
Keeney, Regina Markey—2241, 2254
Kelleher, Herb—1880
Kelley, Bennett—1974
Kelley, Dick—2080
Kelley, Frank J.—1332, 1383
Kelley, Jerry—1575
Kelley, Shawn—1985
Kelly, Cecily—1841
Kelly, Eamon M.—2241, 2254
Kelly, Raymond W.—1048, 1082, 1745, 2243
Kemp, Jack—1410, 1445, 1698, 1798, 1804, 1826, 1986, 2081
Kempthorne, Dirk—1262, 1831
Kennedy, Edward M.—1100, 1242, 1314, 1319, 1320, 1323, 1686, 1718, 1722, 1723, 2047, 2050, 2109
Kennedy, John F., Jr.—2191
Kennedy, Joseph P., II—1138, 2047
Kennedy, Patrick J.—1713, 1718
Kennedy, Sandra—1544
Kennelly, Barbara B.—1756, 2209
Kenner, Mary Lou—1931
Kepke, Joyce—1364
Kernan, Joseph—1962
Kerrey, J. Robert—1686, 1802, 1876
Kerry, John F.—1719, 1722, 1723, 1743, 1745, 2047, 2050
Kessler, David A.—1250, 1332
Key, Sandra—1292
Keys-Hebron, Sherry—1396
Khun Sa—1474
Kildee, Dale E.—1383
Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks—1882
Kim Yong-sam—2137, 2148, 2237, 2250, 2251
Kimball, Jack—1319
Kimball, Merit—1319
Kimball, Rosemary—1319
King, Alice—2018
King, Bruce—2018
King, Coretta Scott—1260, 1923
King, Dexter—1260
King, Peter T.—1254, 1255
King Fahd—1123, 2243
King Hussein I—1726, 1733, 1738, 1739, 1741, 1742, 2102, 2243, 2247, 2250
King Phumiphon—2151, 2153, 2154, 2178, 2251
Kinser, Paul—1493
Kirkland, Joseph Lane—2245, 2255
Kite, Ron—1854
Klaas, Marc—1275
Klausner, Richard—1939
Kleczka, Gerald D.—1464
Klein, Jacques Paul—2240
Knight, Gladys—1995
Knight, Grace—2139
Knight, Peter—1779, 2085, 2086

Knight, Phil—1244
Knowles, Susan—2155
Knowles, Tony—2155
Koch, Bob—1493
Kohl, Helmut—1476, 2244
Koop, C. Everett—1053, 1319, 1332
Koppie, Craig—1072, 1073
Kornblum, John—1160
Kourpias, George J.—1273, 1683, 1685
Kovac, Michal—2065
Koz, Dave—1286
Kozaren, Robert—1890
Kraft, Karen—1556
Kramer, Bette O.—2245
Kresea, Kent—1916
Kroske, Tom—1360
Krulak, Charles C.—2233
Krulik, Al—1493
Kubo, Larry—1268
Kuchel, Don—1636
Kucinich, Dennis—1878, 2059
Kulakowski, Walt—2234
Kurtz, Dale—1804
Kwasniewski, Aleksander—1081

LaBelle, Patti—1969, 2170
Lader, Philip—1314, 1316, 1319, 1975, 1977, 2224, 2242
LaFalce, John J.—1750
Laine, Tina Louise—1859
Lake, Anthony—2131, 2166-2168, 2193, 2201, 2216, 2243
Lake, William J.—2155
Lakshmanan, Triruvarur R.—2255
Lamamra, Ramtane—2241
Lamb, Brian—2251
Lambart, Edward, Jr.—1718
Lamm, Dottie—1081
Lamm, Richard—1081, 1126
Lampson, Nick—1704
Lancaster, Carlton—1698
Lancaster, Jesse—1698
Lancaster, Martin—1568
Landrieu, Mary—1686, 1916, 1919, 2032
Lane, Neal F.—1202
Lang, Eugene—1511, 2244
Lantos, Tom—2001
LaPaille, Gary—1419
Larson, Barbara—1400
LaRussa, Robert S.—2244, 2255
LaSpada, Carmella—1866
Lasser, Susan J.S.—2246
Lau, Fred—1139
Laudano, Matthew—1953
Lautenberg, Frank R.—1332, 1599, 1873, 2044
LaVelle, Avis—1063
Laybourne, Geraldine—1218
Lazar, Denise Marie—1383
Leahy, Patrick J.—1250
Leavitt, Michael O.—1602
Lebed, Aleksandr—1118
LeBlanc, Jay—1388
Lee, Harry—1919, 1920
Lee, L.G.—2233
Lee, Philip R.—1332
Leger, Stanley—1916
Lehrer, Jim—1757, 1837
Leigh, John Ernest—2243
Leland, David—1878, 2059
Lemmon, Jack—2179
Lenhof, Shianne—1551
Lennard, Earl—1479
Leonard, Thomas A.—1663
Lerner, Larry—2044
Lester, Mark—1911
Leventhal, Nathan—2255
Levesque, Sheila—1719
Levin, Barbara—1592
Levin, Carl—1319, 1378, 1592, 1881, 1882, 1890, 1975, 1979, 2056, 2248
Levin, Gerry—1802
Levin, Sander M.—1382, 1882, 1890, 2185
Levin, Susan Bass—1652
Lew, Jacob J.—2243
Lewis, Ann—1718
Lewis, Carl—1417
Lewis, Joe—1990
Lewis, John—1261, 1572, 1923, 1927, 2108
Lewis, Kathy—1694
Leyland, Jim—1657
Liasson, Mara—2195
Liberatore, Rob—1373
Lieberman, Evelyn—2182
Lieberman, Joseph I.—1779, 2184, 2185
Liff, Noah—1945
Lightfoot, Jim—2068
Lindberg, Craig—1592
Lindsey, Bruce—1120, 1242
Lipinski, William O.—1961
Liu Huaquiu—2252
Lo, Bernard—2240
Lobo, Rebecca—1756
Locke, Gary—1603, 1605
Locke, Rick—1607
Lockhart, Ocie—1337
Lockyer, Bill—1192
Lofgren, Zoe—1138, 1268
Long, Leona—1353
Long, Russell B.—1325
Longevin, James—1712
Lott, Trent—1117, 1124, 1210, 1219, 1591, 1831, 2100, 2109, 2190, 2239, 2243, 2247
Louganis, Greg—1198
Lowe, Jami—1916, 1917
Lowe, Richard—1337
Lowery, John—1487
Lowey, Nita M.—1114
Lubchenco, Jane—2247, 2255
Lucid, Michael—2158
Lucid, Shannon W.—1682, 1703, 1707, 1715, 2158

Lugar, Richard G.—1250, 1510, 1567, 1643, 1932
Luther, Bill—1745, 1956, 2185
Lydeana, Melissa—1845
Lyons, Deborah—1487
Lyons, Henry J.—1487, 1927
Lyons, Jim—1162

