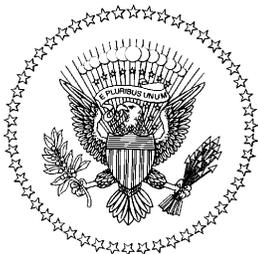


Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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Editor's Note: The President was in Seattle, WA, on November 19, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, November 19, 1993

Media Roundtable Interview on NAFTA

November 12, 1993

The President. We're having a good couple of days. Yesterday we had 10 or 11 Members endorse NAFTA.

Q. Could you speak up a little bit, sir?

The President. Yesterday we had 10 or 11 people endorse the treaty, both Republicans and Democrats, including three Members from Ohio, a Rust Belt State where we hadn't had any endorsements before; two from Michigan. Today we have five or six—we have six confirmed, and we have five who've already announced their endorsement today for NAFTA, all Democrats, all six of them. So we're making some progress.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing that has happened today is something I just saw. The president of the Massachusetts Building Trades Council endorsed NAFTA with this letter. It's a real profile in courage. He said—this quote—he said, "No longer can nations afford to build invisible walls at their borders because there are no national borders to free trade." And he basically said at the end of his letter that "President Clinton is trying to improve on the status quo. His opponents, perhaps without knowing it, are defending the status quo." Leo Purcell, a pretty brave guy. I hope he's still got his job tomorrow.

Q. Can we get a copy of that letter?

The President. Oh, sure.

Q. I have one question that sort of follows up on what you just said. In Springfield, Zenith moved its television manufacturing plant to Mexico a couple of years ago. How do you address blue-collar concerns from people who have seen that happen and they hear Perot and they just naturally fear that the same thing's going to happen?

The President. Well, first of all, let me make this statement at the outset. One of the things that our administration has never denied is the fears of middle class Americans

about the loss of their jobs or the loss of their incomes. About 60 percent of our work force has suffered from stagnant wages or worse for almost two decades. So my answer to them is not that their fears are unfounded—they have legitimate fears and experience to base that on—but that this agreement will improve their conditions, not make it worse. And let me explain why.

I think this is at the nub of at least the negative side of the argument. First, let me say by way of background that I was the Governor of a State for 12 years that had plants close and move to Mexico. And I worked very, very hard to try to restructure my State's economy, to maintain a manufacturing base, and to rebuild from the hard, hard years we had in the early eighties. And my State did not have an unemployment rate below the national average in any year I was Governor until last year, when we ranked first or second in the country in job growth. But it was a long, painful process of rebuilding. I know a lot about this. We lost jobs to Mexico.

Now, the point I want to make about this is, number one, Mexico had a very small role in the decline of manufacturing jobs in America in the last 15 years. They declined because of foreign competition from rich countries as well as poor countries. If you look at just the manufacturing trade advantage, you will find that obviously the biggest trade deficit we have is with Japan, a rich country.

Number two, a lot of this happened in every advanced country because of productivity increases that came because of mechanization. Just the improvements in technology meant that we could produce more things with fewer people. That's what rise in productivity means. So manufacturing has been going through something of the same thing that agriculture went through. When I was born, in my home State, an enormous percentage of our people worked on the

farm. Now it's down to probably 4 percent, even though Arkansas is a big farm State. So a lot of these things are big long-term developments.

Number three, the device which made Mexico particularly attractive for plant was the so-called *maquilladora* system, which basically identifies an area along the Mexican-American border in which plants can locate and produce for the American market and send it back in here without paying tariffs, taking advantage of the low wages in Mexico and the other lower costs of production.

Now, if you look at that and you look at what NAFTA does, it's easy to see how NAFTA will make it less likely, not impossible—I'm not saying none of this will ever happen—but it will be less likely than it is now that we'll have significant movement of manufacturing facilities to Mexico for low wages. Why is that? For one thing, NAFTA will give bigger markets to American manufacturers here at home by lowering the tariff barriers and by doing something else which is quite important: It reduces the domestic content requirements that Mexico imposes on American manufacturers, which means that—domestic content basically says you've got to make this stuff here if you want to sell it here. So that the auto industry, for example, estimates that they'll go from selling 1,000 to 50,000, 60,000 cars, made in America, in Mexico in one year. So we'll have more access to the market.

Secondly, what Mexico gets out of this is not more plants to produce for the American market. If NAFTA passes, under the terms of the side agreement our administration negotiated, there is no question that environmental costs will go up in Mexico because of the environmental side agreement. There is no question that labor costs will go up more rapidly in Mexico because Mexico is the first country ever to put its labor code, which it admits has regularly been violated, and now they put their labor code into this trade agreement. So that if they violate their labor code, we can bring a trade action against them.

And furthermore, President Salinas has said that he will raise the minimum wage on an annual basis as the economy of the country grows. So if NAFTA passes, wage rates

will go up more rapidly, costs of production from environmental protection will go up more rapidly, trade barriers to American products will go down more, the requirements to produce in Mexico if you want to sell in Mexico will go down more. Therefore, the conditions which people are worried about, which are legitimate conditions, will be improved if NAFTA passes, not aggravated.

Now, that's a long answer, but that's the nub of the negative argument against this. And I think it's important to get it out.

Q. Mr. President, that's an economic argument, and a good one. Congressman Sawyer from northeast Ohio makes that same argument but says he hasn't been able to overcome the emotional objections to it, and the perception that it won't do the things you said it would do seem impossible to overcome. Why should a Member who can't overcome this perception in his district be willing to vote for it, and what can you do to help such a Member overcome any political backlash to him or her if this happens?

The President. Well, first, let me say I have enormous respect for him, for Sawyer. If you look at the way that other votes have lined up in Ohio and if you look at his district, I think the fact that he's been willing to have a very honest and open and candid conversation with all of the people of his district about this is very much to his credit. But he lives in a place that has lost a lot of high-wage, high-dollar manufacturing jobs.

My response is the debate between Vice President Gore and Ross Perot. That is, the most important lesson that any Congressman should take out of that debate is not that Al Gore defeated Ross Perot on a night in October—or November. The most important lesson is that if you believe it's the right thing to do, and you make the arguments to your people, you can do that. In other words, if Congressman Sawyer's representatives believe that he is doing this because he thinks it will get them more jobs and make America stronger economically, then the evidence of the public reaction to the Gore-Perot debate is that you can do that and survive, that people will support you, that they will stay with you. And that's what I believe. In other words, I told a group of business executives

who were in here the other day lobbying for this, I said, you need to go out and tell people you're doing this for middle class America. I said, you look around this room. Every one of us is going to be all right whether NAFTA passes or not, whether GATT passes or not. We'll figure out some way to do okay in the system. But the country as a whole will not grow as much. No rich country can grow richer, can increase incomes, can increase jobs unless you expand the base to which you sell. That's the whole theory of trade. It built a massive middle class in America after the Second World War. It rebuilt Europe and Japan, and now it can revitalize Latin America.

