

open truths. We've got to be tough enough to bring down the deficit, but we have to be smart enough to keep investing in our people and our technologies to have a growing modern economy.

Next week, the Senate will begin considering this plan for deficit reduction and economic growth. There are principles the Senate should honor when it considers our plan, the things I believe we must have. Number one, we have to cut this deficit by at least \$500 billion over the next 5 years. Number two, there could be no increases in taxes before there are real cuts in spending, and all the savings should be locked up in a trust fund for the 5-year life of the plan. Number three, because of what's happened over the last 12 years, those who are successful enough to be able to pay more should pay more, and we must minimize the burden on the middle class and the working poor. Number four, we have to preserve these incentives to reform the welfare system and to encourage people who are working, so that more people will move from welfare to work. And number five, when we cut spending, we still have to leave some investment resources for education and training, for new technologies, for converting from a defense to a domestic economy, and for incentives for businesses and private individuals to invest in communities that are distressed and to create new jobs and new enterprises. These are the steps we must take to rebuild our economy. We can do it.

Although the changes I am asking Congress to approve are difficult, especially after more than a decade of everybody being told exactly what they want to hear while things get worse and worse and worse, these changes have to be made. Our living standards are at stake, and we must rise to the occasion. That is, after all, the promise of America. A community at its best provides a growing measure of prosperity for everyone who works hard and plays by the rules. But our challenge is to fulfill that promise by ensuring that as we expand opportunity and growth, everyone has a shot to earn their share.

In my lifetime, no one has addressed that challenge with greater courage or constancy than the late Senator Robert Kennedy. On

Sunday, 25 years after his death, I will be joining his family, their supporters and friends in celebrating his short but exceptional life as one of the most candid and unifying public servants our country has ever known.

At a time when so many citizens feel disconnected from their political leaders, Senator Kennedy had an uncommon feel for what people experienced in their daily lives. He fought to expand economic opportunity, to remind citizens that our rights are accompanied by responsibilities. He sought to close the gap between working class whites and African Americans when others tried for political advantage to keep them apart.

Most of all, Robert Kennedy reminded us that whatever our differences with our leaders are and our differences with our policies, we can and should all love our country. And that is why, even as we remember his life and mourn his loss, we must celebrate his spirit because his example is what we should be following today.

I will keep fighting for a society filled with opportunity for every American, free of discrimination, full of the hopes and dreams that Bobby Kennedy fought for. Realizing these dreams would be the greatest tribute we could offer him and the greatest gift we could give to our children.

Thanks for listening.

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

Remarks at the Memorial Mass for Robert F. Kennedy in Arlington, Virginia

June 6, 1993

Father Creedon, Mrs. Kennedy, the children of Robert Kennedy, and the Kennedy family, to all the distinguished Americans here present, and most of all, to all of you who bear the noble title, citizen of this country: Twenty-five years ago today, on the eve of my college graduation, I cheered the victory of Robert Kennedy in the California primary, and felt again that our country might face its problems openly, meet its challenges

bravely, and go forward together. He dared us all. He dared the grieving not to retreat into despair. He dared the comfortable not to be complacent. He dared the doubting to keep going.

As I looked around this crowd today and saw us all graced not only by the laughter of children but by the tears of those of us old enough to remember, it struck me again that the memory of Robert Kennedy is so powerful that in a profound way we are all in two places today. We are here and now, and we are there, then.

For in Robert Kennedy we all invested our hopes and our dreams that somehow we might redeem the promise of the America we then feared we were losing, somehow we might call back the promise of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King, and heal the divisions of Vietnam and the violence and pain in our own country. But I believe if Robert Kennedy were here today, he would dare us not to mourn his passing but to fulfill his promise and to be the people that he so badly wanted us all to be. He would dare us to leave yesterday and embrace tomorrow.

We remember him, almost captured in freeze-frame, standing on the hood of a car, grasping at outreached hands, black and brown and white. His promise was that the hands which reached out to him might someday actually reach out to each other. And together, those hands could make America everything that it ought to be, a nation reunited with itself and rededicated to its best ideals.

When his funeral train passed through the gritty cities of the Northeast, people from both sides of the tracks stood silent. He had earned their respect because he went to places most leaders never visit and listened to people most leaders never hear and spoke simple truth most leaders never speak.

He spoke out against neglect, but he challenged the neglected to seize their own destiny. He wanted so badly for Government to act, but he did not trust bureaucracy. And he believed that Government had to do things with people, not for them. He knew we had to do things together or not at all. He spoke to the sons and daughters of immigrants and the sons and daughters of sharecroppers, and told them all, "As long as you

stay apart from each other, you will never be what you ought to be."