Mabus, Ray—1192, 1309
MacAfee, Shannon—1838
MacDougall, Peter—2007
MacKay, Buddy—1479, 1896, 1902, 2039, 2163
MacLuten, Carolyn—1811
MacNamara, Ed—1592
Magaw, John W.—1745
Mahaffey, Lloyd—1373
Maher, Kim—1552
Major, John—1525, 2104, 2243
Malcolm, Ellen—2250
Mallory, Mark L.—1582
Malloy, Dannel P.—1779
Maloney, Carolyn B.—1875, 1901
Maluso, Clare—1074
Mamedov, Georgy—1118, 2239
Mandela, Nelson—2250
Manning, Debbie—1551
Manton, Thomas J.—1875
Marcell, Shawn—1315
Mares, Don—1206
Margolies-Mezvinsky, Marjorie—2181
Margolis, Jeff—1307
Mariano, Connie—1383, 1387
Markey, Edward J.—1217, 1802
Marrero, Victor—2254
Marsalis, Wynton—1309, 1907
Marsh, Robert (Tom)—2252
Marshall, Jim—1931
Martinez, Ray—1672
Martinez, Richard—1540
Mascara, Frank—1656
Maslaw, Sophie—1656
Matheson, Norma—1600
Mathis, Nancy—1694
Matsui, Doris—1181
Matsui, Robert T.—1181, 1182, 1190, 1230, 1254, 1255
Matthews, Kerri—1556
Matthews, William—1138
Mauro, Garry—1689, 1694, 2023
Mays, Richard Leon—2250
Mazur, Jay—1049
Mazzoli, Romano L.—1808
Mbeki, Thabo—2240
McAuliffe, Terence—1572, 1876, 2086
McCaffrey, Barry R.—1083, 1104, 1332, 1414, 1425, 1473, 1542, 1553, 1570, 1697, 1745, 1747, 1756, 1763, 1868, 2153, 2194, 2226
McCain, John—1763, 2010, 2093, 2101, 2189
McCall, H. Carl—1875
McCarthy, John—2133
McCarthy, Karen—1516, 1518, 1532, 2185
McConnell, Frank—1763
McCormick, Chris—1213
McCurdy, Dave—2184
McCurry, Michael D.—1240, 1694, 1696, 1753, 1755, 2103, 2160, 2195
McDermott, Jim—1603
McDonough, John F.—1788
McDowell, Rosemarie—1464
McEntee, Gerald W.—1464
McFerrin, Bobby—1952
McGaffigan, Edward, Jr.—2239, 2253
McGarr, Cappy R.—2245
McGinnis, Ed—1391
McGinty, Kathleen A.—1251, 1290, 1400
McGovern, George—1255, 1636
McGovern, Jim—1718
McHale, Paul—2233
McIntyre, Mike—2233
McKinney, Cynthia A.—1923
McLain, Paul—1360
McLarty, Thomas F. (Mack)—1266, 1454, 1544, 1779, 2184, 2225, 2226, 2250
McMasters, Thomas A., III—1209
McMillen, Tom—1261
McMullen, Paul—1391
McNamara, Edward H.—1880, 1883
McPherson, M. Peter—1391
McPherson, Yvonne—1919
McQueen, Clyde—1516-1518, 1521
McSpadden, Neal Stewart—1332
McSpadden, Robert L.—1497
McWherter, Ned Ray—1310, 1945
Mead, Al—1260
Mead, Dana—2211, 2216
Meadows, Anna—1940
Meehan, Martin T.—1332
Meek, Carrie P.—1896
Meek, Norma—1341
Meinert, Joyce—1905
Menard, Joan—1718
Mendes, Rufino—2243
Menem, Carlos—2251
Menino, Thomas—1725
Mercier, Jack—1149
Messinger, Ruth—1875
Mfume, Kweisi—1101, 1102, 1105, 1570
Michaud, David—1824
Middlebrooks, Donald M.—2255
Miike, Lawrence H.—2240
Miles, John Modest—1488
Miller, Betty—1818
Miller, Bob—1127, 1325, 1995
Miller, George—1244
Miller, Harriet—2007
Miller, Hazel—1818
Miller, Jeffrey T.—2253
Miller, Letha—1391
Miller, Marcia E.—2241
Miller, Mike—1072, 1434
Miller, Pam—2062

Miller, Tom—1575
Miller, Zell—1204, 1520, 1923, 1926, 1930, 1931, 2241
Milligan, Jason—1840
Milne, Marilyn—1336
Milosevic, Slobodan—2183
Min, Nancy-Ann—1798
Mitchell, Elizabeth (Libby)—1788, 2051
Mitchell, George J.—1514, 1515, 1752, 1753, 1755, 1788, 1789, 1864, 2051, 2103, 2218, 2219
Mitchell, R.M., Jr.—2247
Mobley, Julia Peck—2027
Moffitt-Hayes, Arlenda—1521
Mofford, Rose—1544, 1546, 1990
Mohraz, Judy Jolley—2246
Molitor, Paul—1956
Montgomery, G.V. (Sonny)—1471, 1643
Moonves, Les—1218
Moore, Alice—1388
Moore, Beverly—1400
Moore, Dwayne H.—1592
Moore, Jacqueline—2142
Moore, John—2142
Moore, Linda L.—2184
Moore, Thomas Hill—2253
Moore, Walter—1388
Morales, Esai—2023
Morales, Victor—1694, 1698, 1699, 2023
Moran, James P.—1941, 2185
Morcott, Southwood J. (Woody)—2172
Morella, Constance A.—2180
Morial, Marc H.—2032
Morris, Dick—1409, 1427
Morris, Herb—1072
Morris, Katherine—1149
Morris, Michelle—1072
Morrison, James—2139
Morrison, Mike—2088
Morton, Paul—2032
Moseley-Braun, Carol—1056, 1058, 1059, 1114, 1570, 1961
Moses, Edwin—1156
Moss, Otis—1888, 2039
Mother Teresa (Agnes Gonxha Bojazhiu)—1736
Mount, Willie—1916, 1927
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick—1050, 1237, 1238
Mubarak, Hosni—1221, 1222, 1231, 1726, 2241, 2243, 2247, 2249
Muigai, Wanjiru—2181
Mullins, Aimee—1261
Munoz, Adan, Jr.—2255
Murchison, George—1282
Murphy, James—2243
Murphy, Tom—1656
Murphy, Victoria—1788
Murray, Linda—1268
Murray, Thomas H.—2240
Myers, Betsy—1143, 1975
Mystrom, Rick—2155

Nadler, Jerrold—1875
Namashulua, Marcos—2241
Namesnik, Eric—1391
Naranjo, Michael A.—2240, 2253
Nash, Bobby—1570, 1572
Natonski, Richard—2234
Navarro, Peter—1858
Neal, Richard E.—1722, 2047
Neckels, Jack—1292
Neidle, Diana—1262
Nelson, Bill—2039
Nelson, Daniel T.—1275
Nelson, Gaylord—1459
Nelson, Jennie—1964
Nelson, Pam—1636, 2071
Nelson, Shirley—1192
Netanyahu, Binyamin—1087, 1088, 1222, 1223, 1225, 1227, 1228, 1477, 1513, 1538, 1680, 1726, 1733, 1738, 1739, 1741, 1841, 2102, 2239, 2247, 2248, 2250
Neville, Aaron—1562
Newsome, Mary—1073
Newton, George—2245
Nghiwete, Veiccoh—2243
Nicholson, Edward A.—1656
Nicholson, Harold—2130
Nixon, Jay—1952
Noffsinger-O'Kelley, Martha—1552
Norman, Greg—2128
Norman, Jessye—1308
Norquist, John O.—1464
Northington, Larry—2242
Norton, Eleanor Holmes—2200
Notebaert, Richard C.—1062, 1417
Nowack, Bern—2233
Nowak-Jezioranski, Jan—1511, 2244
Null, Dennis—1432, 1433
Nunn, Sam—1643, 1686, 1923, 1925, 1930, 1932

Oakley, Phyllis E.—2180
O'Bannon, Frank—1404
O'Brien, Shannon—2047
Ochi, Rose M.—2241, 2254
O'Connell, Jack—2007
O'Connor, Coleen—1852
Ogilvie, Lloyd—1155
O'Grady, Scott—2233
Okray, Dee—1378
O'Leary, Hazel R.—1202, 1570, 1571, 2086, 2224, 2249
Olver, John W.—2047
O'Neil, D.L.—1488
O'Neill, Beverly—1282
Orapreza, Jennie—1282
Orenduff, J. Michael—2018
Orton, Bill—1602
Orwick, Lynne—1360
Otero, Joaquin F.—2254
Owens, Chandler—1927
Owens, Steve—1544, 1990