I also think it's important, by the way, for the Tom Sawyers of the world, let me say this, and for all the others, that we not overstate, just as I think the opponents of NAFTA have grossly overstated the negative effects. I mean Mexico, after all, is less than 5 percent of—[inaudible]. The idea that we're trying to convince people that they sort of snookered the United States in a trade negotiation, and we're going to collapse the American economy, it really shows you how anxiety-ridden a lot of Americans are, that many people believe that.

On the other hand, it's important not to overestimate the number of jobs that can be created. That is, Mexico has gone from a \$5.7 billion trade deficit 5 years ago to a \$5.4 billion trade surplus last year. Most of the smart money in Mexico is that the trade deficit for them will get bigger. That is, we'll sell more near-term because they'll get more investment to develop their own economy in the long term.

But the real job generator for us in NAFTA is going to be not only for the specific industries that will sell more in Mexico, but that will open Chile, Argentina, all of Latin America. And we will then be able to say—when I go out there the day after the House votes, if I win, it will be a lot easier for me to look the Japanese, the Chinese, the heads of the other 13 Asian countries in the eye and say, "We want to grow with you. Asia's growing very rapidly. We want to buy your products, but you have to buy ours. And we need to adopt a new world trade agree-

ment." So that's what I would say to Tom Sawyer.

Q. Along that same line, could you analyze for us what is at stake for you and for the country in this and how it feels having this fate in the hands of your opposition party, particularly Newt Gingrich, who is a man who has been your opponent in most cases and is asking you for something very specific now, some kind of written protection for Republicans? Are you willing to give that? I know that's three questions.

The President. Let me start at the back and come forward. [Inaudible] First of all, I volunteered even before Newt asked, but I agree with him, that if a Republican votes for NAFTA and is opposed in the congressional races next year by a Democrat who attacks the Republican for voting for NAFTA, then I will say, for whatever it is worth, in any given district that I think that the attack is unfair, that the vote was not a partisan vote, and that it was in the national interest. And I do not believe any Member of Congress should be defeated for voting for NAFTA. That's all they've asked me for. In other words, they haven't asked me to prefer Republicans over Democrats. But they want me to say—

Q. In writing.

The President. Well, I'll give it to them in writing. I'll give it to them in public statements. I do not believe any Member of Congress should be defeated for doing what is plainly in the national interest.

Now, what was your other question?

Q. How does it feel having Republicans—

The President. Well, I don't mind it. I wish we had more bipartisan efforts for change. If you look at the fact that 41 Governors at least have come out for this and only 2 have come out explicitly against it, I think we ought to have more common economic efforts.

I thought the Republicans made a mistake. They may have hurt me politically by simply refusing to work with us on the economic program. But I think over the long run, we're going to come out ahead because it's produced deficit reduction, low interest rates, low inflation, and more jobs in 10 months than were created in the previous 4 years.

So I think they made a mistake. The national security issues of the nineties by and large, are going to be economic issues, by and large. And to whatever extent we can pursue the national security in a bipartisan fashion, we're better off doing so.

Also, a lot of the divisions that have ripped the Congress today do not break down into any traditional liberal or conservative terms, or Republican and Democratic terms. They're more like who's pro-change and who's against it, who's willing to go beyond the status quo in the debate and who's not. And it's amazing how it shifts from issue to issue, not only among Republicans and Democrats but among people who would otherwise define themselves as liberals and conservatives. So I'm not concerned about that. I think Newt Gingrich is doing the best he can with Mr. Michel to produce the votes that they think they can produce. And he sure knows I'm doing the best I can to produce the votes I can produce.

The first question is, what's at stake. What's at stake, in my judgment, is something more than the sheer terms of this economic debate. I think, first, what's at stake is the strategy and the attitude and the conviction America will take in moving toward the 21st century economically. Are we going to try to do it by reaching out to the rest of the world, by saying we can compete and win, by building on the enormous productivity gains in the private sector of the United States over the last several years to do what is the time-tested way for a wealthy country to grow, to create jobs and incomes, and promote peace, that is, by reaching out, involving—[inaudible]—in trade. Or are we going to say we just don't think we can compete and win anymore with anybody until they pay their workers as much as we pay ours and until everything else is equal on every last scale. So even though here's a country that we've got a trade surplus with, that's buying more from us than we're buying from them, we're just not going to do it, I think, because we're just hurting too bad. Now, the hurts are legitimate. But you cannot do that. So I think that this will define our country's attitude for some time.

Secondly, I think the second thing that's at stake is we may lose the chance to have

a stable, good, strong, growing economic relationship with our neighbor in the south and lose the chance to build that sort of partnership with all of Latin America. I hope it is not so if we don't—[inaudible]—but it could happen.

The third thing is it could cost us getting a new world trade agreement in the GATT round by the end of the year, because the French, for example, will be able to say, "Well, you say we shouldn't be protectionist, you say we shouldn't protect our agriculture, you want us to get into a world trade agreement that will bring America hundreds of thousands of jobs, and yet you walked away from a no-brainer on your southern border." So I think that America's abilities to forge a globally competitive but cooperative world in the 21st century in which we can compete and win, whether it is with Asia or with Europe or with Latin America, I think will be significantly undermined if we defeat this. It is far bigger than just the terms of this agreement.

First, this agreement took on abnormal symbolic significance for those who were against it. They poured into the agreement all the accumulated resentments of the 1980's. Tom Sawyer's right about that; they did. I mean, a lot of the people who are against this, it's very moving to listen to them, to watch them. They almost shake when they talk about it. And it's real and honest the way they feel. But then, because of that, and because it became clear that the Congress might actually not adopt it, which is unheard of for the Congress to walk away from a trade agreement, it then took on a much greater symbolic significance for those of us who are for it. So it is about jobs and growth and opportunity for Americans by its own terms. And it is much better than letting the status quo go on. But it has bigger stakes as well.

Q. Congressman Tom Andrews, a Democrat from Maine, has criticized the way in which labor groups and your administration has gone about trying to win over his support. And I quote from Andrews: "I've been asked in so many ways, 'What do you need? What will it take?' We do a great disservice to this country when we make this a matter of pork-barrel auctioneering or we make it an issue

of what threats we will respond to." What's your response to Andrews' concern?