He saw the world not in terms of right and left but right and wrong. And he taught us lessons that cannot be labeled except as powerful proof. Robert Kennedy reminded us that on any day, in any place, at any time, racism is wrong, exploitation is wrong, violence is wrong, anything that denies the simple humanity and potential of any man or woman is wrong.

He touched children whose stomachs were swollen with hunger but whose eyes still sparkled with life. He marched with workers who strained their backs for poverty wages while harvesting our food. He walked down city streets with people who ached, not from work but from the lack of it. Then as now, his piercing eyes and urgent voice speak of the things we all like to think that we believe in.

When he was alive, some said he was ruthless; some said he wasn't a real liberal, and others claimed he was a real radical. If he were here today, I think he would laugh and say they were both right. But now as we see him more clearly, we understand he was a man who was very gentle to those who were most vulnerable, very tough in the standards he kept for himself, very old-fashioned in the virtues in which he believed, and a relentless searcher for change, for growth, for the potential of heart and mind that he sought in himself and he demanded of others.

Robert Kennedy understood that the real purpose of leadership is to bring out the best in others. He believed the destiny of our Nation is the sum total of all the decisions that all of us make. He often said that one person can make a difference, and each of us must try.

Some still believe we lost what is best about America when President Kennedy and Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy were killed. But I ask you to remember, my fellow Americans, that Robert Kennedy did not lose his faith when his own brother was killed. And when Martin Luther King was killed, he gave from his heart what was perhaps his finest speech. He lifted himself from despair time after time and went back to work.

If you listen now you can hear with me his voice telling me and telling you and telling everyone here, "We can do better." Today's troubles call us to do better. The legacy of Robert Kennedy is a stern rebuke to the cynicism, to the trivialization that grips so much of our public life today. What use is it in the face of the aching problems gripping millions of Americans, the American without a job, the American without health care, the American without a safe street to live on or a good school to send a child to? What use is it in the face of all the divisions that keep our country down and rob our children of their rightful future?

Let us learn here once again the simple, powerful, beautiful lesson, the simple faith of Robert Kennedy: We can do better. Let us leave here no longer in two places, but once again in one only: in the here and now, with a commitment to tomorrow, the only part of our time that we can control. Let us embrace the memory of Robert Kennedy by living as he would have us to live. For the sake of his memory, of ourselves and of all of our children and all those to come, let us believe again, we can do better.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:13 p.m. at Arlington National Cemetery. In his remarks, he referred to Rev. Gerard Creedon, a missionary to the Dominican Republic and celebrant of the Mass.

Remarks to the League of Women Voters

June 7, 1993

The President. Thank you very much, Becky, for that wonderful introduction. I want to thank you and Gracia Hillman and all the leaders of the State and local chapters of the League of Women Voters from around the country who are here. I know there are at least three members from my home State here. I'm glad to see you all. Karen Stevens, Bobbie Hill, and Linda Polk, I thank them for coming. This is your house. And I'm glad to have you back here.

When I ran for President, I did so with the conviction that we had to create a new season of opportunity and a new climate of responsibility in America so that together we

could rebuild the American community. And there were some very specific commitments that I made in that regard: an economic program that would be good for America's families and working people; a health care program that would control cost and provide basic coverage to all Americans; a program of national service and reform of the student loan program to open the doors of college education to all Americans; a program to change the welfare system to move families from dependence to independence; and a program of political reform to open the system of this country so that ordinary Americans could pull the levers of power and have their voices heard.

Your presence here today, for the first time since 1980, after decades and decades, the League of Women Voters coming to the White House without regard to party, in a bipartisan fashion, coming back here for the first time since 1980, is a symbol of the importance of opening the political system to informed citizens to let them have influence over the decisions that are made affecting the lives of ordinary Americans. And I welcome you here today.

Not long ago, as Becky said, we gathered here to sign the motor voter bill—again, a strong priority of the League of Women Voters—without regard to party, opening the franchise more to all Americans and especially to many younger Americans who were so terribly interested in this issue. That was a very, very important day for all of us. It was not only good for voter registration, it was in a very fundamental sense a civil rights law and a real advance for all the people of the United States.

Not long before that, I gathered here with other Americans to sign the family leave bill into law, which is a very important thing because it attempts to unite two of our most important values, work and family, guaranteeing ordinary citizens that if they have to take a little time off for a baby to be born or a parent to be cared for, they won't lose their jobs.

These are the kinds of things that Government ought to do with the American people, not to just do things for people but to em-