Padron, Eduardo—1896, 1899

Palamara, Joey—1378
Palmer, James A.—2245
Panetta, Leon E.—1147, 1190, 1204, 1223, 1236, 1275, 1568, 1864, 2001, 2003, 2091, 2093, 2122, 2243
Pantoja, Antonia—1511, 2244
Park, Steve—1181
Parkinson, Bradford W.—2243
Parks, Rosa—1388, 1511, 1512, 1570, 1883, 2244, 2245
Parmer, Hugh—1698
Parson, Patricia—1589
Pasco, Jim—1582
Pastor, Ed—1049, 1544, 1670, 1990
Pastor, Verma—1990
Pastrick, Scott—1419
Pataki, George E.—1148, 2239
Patrick, Deval L.—1107, 1570, 1572, 2117
Patrick, Diane—2117
Patton, Paul E.—1339, 1432, 1433, 1520, 1807, 2062
Pawley, Dennis—1373
Payne, Donald M.—1570, 1870, 1873, 1926, 2044, 2193
Payne, William P.—1204, 1923, 1926, 2241
Peete, Holly Robinson—1969
Peete, Rodney—1969
Pell, Claiborne—1114, 1140, 1686, 1713, 2253
Pell, Nuala—1140, 1713
Pelletreau, Robert H.—2077
Pelosi, Nancy—2108
Pena, Federico—1162, 1206, 1207, 1284, 1506, 1509, 1513, 1722, 1750, 1794, 1868, 1881, 2023, 2186, 2192, 2224, 2226, 2236, 2249
Peniston, CeCe—2071
Penn, Mark—2184
Pensky, Carol—1142, 2250
Perdomo, Lillian—2181
Perez, Carmen—1282
Perkins, Richard—1995
Perlmutter, Deana—1162
Perot, Ross—1410, 1445, 1465, 1644, 1699
Perry, William J.—1087, 1159, 1472, 1476, 1509, 1581, 1589, 1591, 2098, 2121-2123, 2166, 2167
Persson, Goran—2239, 2242
Peskin, Matt—1138, 1139
Petchell, Mike—1990
Peterson, Douglas (Pete)—1497, 1502
Peterson, Mike—1575
Peterson, Ralph—1539
Peterson, Robert E.—2239
Petti, Jerome—2044
Phelps, Vicki—1521
Pickle, James Jarrell (Jake)—1230
Pipken, James—1290
Pitino, Rick—2062
Pollard, Jonathan—2240
Pope, Martha—2219
Potter, Earl—2018
Pouland, John—1689
Poundstone, Paula—1562
Powell, Colin—1560, 1567, 1847, 2006
Powell, Dorothy—1551
Powell, Elizabeth—1074
Powell, Mike—1556
Prabhakar, Arati—2171
Pratt, Robert W.—2254
Pressler, Larry—2171
Priest, Sharon—2027
Primakov, Yevgeniy—1644, 2246
Prince Sidi Mohamed—2251
Pritt, Charlotte—1336
Proctor, Stuart—2156
Protulis, Steve—1049
Pruitt, Benjamin—1882
Pryor, Barbara—1454
Pryor, David H.—1230, 1250, 1454, 1572, 1686, 2027, 2028
Pulido, Miguel—1859
Pullman, Bill—1126
Purcell, Bill—1313
Purvis, Joe—1454

Qadhafi, Muamar—1229
Qualls, Roxanne—1582
Queen Sirikit—2153, 2154, 2178, 2251
Quigley, Kevin—1607
Quinn, John M.—2197, 2201
Quinones, John—1670

Rabin, Leah—2248
Rabin, Yitzhak—1910
Rahall, Nick J., II—1336
Raines, Franklin D.—1571, 1745, 1794, 1953, 2092, 2195, 2200
Ramaker, Jaap—1526, 1648
Ramos, Fidel—2149, 2246, 2251
Ramstad, Jim—2171
Rappoport, D. Michael—2245, 2255
Rasco, Carol H.—1261, 1325, 2225, 2226, 2231, 2252
Rauschenberg, Robert—1140
Razali bin Ismail—1647, 2246
Readdy, William—1703, 2158, 2159
Reagan, Ronald—1652, 1893, 2099
Reddick, Doris—1479
Redstone, Sumner M.—1798, 1802
Reed, Bruce N.—1325, 2184, 2225, 2226
Reed, Gregory—1209
Reed, Jack—1686, 1713, 2246
Reese-Coulbourne, Jane—1939
Reeve, Christopher—1212, 1373, 1374, 1425, 1534
Reich, Robert B.—1068, 1098, 1244, 1314, 1486, 2180, 2223, 2249
Reid, Harry—1230, 1745, 1995
Reid, Juanita M.—1975
Reid, Margaret—2133, 2134
Reid, Thomas—2133
Reilly, Joe—2170
Reisdorf, Stacy—1405
Reizman, Jean A.—2248
Rendell, Edward—1663, 1969, 2086, 2250

Reno, Janet—1068, 1082, 1189, 1204, 1208, 1219, 1223, 1225, 1509, 1580, 1581, 1745, 1746, 1752, 1793, 1795, 2094, 2183, 2197, 2225, 2241
Retsinas, Nicolas P.—2243
Revell, Bill—1442
Reyes, Silvestre—2013
Riady, James—2094
Riady, Mochtar—2160
Ribeau, Sidney A.—1365
Rice, Norman B.—1603
Richards, Ann—1143, 1195, 1572, 1689, 1698
Richardson, Bill—1250, 1290, 1670, 1826, 1831, 1835, 2018, 2196, 2197, 2207
Richardson, Bill M.—1592
Richardson, Margaret Milner—1230
Richardville, Sallie A.—1481
Ridder, Pete—1582
Rieder, Mary—1956
Riegle, Donald W., Jr.—1375, 1975
Riegle, Lori Hansen—1975
Riley, Richard W.—1065, 1068, 1069, 1261, 1554, 1568, 1797, 1802, 1966, 1970, 2086, 2187, 2221, 2225, 2231, 2250
Rimes, LeAnn—2170
Riordan, Richard—1282
Ritter, Bill—1824, 1985, 1988
Rivers, Lynn N.—1592, 1881, 1975, 1979
Riviera, Lizette—1905
Rivlin, Alice M.—2200
Robb, Charles S.—1082, 1941, 2184, 2189
Robb, Lynda—1941
Robbins, Mike—1374
Roberts, Brian—1802
Roberts, Cecil—1336
Roberts, Dawn—1497
Roberts, Pat—1250
Robin, Melvin B.—2246
Robinson, Prezell R.—2247
Robinson, Roscoe (Ike)—1945
Rockefeller, John D., IV—1290, 1336, 1678, 1802, 2209
Rockefeller, Sharon—1290
Rodham, Dorothy—2041, 2080
Rodham, Maria Arias—2041
Roemer, Tim—1404, 2185
Rogers, Fred—1218
Roitenberg, Ruth E.—2252
Romer, Roy—1162, 1325, 1539, 1540, 1572, 1600, 1818, 1980, 1985, 1986, 2184, 2187
Romero, Cathy—1521
Romero, Ed—2250
Rominger, Richard—1047, 1250
Roosevelt, Del—1282
Roque, Juan—1990
Rosen, Marvin—1193, 1417, 2086
Ross, Dennis B.—1738
Rossello, Pedro—1127
Rowtson, Reginald—1360
Rubin, Miles L.—2245
Rubin, Nancy—1779
Rubin, Robert E.—1082, 1230, 1589, 1656, 1658, 1661, 1663, 1670, 1745, 2195
Rubin, Vera C.—2241, 2253
Ruccia, Cynthia—1964
Rudman, Warren B.—1761, 2055
Ruhnke, Pamela—1521
Rush, Bob—2065
Rush, Bobby L.—1049, 1961
Rutledge, Tillman—1211
Ryan, June—1365, 2159