The President. I agree with him. I think, first of all, a lot of the people who are fighting this are good friends of mine. I've been close to and worked with the labor movement, and I believe in a much higher level of partnerships between management and labor and Government, and I am not trying to create a low-wage economy. But I think it is wrong for people who are on the other side of this issue to tell Members of Congress who have voted with labor for years that they're never going to give them a contribution and they're never going to support them again, or get them an opponent even—some of them, they've said, well, they'd get opponents in primaries.

I agree with him that neither should we get into a bartering situation. I have to tell you that Members of Congress with whom I have talked—I can only speak for the ones with whom I have talked—the ones who have talked to me about things they wanted me to do if they voted for this were within the realm of what I would call legitimate concerns for their constituents. Let me just give you, if I might, one, the thing that I was most active in that I'm very proud of, because I believe in it anyway, and that was the desire of Congressman Esteban Torres from California and a number of the other Hispanics and Members of Congress who live along the border to develop this North American development bank as a way of financing infrastructure improvements to clean the environment up on both sides of the Rio Grande River. That creates jobs. It's in the public policy interest. It ameliorates the harsh impacts of the past.

When Lucille Roybal-Allard came out for this, who comes from one of the lowest, poorest districts in America, has workers that may be adversely affected by this, she wanted to know that in January we were really going to have the kind of comprehensive job retraining program dovetailed into the unemployment system that we should have had 15 years ago. She didn't ask me for a highway or a bridge or anything. She wanted me to try to take care of her folks. So that, I think, is legitimate.

Now, when other people come up to you, though, and say, "Look, I've been threatened, I may lose my seat, and will you help me do thus and so," if we can do it and there's nothing wrong with it, then we're trying to do it because we're trying to win. I think it's very much in America's interest. But I believe Tom Andrews is right. This issue should be resolved insofar as possible based on what's in the national interest.

Q. Mr. President, this morning when we put a notice in the paper asking people to call in with questions for you, here's one from Charlotte. He says, "I'd like to know, if the President's opinion is that NAFTA is so good for the United States, why is there so much opposition against it by people in the country?"

The President. Everyone knows that Mexico is a country that has a lower per capita income than the United States. And everyone knows that American business interests have moved plants to Mexico to produce for the American market. That's very different from investing in Mexico to hire Mexicans to produce for the Mexican market. That's a good thing. We should support that because the more Mexicans who have good jobs, the more they can buy American products. That symbolizes, those plants along the Rio Grande River symbolize the loss of America's industrial base to many people and the fact that literally millions of Americans, over half of American wage earners have worked harder for the same or lower wages for more than a decade. So NAFTA, the reason that so many people are against it is it's the symbol for so many people of their accumulated resentments of the last 10 to 15 years. Now, that's why there are so many people against it. And then there are a lot of people who say, "Well, I don't like this, that, or the other thing." There's no such thing as a perfect agreement that satisfies 100 percent of everybody's concerns.

But again, I would say, what I've found and what I thought Al Gore did so well in his television appearance—you have to be able to say to people, "Look, you can't vote on your emotions alone. You also have to vote on your head; you have to think through this. Look at what this agreement does. This

makes the problems of the last 12 to 15 years better, not worse.”

But I understand those fears. I mean, I have never questioned the integrity of anybody’s anxiety. I got elected President because most people were working harder for less. That’s the only reason I won the election and because people thought the society was coming apart and because there was no clear sense of where we were going. And when I ran for President, I said I like NAFTA, but I want to try to have a side agreement on the environment, side agreement on labor standards, and protection. This is another issue I want to emphasize: protection for unforeseen consequences. And there are two protections in there that I want to mention.

One is that we can, either of us, anybody can get out in 6 months notice. So if it turns out we’re wrong, we can walk away from it. And if I thought it were hurting America, I would do so. It would be my duty to do so, and I would do so. The second thing deals with the more likely problem, which is suppose this turns out to be basically a good thing for us and basically a good thing for them, but there’s some totally unforeseen consequence in one sector of the economy. We wouldn’t want to withdraw, because it’s basically a good thing. There is also a provision in here, the so-called surge provision, which allows us to identify some sector that’s being decimated—it gives the Mexicans the same right, as it should—that no one ever thought about and to put the brakes on this agreement for 3 years while we try to work it out as it applies to that specific sector. So those are two protections that I would say to your friend in Charlotte.

Q. Mr. President, Congressman David Mann from Cincinnati, he voted against you on your budget and tax package, and now he’s come out on your side on this one. Part one, do you forgive him now for the budget vote, now that he is supporting you on this? Part two, is there anything you’ve agreed to do for Mann to help him? And thirdly, he, like a lot of these other Congressmen we’ve been talking about, is going to have to run in a very heavy labor district next spring and face another potentially very tough primary. What would you suggest to him in terms of

campaigning over this issue, and how should he defend himself on it?

The President. First of all, the only thing that David Mann asked me to do was to be supportive of the decision that he has made. And I told him that I would, I’d be very happy to help him deal with it. Remember, I went to the AFL–CIO convention in San Francisco to defend my position. I don’t want to run away from labor. I want the working people of this country to stay with the Democratic Party. I want the small business people to come back to the Democratic Party. I believe this is in their interest. So I will certainly stand with him, foursquare.

In terms of the other thing, there’s nothing for me to forgive. I think that the Members who voted for the economic program, including Tom Sawyer, have been proved right. And I think next April when people get their tax bills and you see somewhere between 15 and 18 million working families get a tax cut because they’re working for modest wages with children, and see less than 2 percent of the American people get a tax increase, I think that April 15th is our friend. And all the rhetoric that people heard about, it will go away, will vanish, and people will see that we did ask wealthy Americans to pay more of the load, and we did reduce the deficit, and we did bring interest rates and inflation down, and we did begin the process of creating jobs. So I think that time is on my side.

Q. But Mann voted——

The President. I know he did, but let me go back to what I said before. There are also a lot of people working against NAFTA who voted for me last time. What I have got to do is to try to develop a majority for change in the Congress.

It’s funny, I think the American people—I see the Wall Street Journal said the other day that 70 percent of the people thought there was just as much gridlock now as there had been, and that’s plainly not true. It’s not true. What they’re doing is, we’re making hard decisions by narrow margins. That’s very different than not taking up hard questions because there’s gridlock. So when people read about all this contentiousness, they shouldn’t be deterred by that. These are tough issues. If they were easy issues, they’d have been handled years ago. But making

hard decisions by narrow margins is breaking gridlock. I've just got to keep working with David Mann on one hand or my friend David Bonior on the other hand and with the Republicans who are going to vote with us on this. We've got to create a majority for responsible change. That's what we've got to do.