Sabo, Martin Olav—1956
Safaev, Sadik—2243
Sagan, Ginetta—1511, 2244
Salcinas, E.J.—1206
Salinas, Simon—1275
Salleo, Ferdinando—1199
Samaranch, Juan Antonio—1204, 1205, 2241
Sambora, Richie—1985
Samuelson, Paul A.—1203
Sanchez, Loretta—1860
Sanchez, Ray—1206
Sanders, Chessie—1846
Sandlin, Max—1689
Sandower, Sarah—1269
Santoro, Joseph—1175
Santer, Jacques—2211, 2213-2215
Santiago, Anna—1332
Sappenfield, Peggy—1149
Sarmiento, Anthony R.—2240, 2253
Sartor, Frank—2139
Saud, Saud al-Faysal bin Abd al-Aziz Al—2246
Sawyer, Jerry—1896
Sawyer, Thomas C.—1878
Scates, Karen T.—2247
Schifter, Richard—2249
Schmidt, John—1290
Schoen, Doug—2184
Schoettler, Gail—1540, 1985
Schraibman, Erin—1940
Schrieffer, Robert—2246
Schroeder, Kevin—1281
Schroeder, Patricia—1819
Schulman, Heidi H.—2243, 2254
Schultz, Richard D.—1266
Schwartz, Bernard—2184, 2185
Schwartz, Naomi—2007
Schweye, Elizabeth—1378
Scott, Clyde—1156
Scott, Robert C.—1941
Scott, Tom—1562
Scott, Willard—2170
Scott-Jones, Diane—2240
Scouten, Rex—1974
Scully, Robert T.—1382, 1745
Segal, Eli—1779
Seiffert, Iris—1853
Seigel, Fred—2250
Serna, Eric—1825, 2018
Serna, Joseph, Jr.—1185, 1206

Seward, Daraa—1953
Shackelford, Lottie—2027
Shah, Niranjan S.—2242, 2254
Shaheen, Jeanne—1785, 2055
Shalala, Donna E.—1202, 1319, 1332, 1486, 1509, 1510, 1745, 1752, 1864, 1939, 2164, 2165, 2197, 2208, 2225, 2242, 2250, 2251
Shalikashvili, John M.—1476, 2121, 2168, 2233
Shannon, LeAnn—1261
Shapiro, Bob—1524, 1783
Shapiro, Harold T.—2240
Sharp, Phillip A.—2245
Shattuck, John—2180
Sheehan, Jack—1273
Shepherd, Karen—2245, 2248, 2255
Sherman, Barbara—1544
Shipman, Claire—1344
Sholz, Sarah—1636
Shuman, Stanley—2250
Siegelman, Don—1911
Silver, Sheldon—1875
Simidian, Joe—1268
Simitis, Konstandinos—1160
Simon, Greg—1217
Simon, Paul—1056, 1058, 1059, 1431, 1686, 1833, 1835
Simpson, John—1616
Singer, Bill—1056
Sisilu, Walter—1570
Skaggs, David E.—1819, 1985
Skerritt, Tom—1607
Sklar, Eric—1783
Skleros, Christina—2044
Slack, Dorothy—1337
Slater, Rodney E.—1454, 1570, 1572, 1975, 2224, 2226
Slaughter, Louise McIntosh—2171
Sloane, William Milligan—1157
Smith, Adam—1607
Smith, Birdella—1518, 1521
Smith, Donna—2065
Smith, Doug—1793
Smith, Famous—1927
Smith, Julie—1552
Smith, Karoline—1818
Smith, Mark—1804
Smith, Michael—1854
Smith, Perry—2170
Smith, Ray L.—2233
Smith, Ruben—2018
Smith, Walter S.—2246
Smits, Jimmy—2023
Snow, Randy—1260, 1261
Snowe, Olympia J.—1802
Snyder, Vic—2027
Solo, Charlene—1383
Soon, Raynard C.—2244
Soren, Tabitha—1425
Soye, Kelly—1636
Spacey, Kevin—1876, 1974
Sparks, Sandy—1140
Spears, Sherman—2001, 2003
Specter, Arlen—1745
Sperling, Gene—2196, 2197
Sperry, Lawrence—1149
Spitz, Mark—1156
Spring, Richard—1515
Ssempala, Edith—2243
Stabenow, Debbie—1391, 2185
Stallings, Valerie—1858
Stanley, Daniel R.—2247, 2256
Stanley, Woodrow—1890
Starr, Kenneth—1348, 2097
Steitz, Joan Argetsinger—2244
Stephanopoulos, George—2165
Stevens, Alicia—2142
Stiglitz, Joseph E.—1202, 2225
Stipe, Michael—1923
Stokes, Louis—2058
Stokes, Shelly—1552
Stone, Sadohana—1990
Stookey, Paul—1193
Stovall, Vivian—1980
Straddle, Carolyn—1779
Stratigus, Verda—1851
Straub, Diane—1261
Street, John—1969
Streisand, Barbra—1562
Strickland, Bess—1985
Strickland, Ted—1352, 1964
Strickland, Tom—1540, 1686, 1819, 1980, 1985
Stroger, John—1062
Stuart, George—1493
Studds, Gerry E.—1722, 1745
Stupak, Bart—1396
Styles, Alan—1275
Su, Julie—2180
Sullins, Drew—1472
Sullivan, Jane—1290
Sullivan, Mike—1290
Sullivan, Pat—1824
Sullivan, Richard—2086
Sulzer, Joseph P.—1352
Summers, Carol—1268
Summers, Lawrence H.—2195, 2225
Suzuki, Bob H.—2241, 2253
Sweeney, John—1314
Swett, Dick—1686, 1785, 2055-2057

Talabani, Jalal—2077
Talbott, Strobe—2130
Tallchief, Maria—2179
Tallent, Tracy—1109, 1110
Tamerius, Rita—1858
Tanner, John S.—1117, 1129, 1310, 1327
Tapia, Richard A.—2241, 2246, 2254
Tarplin, Richard J.—2245, 2255
Tarullo, Dan—2196, 2197
Tauscher, Ellen—2001, 2185
Taylor, Koko—1962

Taylor, LeBaron—1570
Taylor, Louise—1175
Teasley, Mary Elizabeth—2250
Tejeda, Frank—2023
Tenore, Mike—1582
Theofanis, Dimitrios—1359
Theofanis, Nick—1359
Thiam, Mohammed Aly—2241
Thienchay Kiranandana—2151
Thomas, Albert—1396
Thomas, Dave—1316
Thomas, Helen—1222
Thomas, Jack Ward—1290
Thomas, Joey—1213
Thomas, Marlo—1876
Thomas, Robert J.—1592
Thomas, Vincent L.—1870
Thomas, William M.—1319
Thompson, Ann McKay—2241
Thompson, Fred—2010
Thompson, Sally—1686
Thompson, Tommy G.—1127
Thornberry, B.J.—1419
Thornton, Jerry Sue—1878
Thornton, Ray—1454, 2027
Thurm, Kevin L.—2241, 2243, 2254, 2255
Timmer, Jan—2211
Tisch, Jonathan—2250
Titus, Dina—1995
Toiv, Barry J.—1240, 2239
Tompkins, Marcia—1493
Toney, Glen—1268
Torre, Joe—2248
Torres, Art—1181, 1186, 1859
Torres, Esteban Edward—2223
Torres, Liz—2023
Torricelli, Robert G.—1599, 1652, 1655, 1686, 1870, 1872, 2044, 2108
Toubia, Nahid—2180
Trachtenberg, Stephen J.—1255
Traficant, James A., Jr.—1074
Travers, Mary—1193
Trie, Charles Yah Lin—2219
Trivelpiece, Alvin—1798
Trotter, Don—1447
Truan, Carlos—2023
Trujillo, Art—1825
Tucker, Jim Guy—1429
Tudjman, Franjo—2241
Tunnicliff, Kim—1395
Turner, Jim—1689
Turner, Stansfield—2245
Turner, Ted—2248
Tyson, Laura D'Andrea—1202, 1779, 2225, 2243

U Tin Winn—2243
Udall, Mark—1512, 1544
Udall, Morris—1512, 2244
Udall, Tom—2018
Uehara, Goro—2244
Ulmer, Fran—2155
Ungaro, Patrick J.—1074
Utrecht, Lyn—2205

Valdez, Jeff—2023
Valenti, Jack—2221
Varmus, Harold E.—1202, 1939
Vaughn, Bill—1310
Velazquez, Nydia M.—1207
Veneges, Arturo—1185
Vento, Bruce F.—1956
Villareal, Jose—1206
Villines, Buddy—1454, 2027
Vogt, Carl W.—2243
Voinovich, George V.—1262, 1263
Vorontsov, Yuliy—2160
Vraalsen, Tom Eric—2241

Walker, Bob—1743
Walker, Jerry Jeff—1575, 2071
Walker, Juanita Bycraft—1975
Walker, LeRoy T.—1156, 1266
Walsh, Michael—1459
Walters, Barbara—2245
Walz, Carl—2158
Wang Jun—2227
Ward, Julie—2018
Ward, Mike—1340, 1808, 1811
Warner, John—1262
Warner, Mark—1686, 1941
Warwick, Dionne—1870
Washington, Grover—1969
Washington, Leroy—2035
Washington, Renee—1919
Waters, Dorothy Marie—1211
Watlington, Ernestine P.—2241, 2254
Watson, Karen—1905
Watt, Melvin L.—1102, 1109
Waxman, Henry A.—1250, 1332
Wayne, Howard—1858
Webb, Wellington E.—1162, 1487, 1540, 1818, 1824, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1988
Webb, Wilma—1981
Webber, LaVern E.—1471
Weber, Steven—1859
Weider, Harriett M.—2242
Weiland, Rick—1636, 2071
Weill, Sandy—1783
Weld, William F.—1723
Wellington, Lois—1049
Wellstone, Paul D.—1332, 1677, 1745, 1956
Wertheim, John—1825
Werzeg, Bilal Ould—2241
Wesley, Darity—1858
West, Togo D., Jr.—1473
Weygand, Bob—1713
Wharton, Don—1683
Wheat, Alan—1528, 1532
Wheeler, Tom—1138, 1139
White, Beverly Fisher—2253
White, Michael R.—1878, 2058

White, Reggie—1798
White, William H.—1689, 1694, 1695
Whitehead, Martha—1689
Whitney, Justin—1378
Whitson, Donna—1745
Wiesner, Jerome—1202
Wiggins, Jim—1931
Wiggs, Janelle—1644
Wiggs, Jenine—1644
Wiggs, Ricardo—1644
Wilcutt, Terry—2158
Wilhelm, Charles E.—2233
Wilhelm, David—1062
Wilhelm, Deegee—1063
Wilkinson, Catherine—1314
Willey, Kathleen Elizabeth—2246
Williams, Emma—1337
Williams, George H.—2243
Williams, J.R.—1101
Williams, Margaret A.—1348, 1572
Williams, Pat—1290
Williams, Sylvia—1974
Williams, Willie—1175
Willis, Carol—1926
Wilson, Albert S.—2233
Wilson, Art—1209
Wilson, James—1431
Wilson, Michael—1652
Wilson, Roger—1952
Wiltshire, Susan Ford—2240, 2253
Wingfield, Gus—2258
Wise, Robert E., Jr.—1336
Withrow, Mary Ellen—1353, 1964, 2059
Witt, James Lee—1048, 1108, 1190, 1479, 1488, 1505, 1508, 1509, 1512, 1513, 1568, 2226, 2244
Wofford, Harris—2223
Wolfensohn, James D.—2245
Wolpe, Howard—2240
Wonder, Stevie—1974
Wong, Leland—1282
Wood, James—1113
Woods, Bridget—1610
Woods, Harriet—1952
Worley, Tracy—1859
Wright, James—1698
Wright, Margie—1552
Wyatt, Joe—1945
Wyckoff, Robert—1369

Yarrow, Peter—1193
Yellen, Janet L.—2225, 2226
Yeltsin, Boris—1073, 1075, 1077, 1078, 1118, 1347, 1525, 1644, 1648, 2079, 2160, 2245, 2251
Yeltsin, Naina—2080
Yokich, Stephen P.—1273, 1683
Young, Andrew—1487, 1570, 1926
Young, C.W. Bill—2163
Young, Jerry—1556
Young, Steve—1582
Yunis, Mohammed—1883

Zavaras, Aries—1824
Zbur, Rick—1282
Zeiss, Tony—1109
Zimmer, Dick—2044
Zisook, Amy—1063
Zoldan, Bruce—1074
Zorn, Trischa—1261
Zubac, Kresimir—1098
Zumwalt, Elmo R., Jr.—2252
Zweiman, Robert—2106

Document Categories List

Addresses to the Nation

Christmas greeting—2232

Addresses and Remarks

See also Addresses to the Nation; Appointments and Nominations; Bill Signings; Interviews With the News Media; Meetings With Foreign Leaders and International Officials; Resignations and Retirements
"Adelante Con Clinton" participants, teleconference—1206
AIDS research, briefing—2164
Air Force transport plane crash in Wyoming—1303
Airline safety initiative—2192
Albuquerque, NM, community—1825
American Legion Boys Nation—1148
American Legion Girls Nation—1148
Anticancer initiatives—1939
Anticrime initiatives—1580
Apparel industry, measures to improve working conditions—1244
Arizona State University in Tempe, AZ—1990
Arlington, OH, community—1360
Ashland, KY, community—1339
Asian-American Democratic dinner in Los Angeles, CA—1181
Atlanta, GA
  Community—1923
  Religious and community leaders—1926
Australia
  Canberra, Parliament—2133, 2134
  Port Douglas, International Coral Reef Initiative—2142
  Sydney, community—2139
Aviation safety and security improvement, meeting in Jamaica, NY—1200
Bangor, ME, community—2051
Battle Creek, MI, community—1395
Beverly Hills, CA, Democratic dinner—1561
Birmingham, AL, community—1911
Bosnia-Herzegovina
  Elections—1574
  U.S. participation in NATO mission—2119
Bowling Green, OH, community—1364
Brandon, SD, community—1635
Bruggere, Tom, reception in Portland, OR—1632
Buffalo, NY, community—1747
Cairo, IL, community—1430
Camp Lejeune, NC—2233
Cape Girardeau, MO, community—1422
Cedar Rapids, IA, community—2065
Central Piedmont Community College in Charlotte, NC—1109