Q. Mr. President, did you discuss this letter with Joe Moakley, and has it had any effect on his position?

The President. No, I just got it right before I came in here. I went with Joe to the Gillette factory, you know, when I was there for the dedication of the Kennedy Museum. And I know this is a tough vote for him in a large measure because Joe Moakley is a very loyal guy, and the guys that have been with him all these years are against this. I hope this will affect him. When Gerry Studds came out for NAFTA, I had the feeling that we might be on the verge of making some real breakthrough in Massachusetts, and we're working hard on it. Joe Kennedy came out earlier, as you know. So I'm hoping that we'll get some more in Massachusetts. It can make a big difference for us.

Q. One other followup, if I may, on a slightly more general question. Are you concerned that the issue has become one of race baiting and ethnic division with the language of what the—

The President. I think it is for some people, but not for others. I don't want to inject it into this. I thought what Mr. Perot said was very unfortunate. I'm sure you saw perhaps in the New York Times or the Washington Post yesterday, one of the papers carried a story about intense negative reaction in Mexico over his rhetoric. But much as I want to win this fight, I don't want to be unfair to my opponents. I don't think that that is nearly as big a factor as the sheer fear of middle class people that the system is out of control, that the middle class is going to work hard and get the shaft, that business executives cannot be trusted to put their workers or their interests high on their list of priorities, that the Government cannot be trusted to protect the interests of average working people, and that the system is working against them and even if they can't stop it, they ought to just try to put their thumb

in the dike one more time. I think that is a much bigger deal.

Now, let me say this, I think a lot of people are less sensitive than they should be to how many people there are in Mexico who are sophisticated, well-educated, productive people of good will who want to build a kind of democratic partnership with our country and want to build a big middle class in their country. That is, I don't think, in other words, there's racism involved so much as I think that many of the opponents of NAFTA have dismissed the real talent and energy and capacity of the Mexican people to be good partners with us. That's not racism, it's because their own fears have overtaken them.

Q. Mr. President, in New Jersey, every House Democrat except Bob Torricelli has come out against this. Why do you think it's such a tough sell in New Jersey, and do you think you can get Mr. Torricelli's vote?

The President. I hope we can get his vote because he's been a real leader on issues in this hemisphere. I think to be fair to all concerned, Bob Torricelli has more personal experience and knowledge of this. And the voters in his district would be more likely to understand it because he does know so much about it, because he's been a leader on all these issues in the Caribbean and in Latin America. He has lived these issues, and I think he has a real feel for it.

I think what happened in New Jersey was that the Democrats reacted to the fact that New Jersey's had a very tough economy. There's a lot of anxiety. That's what I think. But I wish I could get some of them back between now and voting day, because I've had any number of Members of Congress come to me just since the debate and say, "I know this is the right thing to do; I just don't know how to get there." Ultimately, the very sad thing is that if this issue were being decided by secret ballot, we'd have a 50-vote victory, at least.

Q. What does that show? What does that indicate?

The President. It doesn't show a lack of courage. I don't want to say that; I don't think that's fair. It shows the extent to which the organized efforts and the crying anxieties of people are combining to pull Congressmen

back. I just hope that we can overcome it by Wednesday. I think we can.

Q. Mr. President, in Florida, Mickey Kantor seems to have delivered an agreement on citrus, sugar, and winter vegetables. There are two concerns still out there, it seems. And one I know that Bob Graham has discussed with you personally; that's parity for the Caribbean Basin countries. The other one might be part of what's got Torricelli hanging out there yet, concern among Cuban-Americans that Mexico still has pretty good relationships with Cuba and is supporting Castro. Can you address those?

The President. First, I think Congressman Johnston came out for it, for NAFTA yesterday. And I hope we'll get a lot of the other Florida Democrats and the Republicans. They could turn the tide, actually. Florida is one of the keys in what happens to NAFTA. They have a huge number of votes that are not firmly declared.

Now, on the two issues you raised, I have talked to Senator Graham twice at great length about the Caribbean Basin Initiative issue, and I think he has some legitimate concerns which I want to work with him on. But here is the problem: I think that their concerns—I think we can solve this. That is, what the Members of the Florida delegation who have real concerns about these Caribbean countries and want them to do well and not be hurt, that is, they don't want production shifted from Caribbean nations to Mexico, I think we can work that out. And I think we can work that out with the support of the Mexicans. But that is a matter that it requires a greater attention to detail, in effect creating a new set of understandings, than solving the citrus problem or the sugar problem or the winter vegetable problem. So that if we were to just up and say, well, this is something we've fixed or agreed to now or the Mexicans were to agree to, we'd be asking them to do something now that they wouldn't be able to fully assess the implications of. And I think there is every indication that we could lose as many votes as we could gain from doing that. That's the real problem there.

I think we can work this out. But if I promise parity with all the implications that could make now, there's a chance that we could

lose as many or more votes as we could gain because we simply don't have time to sit down and work out the level of detail on the Caribbean Basin Initiative that I want. I think that the principle is sound; I think that the objective is sound; I think we can get there. But if the vote hinges on that, I just don't think we can do it.

And I feel the same way on the Cuban issue. Colombia—take another example—Colombia has increased their purchases of American products 69 and 64 percent in the last 2 years. It has also had some greater contact with the Castro regime. Should we tell them we don't want them to buy our products anymore?

The French—every time I see President Mitterrand, he tells me how wrong I am about Cuba. I think we're right about Cuba and they're wrong. But I think that we have to recognize that our embargo has been quite successful, that we have hurt the economy significantly, that it is contributing to, it is hastening the day when the outdated Communist system will collapse and Cuba will have to open. I don't think there's any question that these gestures of openness that have come out of the Castro regime in the last several months have been the direct result of our policy of pressure and firmness.

So I believe in our policy. But I don't think that we can rationally expect that we can leverage anybody right now to go along with it who doesn't agree with it. I mean, Mexico does have a history of dealing with Cuba. There's nothing I can do about it. I very much regret, after all the support that I have given to the Cuban Democracy Act, to Radio and TV Marti—no Democrat in my lifetime, in the White House at least, has come close to taking the strong position I have on this, agreeing with the Cuban American community. And I'm sorry that Congressman Menendez in New Jersey and Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen, Congressman Diaz-Balart feel the way they do. But there's nothing I can do about it. I think the interest of the United States in dealing with Mexico, the border they share with us, the 90 million people they have, getting cooperation on immigration and drug issues, and—[inaudible]—jobs and growth outweigh the others. And I have to pursue the agreement.

Haiti

Q. Following up on a regional question, are you at all concerned about these reports coming out of Haiti that the embargo is causing the deaths of children? Has that raised any question in your mind about the policy?