Addresses and Remarks—Continued
Centralia, WA, community—1616
Chicago, IL, community—1961
Children's television conference—1216
Chillicothe, OH, community—1352
Christmas
  Children's party at the White House—2228
  National Christmas tree, lighting ceremony—2170
Chrysler Jeep plant employees, Toledo, OH—1373
Church burnings—1047
Cincinnati, OH, community—1582
Cleveland, OH, community—2058
Columbus, OH, community—1355
Community policing, cellular telephone donations to neighborhood watch groups—1138
Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—1525
Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, dinner—1570
Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, dinner—1670
Counterterrorism initiatives—1506
Covington, TN, community—1445
Cuyahoga Community College in Parma, OH—1878
Dayton, OH, community—1803
Daytona Beach, FL, community—1904
Democratic congressional leaders, meeting—1241
Democratic Leadership Council, luncheon—2184
Democratic National Committee
  Annual general session in Chicago, IL—1419
  Convention in Chicago, IL
    Chicago '96 dinner—1062
    Post-convention celebration—1417
    Presidential nomination, acceptance—1409
  Dinners
    Miami, FL—1902
    St. Louis, MO—1532
  President's 50th birthday celebrations in New York City—1303, 1307, 1308
  Reception in Philadelphia, PA—1663
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee reception—1686
Denver, CO
  Community—1167, 1818, 1824, 1985
  Democratic rally—1980
Detroit, MI
  Community—1890
  Detroit Metropolitan Wayne County airport, ground-breaking ceremony—1880
Disabled American Veterans, convention in New Orleans, LA—1209
Domestic policy team, nominations—2223
Durbin, Representative Dick, reception—1056
Dyersburg, TN, community—1442
Eastern Michigan University in Ypsilanti, MI—1975

Addresses and Remarks—Continued
Economy, national—1239
El Paso, TX, community—2013
Elmendorf Air Force Base, AK—2155
Fall River, MA, community—1718
Federal budget, omnibus budget agreement—1721
Flossmoor, IL, community—1595
Ford, Harold E., Jr., reception in Memphis, TN—1452
Fort Worth, TX, community—1698
Freehold Borough, NJ, community—1652
Fresno, CA, community—1551
Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies—1140
Fulton, KY, community—1441
George Washington University—1255
Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument at Grand Canyon National Park, AZ—1600
Gulf Coast Community College in Panama City, FL—1497
Harkin, Senator Tom, rally in Indianola, IA—1575
Hartford, CT, community—1756, 1778
Hatfield, Senator Mark, retirement dinner—1155
Houston, TX, community—1704
Human rights proclamation, signing ceremony—2180
Huntington, WV, community—1336
Hurricane Fran, roundtable discussion in Raleigh, NC—1567
Idaho Falls, ID, community—1302
Independence Day celebrations
Patuxent River Naval Air Station, MD—1072
Youngstown, OH—1074
Interagency task force initiative for St. Petersburg, FL, teleconference—2163
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, teleconference—1683
Iraq, U.S. missile strikes—1469, 1476
Ireland, Prime Minister Bruton, discussions—1514
Israel
Prime Minister Netanyahu, discussions—1513
Prime Minister Rabin, anniversary of assassination—1910
Jackson, TN, community—1312
Kalamazoo, MI, community—1399
Kennedy Center honors reception—2178
Kerry, Senator John, campaign concert in Boston, MA—1723
Knoxville, TN, community—1797
Labor Day celebrations
De Pere, WI, picnic—1459
Milwaukee, WI, festival—1464
La Center, KY, community—1432
Lake Charles, LA, community—1916
Las Cruces, NM, community—2017
Las Vegas, NV, community—1995
Lebanon, Prime Minister Hariri, discussions—1864
Legislative accomplishments of the 104th Congress—1681
Lexington, KY, community—2062
Little Rock, AR, community—1454, 2027
Long Beach, CA, community—1281

Addresses and Remarks—Continued
Longview, TX, community—1689
Longview, WA, community—1620
Louisville, KY, community—1807
Lucid, Astronaut Shannon
Congressional Space Medal of Honor, White House presentation ceremony—2158
Return to Houston, TX—1703
Telephone conversation—1682
Macon, GA, community—1931
Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Awards, presentation ceremony—2171
Manchester, NH, community—1784, 2055
Marrero, LA, community—1919
Mars, possible discovery of life—1267
Mayfield, KY, community—1439
McClellan Air Force Base redevelopment authority—1190
Memphis, TN, community—1447
Miami-Dade Community College in Miami, FL—1896
Michigan City, IN, community—1404
Michigan State University in East Lansing, MI—1391
Middle East
Peace process—1680
Peace summit at the White House—1725, 1733
Minimum wage legislation, congressional action—1095
Minneapolis, MN, community—1956
Monrovia, CA, community—1175
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, convention in Charlotte, NC—1101
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., in Orlando, FL—1487
National Council of Senior Citizens, convention in Chicago, IL—1049
National Education Association—1065
National Governors' Association, conference—1127
National Guard Association of the U.S.—1471
National Medals of Science and Technology, presentation ceremony—1202
National security team, nominations—2166
Native American tribal leaders, endorsement—1835
New Hope Baptist Church in Newark, NJ—1870
New Orleans, LA, community—2032
Northern Ireland peace process—2218
Oakland, CA, community—2001
Ohio State University in Columbus, OH—1964
Olympic games
Paralympic games, White House torch relay ceremony—1260
U.S. team
Atlanta, GA—1156
White House—1266
Paducah, KY, community—1433
Pension portability regulations—1589
Peterson, Representative Pete, reception in Panama City, FL—1502
Philippines, Manila, U.S. Embassy—2149
Poland, President Kwasniewski, discussions—1081

Addresses and Remarks—Continued
Pontiac, MI, community—1388
Portland, ME, community—1788
Portland, OR, community—1628
Potomac River, survey of flood damage—1512
Presidential debates
Hartford, CT—1757
San Diego, CA—1837
Presidential election, victory celebrations
Constitution Hall—1974
Little Rock, AR—2080
National Building Museum—2086
White House—2085
Presidential Medal of Freedom, presentation ceremony—1510
Presidential Unity Fund receptions
New York City—1875
Washington, DC—1907
President's Drug Policy Council, meeting—2194
Providence, RI, community—1712
Pueblo, CO, community—1540
Radio addresses—1079, 1116, 1160, 1204, 1249, 1288, 1300, 1334, 1437, 1504, 1566, 1641, 1711, 1754, 1817, 1867, 1936, 2021, 2105, 2126, 2145, 2157, 2177, 2208, 2231, 2236
Rancho Cucamoga, CA, community—1556
Robert Morris College in Coraopolis, PA—1656
Royal Oak, MI, community—1382
Sacramento, CA, community—1185
St. Louis, MO, community—1528
St. Paul's A.M.E. Church in Tampa, FL—2035
Salem Missionary Baptist Church in Fruitland, TN—1310
Salinas, CA, community—1275
San Antonio, TX, community—2023
San Diego, CA, community—1857
San Francisco, CA, Democratic dinner—1192
San Jose, CA, community—1268
Santa Ana, CA, community—1859
Santa Barbara, CA, community—2007
Saxophone Club
Denver, CO—1162
Santa Monica, CA—1285
Seattle, WA—1607
Washington, DC—1974
School reconstruction initiative—1114
Seattle, WA, community—1603
Sioux Falls, SD, community—2071
Southern Governors' Association in Kansas City, MO—1520
Springfield, MA, community—2047
Springfield, VA, community—1941
Stamford, CT, business leaders—1779
Sun City, AZ, community—1543
Sunrise, FL, community—1480
Tacoma, WA, community—1609
Tampa, FL, community—1479
Teenage smoking, regulations—1332
Television programming
Rating system—2221
Violence, 2d annual report—1833

Addresses and Remarks—Continued
Terrorism—1219
Thailand, Bangkok
Chulalongkorn University—2151
State dinner—2154
Taxation treaty with the U.S.—2150
Thanksgiving turkey, presentation ceremony—2156
Toledo, OH, community—1368
Torricelli, Representative Robert, brunch in Teaneck, NJ—1872
Troy, TN, community—1441
TWA Flight 800 crash—1147, 1199
Unemployment—1077
Union Township, NJ, community—2044
United Michigan Clergy in Detroit, MI—1882
United Nations General Assembly in New York City, 51st session—1647
U.S. Agricultural Communicators Congress—1130
U.S. Information Agency, Voice of America Director, nomination—2182
United Steel Workers, convention—1273
University City, MO, community—1952
University of Chicago in Chicago, IL—1408
University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, PA—1969
Valencia Community College in Orlando, FL—1493
Vancouver, WA, community—1625
Vanderbilt University in Nashville, TN—1945
Veterans Day ceremony in Arlington, VA—2106
Welfare reform
Roundtable discussion in Kansas City, MO—1516
Legislation—1233
West Palm Beach, FL, community—2039
Westland, MI, community—1592
White House, acquisition of Henry Ossawa Tanner painting—1973
White House Conference on Environmental Technology, teleconference—1539
Women's Leadership Forum—1142
Woodland, WA, community—1625
Wyandotte, MI, community—1378
Yellowstone National Park, WY, mine property agreement—1290
Yelm City, WA, community—1613
Youth crime gun interdiction initiative—1082
Zaire, assistance effort—2119

Appointments and Nominations

See also Digest (Appendix A); Nominations Submitted to the Senate (Appendix B); Checklist (Appendix C)
Central Intelligence Agency, Director, remarks—2166
Commerce Department, Secretary, remarks—2195
Council of Economic Advisers, Chair, remarks—2223
Domestic Policy Council, Director, remarks—2223
Energy Department, Secretary, remarks—2223
Housing and Urban Development Department, Secretary, remarks—2223

Appointments and Nominations—Continued
Labor Department, Secretary, remarks—2223
National Economic Council
Chair, remarks—2195
Member, remarks—2195
Office of Management and Budget, Director, remarks—2195
Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, U.S. Trade Representative, remarks—2195
Small Business Administration, Administrator, remarks—2223
State Department, Secretary, remarks—2166
Transportation Department, Secretary, remarks—2223
United Nations, U.S. Representative, remarks—2195
U.S. Information Agency, Voice of America, Director, remarks—2182
White House Office
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, remarks—2223
Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, remarks—2195
Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy, remarks—2195
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, remarks—2166
Special Envoy to the President and the Secretary of State for Latin America, remarks—2223

Bill Signings

Accountable Pipeline Safety and Partnership Act of 1996, statement—1823
Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1264
Antarctic Science, Tourism, and Conservation Act of 1996, statement—1742
Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act, statement—1737
Bulgaria, most-favored-nation trade status legislation, statement—1154
Cambodia, most-favored-nation trade status legislation, statement—1669
Carjacking Correction Act of 1996, statement—1735
Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996
Remarks—1100
Statement—1071
Coast Guard Authorization Act of 1996, statement—1869
Comprehensive Methamphetamine Control Act of 1996, remarks—1951
Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1727
Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1997
Remarks—1676
Statement—1678
Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act Amendments of 1996, statement—1265

Bill Signings—Continued
District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1527
Economic Espionage Act of 1996, statement—1814
Electronic Freedom of Information Act Amendments of 1996, statement—1743
Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1728
Enrollment, legislation waiving certain requirements, statement—1729
Federal Aviation Reauthorization Act of 1996
Remarks—1793
Statement—1796
Federal Oil and Gas Royalty Simplification and Fairness Act of 1996
Remarks—1292
Statement—1293
Food Quality Protection Act of 1996
Remarks—1250
Statement—1252
Health Centers Consolidation Act of 1996, statement—1816
Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996
Remarks—1319
Statement—1322
Helium Privatization Act of 1996, statement—1796
Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997, statement—1813
Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996, remarks—1254
Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1588
Maritime Security Act of 1996, statement—1792
Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1587
Mollie Beattie Wilderness Area Act, statement—1220
Mother Teresa, legislation conferring honorary citizenship, statement—1736
National Children's Island Act of 1995, statement—1158
National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997
Remarks—1643
Statement—1645
National Gambling Impact Study Commission Act, statement—1253
National Invasive Species Act of 1996, statement—1938
National Securities Markets Improvement Act of 1996, statement—1812
Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996, statement—1816
Omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act, 1997, statement—1729
Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996
Remarks—2108
Statement—2111

Bill Signings—Continued
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996
Remarks—1325
Statement—1328
Presidential and Executive Office Accountability Act, statement—1937
Railroad Unemployment Insurance Amendments Act of 1996, statement—1795
Romania, most-favored-nation trade status legislation, statement—1253
Safe Drinking Water Act Amendments of 1996
Remarks—1262
Statement—1263
Single Audit Act Amendments of 1996, statement—1079
Small Business Job Protection Act of 1996
Remarks—1314
Statement—1317
Sustainable Fisheries Act, statement—1815
Taxpayer Bill of Rights 2, remarks—1230
Veterans legislation, statement—1795
War Crimes Act of 1996, statement—1323
War crimes document disclosure legislation, statement—1901
Water Resources Development Act of 1996, statement—1830
Wildfire Suppression Aircraft Transfer Act of 1996, remarks—1831
Witness retaliation, witness tampering, and jury tampering legislation, statement—1735

Bill Vetoes

Fish and wildlife refuge legislation, message—1744
Labor-management relations legislation, message—1232

Communications to Congress

See also Bill Vetoes
Angola, U.S. national emergency with respect to UNITA, messages—1587, 1623
Austria-U.S. tax convention, message transmitting—1477
Bosnia-Herzegovina, deployment of U.S. military forces for implementation of the peace process, letter—2229
Broom corn broom imports, letter transmitting report—2158
Bulgaria, emigration policies, message transmitting report—1141
Canada-U.S. protocol on the protection of migratory birds, message transmitting—1247
Caribbean Basin economic recovery, message transmitting report—1737
Coastal zone management, message transmitting report—1099
Colombia, U.S. national emergency with respect to narcotics traffickers, letters—1859, 1888
Corporation for Public Broadcasting, message transmitting report—1099

Communications to Congress—Continued
Cyprus, letters—1160, 1710, 2207
Domestic violence offenders, legislation prohibiting possession of firearms, letter—1599
Export Administration Act lapse, U.S. national emergency
Letters transmitting Executive orders—1832, 2123
Letter transmitting notice—1298
Letter transmitting report—2160
Federal budget deferrals, letter transmitting report—2166
Federal Government employees, locality pay, letter—2144
Federal Labor Relations Authority, message transmitting report—1710
Generalized system of preferences, amendment, letter—1863
Housing and Urban Development Department, message transmitting report—1221
Illegal immigration legislation, letter—1248
Illicit drug producing and transit countries, letter—2162
Indonesia-U.S. tax protocol, message transmitting—1478
Inter-American Convention on Serving Criminal Sentences Abroad, message transmitting—1732
International Maritime Organization, message transmitting convention amendments—1736
International Telecommunication Union, message transmitting constitution and convention—1565
Iran, U.S. national emergency
Letter reporting—2117
Message reporting—1563
Iraq
Compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions, letters reporting—1085, 2076
U.S. national emergency
Letter reporting—1295
Message transmitting notice—1185
Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, letter transmitting report—1324
Libya, economic sanctions, message—1179
Livestock producers, assistance, letter—1047
Luxembourg-U.S. tax convention, message transmitting—1477
Middle East, U.S. national emergency with respect to terrorists who threaten the peace process, letter reporting—1280
Mongolia, emigration policies, message transmitting report—1478
Naval petroleum reserves production, letter—1788
Partnership For Peace initiative, letter transmitting report—1324
President's Advisory Board on Arms Proliferation Policy, message transmitting report—1141
Railroad Retirement Board, message transmitting report—1710
Rwanda, humanitarian relief efforts, letter—2161
Safe drinking water legislation, letter—1232