The President. Well, yes. If you read the whole report, it's very interesting what it says. It says that the accumulation of the policies and the politics of the country are increasing the death rate of children every month. And I am very concerned about it. We feed over 650,000 people a week in Haiti. When I read the story, the thing that I was really concerned about—we could increase that if we need to. That is, if malnutrition is a problem, we can increase the delivery and the distribution of food.

I was particularly concerned when I saw the story—and we had a meeting on it, the national security people, the next morning—about the people saying that they were supposed to get medicine and they couldn't, because we thought when we did the embargo that we had taken care of that. So I asked our people to go back immediately and see what we could do to improve the delivery to the country and the distribution of medical supplies and medical care. And I would like to be given at least a while to try to see if we can't deal with that issue. I was very concerned about the report.

On the other hand, the people of Haiti need to know that the reason this embargo occurred is because of the police chief, Mr. François, and because of General Cédras and because they wels hed on the Governors Island Agreement. The United States was willing to insist on full compliance of the Governors Island Agreement, including the amnesty provisions from President Aristide and from the Malval government, and they were willing to go along with it.

Has everybody asked a question?

NAFTA

Q. In a couple of years from now, what if, despite their protestations to the contrary, you find that a Procter and Gamble-type corporation or a Ford Motor Company or the Cincinnati—[inaudible]—companies like that, what if you find that they are indeed moving plants to Mexico, moving manufac-

turing operations to Mexico, which they said they wouldn't do? What would you tell the chief executives of those corporations?

The President. First of all, if they continue to move high-wage—those good plants to Mexico for the purpose—in other words—there's a difference. I want to make a clear distinction here, because I don't want to mislead anybody. If an American corporation wants to invest in Mexico City, to hire Mexicans to produce for the Mexican market, I don't think we should be against that. I think we should support that because that would create more middle-class Mexicans that will buy more American products. That's what the Mexicans get out of this deal. A lot of Americans say to me all the time, they say, "Mr. President, if this is such a hot deal for us, why do the Mexicans want it? What do they get out of it?" Of course, the whole idea of trade is that both sides win, that there are win-win agreements in this world. What they get out of it is investment in their country to develop their country to produce products and services for their people. Now, they will, in turn, buy more of our services.

To go back to your point, if I ever become convinced this is a bad deal for America, I'll just give notice and leave, if it's a bad deal for America. If certain companies are clearly abusing this agreement—well, let me back up and say there is no possibility they could do that. Let me tell you why. Put yourself in their position. This agreement does not prohibit what has been not only permitted but encouraged for years by our Government, which is setting up plants along the Mexican border with the United States to sell back into America. Now, if that continues unabated in a way that's bad for America, I think we ought to take note who's doing it, try to jawbone them out of it, and ask also if there's something we can do to help keep these companies operating in America, just the way I did when I was the Governor in my State. I think we'll be able to keep more jobs here if this passes than if it doesn't.

On the other hand, let me pitch it to you another way: If NAFTA doesn't pass, what possible leverage do I have over these folks? I lose a lot of leverage. Now, again, I'm not saying nobody will ever do this, but the point that we have to drive home to the American

people is that the present system makes it relatively more attractive to do this than Mexico after NAFTA will.

There was a man here last week from a fifth-generation Philadelphia, Pennsylvania-based furniture manufacturer, who talked about how he said, "They tried to get me to move to the South for years. Then the people tried to get me to move to Mexico. I wouldn't move anywhere; I'm staying in Pennsylvania. But I am going to sell more products and hire more people if you pass this deal." I think there will be more examples of that than there will be people who shut down and move. I think the President, however, should discourage and jawbone people from doing it, regardless.

Q. Thank you very much. Thank you, sir.

Q. Would you lose any leverage domestically if this thing goes down?

The President. Well, perhaps for a time. There's always a drag in politics. I don't think that would be permanent. I'm far more concerned—the effect on me is irrelevant. It's impossible to calculate what the twists and turns in the next 6 months or 2 years or 3 years will be. That doesn't matter. What matters is this is good for the American people, so it will be bad for them if it goes down. And it would clearly be bad for the United States in terms of our leadership to promote more growth, more economic partnerships, in terms of our leverage to get those Asian markets open.

Keep in mind, if we get a new GATT agreement, we'll get more access to the Asian markets. Our trade problem is not with Mexico. Here's a country that's with a much lower income than we have, spending 70 percent of all their money on foreign purchases, on American products, buying stuff hand over fist. Our trade problem is not with them. Our trade problem is \$49 billion with Japan, \$19 billion with China, \$9 billion with Taiwan, because those countries are growing very fast with their high savings, low cost, heavy export, minimum import strategy. We need that.

Our other big trade problem is a stagnant Europe. In other words, Europe is pretty open to our stuff, except for agriculture. They've been pretty open toward us. But when there's no growth, they have no money

to buy anything new. So the thing that I'm most worried about is that it will put America on the wrong side of history and it will take us in a direction that is just where we don't want to go as we move toward the 21st century. That overwhelms every other concern.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on the Massachusetts Building Trade Council Endorsement of NAFTA

November 12, 1993

Today, we saw a profile in courage. Leo Purcell, president of the Massachusetts Building Trade Council, endorsed NAFTA in a letter to fellow union workers.

In addition to saying, as I have, that this is a choice between change and status quo, Purcell, wrote, "No longer can nations afford to build invisible walls at their borders because there are no longer national borders to free trade."

I applaud Mr. Purcell for his leadership, courage, and vision and for his strong confidence in the American worker.

NOTE: A copy of the letter that was sent to the President from Leo Purcell was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Appointment of Members of the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board

November 12, 1993

The President appointed four members today to the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, which selects students, scholars, teachers, and trainees to participate in educational exchanges as Fulbright scholars. It also finances educational activities for Americans abroad and for foreign citizens in the United States and promotes American

studies in foreign countries and foreign language training and area training in the United States. The Board is comprised of 12 members, appointed by the President. The new members appointed today are Victoria Murphy of Maine, Hoyt Purvis of Arkansas, Robert Rose of Connecticut, and Lee Williams of Arkansas.

"Like many Arkansans, I have long regarded Senator William Fulbright as both a role model and a mentor," said the President. "The Fulbright scholarships are his most lasting achievement. I trust that these four Board members, two of whom served on his staff, will work to preserve his legacy."

NOTE: Biographies of the appointees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary. The Office of the Press Secretary also issued a clarification stating that the appointment of Hoyt Purvis will take effect on January 1, 1994, while the other appointments are effective immediately. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Departure for Memphis, Tennessee

November 13, 1993

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, PLO Chairman Arafat seems to have condemned the murder of an Israeli at the end of October. Do you think this is in response to your request and Mr. Rabin's request?

The President. Well, perhaps, but regardless I think it's a very positive sign. I've only received limited reports this morning, but from what I've heard it's a very positive sign. It's the sort of thing that will enable them to work together and to implement the accord.

Q. Were there any direct contacts between you and Arafat in order to get him to condemn the murder?

The President. We had no direct contacts, the White House did not, but we made it very clear what our position was, and I think that the Israelis—they have direct contact of course with the PLO now because of the implementation of the accord. And I think perhaps again I would say we maybe ought to give most of the credit to that. I hope the

meeting yesterday highlighted it and our position is clear. But they need to keep their word to each other, that's the most important thing.

NAFTA

Q. What about NAFTA, how do you feel about NAFTA today?

The President. Feel a little better. We had a good day yesterday; you know we've had three big days. I think we've had 27 people come out, and I think we're going to have another good day today. We'll have several of those who are declared down in Memphis with us, and we're making some pretty good inroads now in places where I didn't know we could get some votes. So it's going to be a hard weekend, but I think we'll make it.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

The President. What I have always said is if they're opposed on the grounds of NAFTA next year, I'd be happy to say in any district in America or to any district in America that I think NAFTA is in the public interest, it's in the national interest, and it should not be the basis on which any Member of Congress, without regard to party, is voted out. Thanks.

NOTE: The exchange began at approximately 8:25 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

The President's Radio Address

November 13, 1993

Good morning. This week, Americans celebrated Veterans Day, the day we set aside to thank those who served, kept us secure, and helped preserve the freedoms each of us cherish.

On Thursday, after paying my respects to the veterans at Arlington Cemetery, I met with two groups of patriots who span the generations: some of the remaining veterans of World War I and active duty personnel who served with such distinction in Somalia. These brave Americans are linked across the years to each other and to history by the valor with which they served our Nation. None of

them shrunk from danger or challenge. In troubled times, they reached beyond our borders to protect our interests.

And as the world undergoes the most profound changes in the last 50 years, today we can draw a very powerful lesson from their courage and their vision. Just as we never protected our country by shrinking from a military threat, we cannot protect our prosperity by shrinking from our economic challenges.

Since I became President, our administration has been dedicated to restoring the American economy, to making work pay for all Americans again, to creating the conditions that will allow our private sector to create more jobs and higher incomes and more opportunity for everyone.

This economic program is beginning to work. We've lowered the deficit, kept inflation down, pushed interest rates down to record lows. Millions of Americans have refinanced their homes and businesses. And even though we still don't have as many jobs as we'd like, the private sector has produced more jobs in the last 10 months than in the previous 4 years.

Ultimately, however, the only way a wealthy nation can grow and create jobs and lift incomes is to lower trade barriers and expand trade in a growing global economy. There simply is no other way that any rich country in the world can create jobs and raise incomes than to find other customers for their goods and services. America is no exception. We have a chance to do this in a few days when Congress considers the trade agreement called NAFTA.

The North American Free Trade Agreement will lower Mexico's barriers to American exports. When these barriers come down, we'll sell another 55,000 more American-made cars in Mexico next year alone. We'll sell hundreds of thousands more computers and create 200,000 new high-paying jobs in the next 2 years. NAFTA is a real good deal for America. And if we don't open up Mexico for our products, you can be sure that the Europeans and the Japanese will open up Mexico for theirs.

You see, if NAFTA passes, we'll have a competitive advantage over the Japanese and the Europeans in the Mexican market. If it

fails, and Japan or Europe takes up the challenge that we walked away from, then they'll have an advantage over us.

Why then do some of our fellow citizens fear NAFTA so much? Because in the last 20 years their world has changed a lot and often not for the better. Technology can now go anywhere in the world. Money and information travel the globe in a millisecond. Skills we once had alone, others now share.

This new global economy has created an awful lot of opportunity, but it's also created a lot of hardship. We have to do many things to adjust. We're working now to devise a completely new system to replace our outdated unemployment system called reemployment. So that anyone who loses a job, for whatever reason, will immediately receive the education and training and job placement help they need. We passed the family leave law so that you can't lose your job when you take some time off for a newborn baby or a sick parent; so that people can be good workers and good family members at the same time. We've got to have health care reform, and we've presented a plan that will provide, for the first time in our history, health care security to all Americans, even if they lose their jobs. And we're determined to fight crime with more police on the beat, more boot camps for youthful offenders, more jail cells for people who need that, too. That's what the crime bill, now moving through the Congress, will do.

So in education, in health care, in family leave, in crime, we're working hard to give the American people the security all of us need to face the changes we confront. But we cannot make the world the way it was. We simply cannot protect our workers, their jobs, and their incomes from the winds of global competition by trying to build walls. The only way to provide economic security and expanded opportunity for the middle class in this country is to take this new world head on, to compete and to win. And we can win. The American worker is now the most productive worker in the world again. We can out-compete and out-perform anyone anywhere. We will be number one again for a long time if we reach out to the world to compete. That's why American workers have nothing to fear from NAFTA and why Amer-

ican workers should be very concerned if we vote NAFTA down, walk away from Mexico and the rest of Latin America and the opportunities they present.

The day after Congress votes on NAFTA, I'm going to Seattle to meet with the leaders from Asian countries, including China and Japan, to ask them to open up their markets to our products, too. By the end of this year I'm going to try very hard to conclude an even bigger worldwide trade agreement that will bring down trade barriers to our products in Europe and the world over. Together with other nations, we can literally reignite growth in the world's economy and create millions of new jobs and export opportunities for all Americans. But we must begin this week by passing NAFTA. NAFTA is not only a trade agreement with Mexico, it has become a symbol of our commitment to growth and to trade throughout the world. And believe me, whichever way the Congress votes, it will send a signal to every nation in the world about our intentions. Are we going to maintain our lead in the global economy and push others to open their markets to our products and services and to everyone else's, or are we going to retreat into a shell of protectionism?

If we pass NAFTA, it can put us at the center of the largest trading bloc in the world with Canada and Mexico, one that will quickly grow larger as we bring in the rest of Latin America. If we don't, we'll be stuck while someone else takes advantage of the opportunity. You know, this vote will tell us a lot about who we are as Americans in 1993. Great nations are defined not by how they act when the rules are clear and the future is set and the times are easy but by the choices they make during periods of great change when the future is not clear, the times are tough, and people have to forge their own future.

This is a defining moment for America. Will we seize the moment? Will we vote for hope over fear? The history of America's greatness says we will, for we've always triumphed when our Nation has engaged the world and great challenges it offers. By passing NAFTA, Congress can demonstrate that we intend to compete and win in a thriving global economy. We took the lead in creating

it, now we have to make it again for the 21st century. We can build a future we'll be proud to leave our children, and the future begins on Wednesday with a positive vote for the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 3:40 p.m. on November 12 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on November 13.