Communications to Congress—Continued
Serbia and Montenegro, U.S. national emergency, letter reporting—2174
Transportation department, message transmitting reports—1752
Turkey-U.S. tax agreement, message transmitting—1470
United Nations
Convention to combat desertification, message transmitting—1248
U.S. activities, message transmitting report—1199
Weapons of mass destruction
Prevention of importation, letter—2083
U.S. national emergency, letter reporting—2112
Zaire, humanitarian relief efforts, letter—2161

Communications to Federal Agencies

See also Presidential Documents Published in the Federal Register (Appendix D)
Adoption and alternate placement for children on welfare, memorandum—2209
Aliens, eligibility for food stamps, memorandum—1331
Aviation and transportation disasters, assistance to families affected, memorandum—1509
Child support enforcement, memorandum—1166
Encryption products, export policy, memorandum—2124
Family violence provisions of welfare reform legislation, memorandum—1751
Food recovery efforts, memorandum—2146
Hurricane Fran, employees affected, memorandum—1539
Illicit drugs, reducing teenage driving under the influence, memorandum—1868
National Children's Island, memorandum—1159
Naturalization, memorandum—1330
Teaching, promoting excellence and accountability, memorandum—1555
Western States power outage, memorandum—1071
Work requirements initiative, memorandum—1130
Youth crime gun interdiction initiative, memorandum—1084

Interviews With the News Media

See also Addresses and Remarks
Exchanges with reporters
Albuquerque, NM—1831, 1833, 1835
Boston, MA—1721
Canberra, Australia—2127
Capitol—1681
Chautauqua, NY—1752, 1755
Jackson Hole, WY—1294, 1298
Kansas City, MO—1525
Manila, Philippines—2147, 2148
New York City—1651
Sacramento, CA—1190
San Diego, CA—1836

Interviews With the News Media—Continued
Exchanges with reporters—Continued
White House—1077, 1081, 1087, 1095, 1147, 1204, 1219, 1221, 1230, 1233, 1239, 1241, 1244, 1254, 1267, 1303, 1325, 1469, 1476, 1506, 1512-1514, 1574, 1580, 1589, 1643, 1680, 1725, 1733, 1864, 2089, 2108, 2119, 2158, 2164, 2166, 2182, 2192, 2194, 2218, 2221, 2223
Interviews
CNN—1344
Dallas Morning News—1694
Houston Chronicle—1694
MTV—1425
MSNBC—1118
Joint news conferences
Australia, Prime Minister Howard—2128
Egypt, President Mubarak—1222
European Union, Commission President Santer and Council President Bruton—2211
Israel, Prime Minister Netanyahu—1088, 1738
Jordan, King Hussein I—1738
Palestinian Authority, Chairman Arafat—1738
News conferences
No. 127 (July 9)—1088
No. 128 (July 30)—1222
No. 129 (October 2)—1738
No. 130 (November 8)—2091
No. 131 (November 20)—2128
No. 132 (December 13)—2195
No. 133 (December 16)—2211

Letters and Messages

See also Bill Vetoes; Communications to Congress
Bosnia-Herzegovina, anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica, letter—1115
Christmas, message—2191
Hanukkah, message—2169
Independence Day, message—1056
Kwanzaa, message—2192
Labor Day, message—1424
Lebanon, anniversary of terrorist attack in Beirut, message—1866
Polish American Heritage Month, message—1793
Rosh Hashana, message—1502
Yom Kippur, message—1603

Meetings With Foreign Leaders and International Officials

Argentina, President Menem—2251
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation leaders—2251
Australia
Governor General Deane—2250
Parliament Opposition Leader Beazley—2250
Prime Minister Howard—2127, 2128, 2133, 2134, 2139, 2250
China
Defense Minister Chi—2251
Minister Liu—2251
President Jiang—2147
Croatia, President Tudjman—2241
Egypt, President Mubarak—1221, 1222, 2241

Meetings With Foreign Leaders and International Officials—Continued
European Union
Commission President Santer—2211
Council President Bruton—2211
Ireland, Prime Minister Bruton—1514, 2211, 2218
Israel, Prime Minister Netanyahu—1087, 1088, 1513, 1733, 1738
Japan, Prime Minister Hashimoto—1651, 2148
Jordan, King Hussein I—1733, 1738
Korea, South, President Kim—2148
Lebanon, Prime Minister Hariri—1864
Morocco, Crown Prince Sidi Mohamed—2251
Palestinian Authority, Chairman Arafat—1733, 1738
Philippines, President Ramos—2251
Poland, President Kwasniewski—1081
Russia
Deputy Foreign Minister Mamedov—2239
Foreign Minister Primakov—2246
Saudi Arabia, Foreign Minister Saud al-Faysal—2246
South Africa, Executive Deputy President Mbeki—2240
Sweden, Prime Minister Persson—2242
Thailand
King Phumiphon and Queen Sirikit—2251
Prime Minister-elect Chavalit—2251
Prime Minister Banhan—2150, 2251
United Nations
General Assembly President Razali—2246
Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali—2246

Resignations and Retirements

See also Statements by the President
Defense Department, U.S. European Command, Commander in Chief, statement—2235
Justice Department, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, statement—2117
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, statement—2235
State Department, Secretary, remarks—2089
White House Office, Senior Adviser for Policy and Strategy, statement—2165

Statements by the President

See also Appointments and Nominations; Bill Signings; Resignations and Retirements
AIDS strategy—2220
Anticrime initiatives—1823
Auto industry labor dispute, tentative agreement—2032
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Stabilization force operation plan, approval—2220

Statements by the President—Continued
Bosnia-Herzegovina—Continued
Training and equipping the Bosnian Federation armed forces—1098
Cigarette vending machines, A&P stores' decision to remove—1113
Counterterrorism initiatives—1560
Cuba, efforts to bring democracy—1299
Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996, action on title III—1136
Dayton accords, anniversary—2141
Deaths
Bernardin, Joseph Cardinal—2116
Bundy, McGeorge—1587
Chancellor, John—1117
Fish, Hamilton, Jr.—1192
Flemming, Arthur—1506
Garcia, Hector—1204
Federal aviation reauthorization legislation, congressional action—1750
Food quality protection legislation, congressional action—1199
Health care legislation—1201, 1238
Homeownership, expansion—1901
Hurricanes Fran and Hortense, supplemental disaster assistance—1642
Illicit drugs, international trafficking—1812
Japan-U.S. semiconductor agreement—1247
Korean Peninsula, resolution of submarine incident—2237
Livestock producers, assistance—1047
McDonnell Douglas and International Association of Machinists, tentative agreement—1502
Middle East peace process—1477
Minimum wage legislation, congressional action—1201
Morris, Dick, resignation—1408
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1997 summit—1501, 2184
Omnibus parks legislation—1726, 1751
Pan American flight 103, anniversary of bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland—2230
Railroad contract disputes settlement—1232
Russia
President Yeltsin's heart surgery—2079
Presidential election results—1070, 1077
Same-gender marriage—1635
United Nations Security Council, selection of Secretary-General—2207
Veterans' health, Medicare model project—1279, 1526
Welfare reform—1208, 1727