Remarks on Arrival in Memphis, Tennessee

November 13, 1993

Thank you. Thank you very much for coming out here in the wind and rain and braving the elements. It's kind of like what we have to do to get things done in Washington. I'm glad to see you here.

I want to thank my good friend Governor McWherter, Mayor Morris, Mayor Herenton. Thank you all for being here today. I want to thank these fine Members of Congress who are here. Harold Ford made a great statement in support of the North American Free Trade Agreement. I'm very grateful to him and to Bob Clement and to Jim Cooper for their support. I also want to introduce some other Members of Congress who are here. First of all, from our neighboring State of Louisiana, two Members who have expressed their support today, Representative Bill Jefferson and Representative Jimmy Hayes. I want to thank your Congresswoman Marilyn Lloyd for her support for NAFTA. And I want to introduce two Members of my congressional delegation from Arkansas, Blanche Lambert and Ray Thornton, and thank them for their support.

Let me ask you something. Were you proud of Al Gore the other night in his debate? I mean, was he great or what? I want to tell you something, folks. This vote over the North American Free Trade Agreement has brought out a lot of feelings and emotions in this country that I think probably need to be brought out. We've seen in the opposition to NAFTA a lot of the legitimate fears that the American people have developed be-

cause so many hard-working Americans have worked and worked and worked, and they still lost their job. Or they worked harder year-in and year-out, and they never got a pay raise. And the global economy has been pretty tough on a lot of people in the States represented here today, on people in Tennessee and Louisiana and Arkansas. And all of us know that.

Let me tell you, when I was Governor of my State, I saw plants shut down and move to Mexico or just disappear altogether or move production all the way to Asia. I understand that very well. I want you to know that there's not a person on this platform today, including the President, who would be supporting this agreement if we weren't convinced that it will bring more jobs to Tennessee and Louisiana and Arkansas. That's why we're for it.

I came here today to make a point. I'm wearing a tie that was made in Little Rock, Arkansas, and shoes that were made in Nashville, Tennessee. I believe we can compete and win in the global economy. You heard the Governor say that since 1987, exports to Mexico from Tennessee have increased by 300 percent. That's 10,000 jobs due to exports to Mexico. In our State, exports have also tripled in the same time period. We have 5,000 jobs now based on exports to Mexico. In Louisiana, exports have doubled since 1987. Louisiana will be a big winner if all those trade barriers come down because of the increased activity around the Port of New Orleans. We know that this will mean more jobs for this country. Why? Because when the trade barriers come down—their trade barriers are 2½ times as high as ours—as they earn more money and make more money, they'll spend more money on American products. Seventy cents of every dollar Mexico spends on foreign products is spent on American products.

Why will it also make a difference? Because if we make this agreement with Mexico, we'll be able to use it as a basis for similar agreements with all the other Latin American countries. Someday we'll have a trade bloc going from Canada to the United States to Mexico to the rest of Latin America, over 700 million people buying from each other,

selling to each other, helping each other to grow.

My fellow Americans, I worked my heart out in this country right here for the last 12 years to bring more jobs to the people of my State. And one thing I know: You cannot put more people to work at a time when productivity is increasing—which means that fewer people can produce more things—you can't put more people to work unless you've got more people who will buy your products and services. Without expanding your customer base, there is no way to create more jobs. It cannot be done. And we have got to learn that in America. We cannot let other people outrade us. We can outwork anybody in the world. We still have the most productive workers in the world. We've learned a lot of hard lessons in the last 12 years, but we've got to have more customers. And that's what this is about.

So I ask all of you, all of you, to support the members of the Tennessee congressional delegation that have come out for NAFTA, to support the members of the delegations from Arkansas and Louisiana and from the other States that are supporting this, to give our country a chance to compete and win.

On the day after Congress votes on this agreement, I have to fly out to Washington State to meet with the President of China, the world's largest country; with the Prime Minister of Japan, the country that had the largest growth rate in the 1980's; with 13 other leaders of Asian nations. That's the fastest growing part of the world. I'm going to say to them, "We want to be your partner. We will buy your products, but we'd like for you to buy ours." If we adopt NAFTA, it will be a lot easier for me to make that case.

I want the American people to be confident about the future. I want them to believe we can do better. In the last 10 months we've seen interest rates come down, inflation down, the deficit's come down. Millions and millions of Americans have refinanced their homes and their businesses, and this economy has produced more jobs in the last 10 months than in the previous 4 years. But I'm telling you, you and I know there are not near enough jobs, and incomes are not going up near enough. And the reason is we

don't yet have enough people who will buy our products and services.

We need more growth in the world economy, and we need more customers. And Wednesday we're going to take a big first step with NAFTA, thanks to the people of Tennessee, your Vice President, your congressional delegation, and the other Members who are here.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. at the Air National Guard Ramp, Memphis International Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to William N. Morris, Jr., Mayor of Shelby County, and Mayor W.W. Herenton of Memphis. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the Convocation of the Church of God in Christ in Memphis November 13, 1993

Thank you. Please sit down. Bishop Ford, Mrs. Mason, Bishop Owens, and Bishop Anderson; my bishops, Bishop Walker and Bishop Lindsey. Now, if you haven't had Bishop Lindsey's barbecue, you haven't had barbecue. And if you haven't heard Bishop Walker attack one of my opponents, you have never heard a political speech. [Laughter]

I am glad to be here. You have touched my heart. You brought tears to my eyes and joy to my spirit. Last year I was over with you at the convention center. Two years ago your bishops came to Arkansas, and we laid a plaque at The Point in Little Rock, Arkansas, at 8th and Gaines, where Bishop Mason received the inspiration for the name of this great church. Bishop Brooks said from his pulpit that I would be elected President when most people thought I wouldn't survive. I thank him, and I thank your faith, and I thank your works, for without you I would not be here today as your President.

Many have spoken eloquently and well, and many have been introduced. I want to thank my good friend Governor McWherter and my friend Mayor Herenton for being with me today, my friend Congressman Harold Ford, we are glad to be in his congressional district. I would like to, if I might, introduce just three other people who are

Members of the Congress. They have come here with me, and without them it's hard for me to do much for you. The President proposes and the Congress disposes. Sometimes they dispose of what I propose, but I'm happy to say that according to a recent report in Washington, notwithstanding what you may have heard, this Congress has given me a higher percentage of my proposals than any first year President since President Eisenhower. And I thank them for that. Let me introduce my good friend, a visitor to Tennessee, Congressman Bill Jefferson from New Orleans, Louisiana. Please stand up. [Applause] And an early supporter of my campaign, Congressman Bob Clement from Tennessee, known to many of you. And a young man who's going to be coming back to the people of Tennessee and asking them to give him a promotion next year, Congressman Jim Cooper from Tennessee, and a good friend. Please welcome him.

You know, in the last 10 months, I've been called a lot of things, but nobody's called me a bishop yet. [Laughter] When I was about 9 years old, my beloved and now departed grandmother, who was a very wise woman, looked at me and she said, "You know, I believe you could be a preacher if you were just a little better boy." [Laughter]

The proverb says, "A happy heart doeth good like medicine, but a broken spirit dryeth the bone." This is a happy place, and I'm happy to be here. I thank you for your spirit.

By the grace of God and your help, last year I was elected President of this great country. I never dreamed that I would ever have a chance to come to this hallowed place where Martin Luther King gave his last sermon. I ask you to think today about the purpose for which I ran and the purpose for which so many of you worked to put me in this great office. I have worked hard to keep faith with our common efforts: to restore the economy; to reverse the politics of helping only those at the top of our totem pole and not the hard-working middle class or the poor; to bring our people together across racial and regional and political lines; to make a strength out of our diversity instead of letting it tear us apart; to reward work and fam-

ily and community and try to move us forward into the 21st century. I have tried to keep faith.

Thirteen percent of all my Presidential appointments are African-Americans, and there are five African-Americans in the Cabinet of the United States, 2½ times as many as have ever served in the history of this great land. I have sought to advance the right to vote with the motor voter bill, supported so strongly by all the churches in our country. And next week it will be my great honor to sign the Restoration of Religious Freedoms Act, a bill supported widely by people across all religions and political philosophies to put back the real meaning of the Constitution, to give you and every other American the freedom to do what is most important in your life, to worship God as your spirit leads you.

I say to you, my fellow Americans, we have made a good beginning. Inflation is down. Interest rates are down. The deficit is down. Investment is up. Millions of Americans, including, I bet, some people in this room, have refinanced their homes or their business loans just in the last year. And in the last 10 months, this economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous 4 years.

We have passed a law called the family leave law, which says you can't be fired if you take a little time off when a baby is born or a parent is sick. We know that most Americans have to work, but you ought not to have to give up being a good parent just to take a job. If you can't succeed as a worker and a parent, this country can't make it.

We have radically reformed the college loan program, as I promised, to lower the cost of college loans and broaden the availability of it and make the repayment terms easier. And we have passed the national service law that will give in 3 years, 3 years from now, 100,000 young Americans a chance to serve their communities at home, to repair the frayed bonds of community, to build up the needs of people at the grassroots, and at the same time, earn some money to pay for a college education. It is a wonderful idea.

On April 15th, when people pay their taxes, somewhere between 15 million and 18 million working families on modest incomes, families with children and incomes of under

\$23,000, will get a tax cut, not a tax increase, in the most important effort to ensure that we reward work and family in the last 20 years. Fifty million American parents and their children will be advantaged by putting the Tax Code back on the side of working American parents for a change.

Under the leadership of the First Lady, we have produced a comprehensive plan to guarantee health care security to all Americans. How can we expect the American people to work and to live with all the changes in the global economy, where the average 18-year-old will change work seven times in a lifetime, unless we can simply say we have joined the ranks of all the other advanced countries in the world; you can have decent health care that's always there, that can never be taken away? It is time we did that, long past time. I ask you to help us achieve that.

But we have so much more to do. You and I know that most people are still working harder for the same or lower wages, that many people are afraid that their job will go away. We have to provide the education and training our people need, not just for our children but for our adults, too. If we cannot close this country up to the forces of change sweeping throughout the world, we have to at least guarantee people the security of being employable. They have to be able to get a new job if they're going to have to get a new job. We don't do that today, and we must, and we intend to proceed until that is done.

We have a guarantee that there will be some investment in those areas of our country, in the inner cities and in the destitute rural areas in the Mississippi Delta, of my home State and this State and Louisiana and Mississippi and other places like it throughout America. It's all very well to train people, but if they don't have a job, they can be trained for nothing. We must get investment to those places where the people are dying for work.

And finally, let me say, we must find people who will buy what we have to produce. We are the most productive people on Earth. That makes us proud. But what that means is that every year one person can produce more in the same amount of time. Now, if fewer and fewer people can produce more

and more things, and yet you want to create more jobs and raise people's incomes, you have to have more customers for what it is you're making. And that is why I have worked so hard to sell more American products around the world, why I have asked that we be able to sell billions of dollars of computers we used, not to sell to foreign countries and foreign interests, to put our people to work.

Why? Next week I am going all the way to Washington State to meet with the President of China and the Prime Minister of Japan and the heads of 13 other Asian countries, the fastest growing part of the world, to say, "We want to be your partners. We will buy your goods, but we want you to buy ours, too, if you please." That is why.

That is why I have worked so hard for this North American trade agreement that Congressman Ford endorsed today and Congressman Jefferson endorsed and Congressman Cooper and Congressman Clement, because we know that Americans can compete and win only if people will buy what it is we have to sell. There are 90 million people in Mexico. Seventy cents of every dollar they spend on foreign goods, they spend on American goods. People worry fairly about people shutting down plants in America and going not just to Mexico but to any place where the labor is cheap. It has happened.

What I want to say to you, my fellow Americans, is nothing in this agreement makes that more likely. That has happened already. It may happen again. What we need to do is keep the jobs here by finding customers there. That's what this agreement does. It gives us a chance to create opportunity for people. I have friends in this audience, people who are ministers from my State, fathers and sons, people—I've looked out all over this vast crowd and I see people I've known for years. They know. I spent my whole life working to create jobs. I would never knowingly do anything that would take a job away from the American people. This agreement will make more jobs. Now, we can also leave it if it doesn't work in 6 months. But if we don't take it, we'll lose it forever. We need to take it, because we have to do better.

But I guess what I really want to say to you today, my fellow Americans, is that we

can do all of this and still fail unless we meet the great crisis of the spirit that is gripping America today.

When I leave you, Congressman Ford and I are going to a Baptist church near here to a town meeting he's having on health care and violence. I tell you, unless we do something about crime and violence and drugs that is ravaging the community, we will not be able to repair this country.

If Martin Luther King, who said, "Like Moses, I am on the mountaintop, and I can see the promised land, but I'm not going to be able to get there with you, but we will get there." If he were to reappear by my side today and give us a report card on the last 25 years, what would he say? You did a good job, he would say, voting and electing people who formerly were not electable because of the color of their skin. You have more political power, and that is good. You did a good job, he would say, letting people who have the ability to do so live wherever they want to live, go wherever they want to go in this great country. You did a good job, he would say, elevating people of color into the ranks of the United States Armed Forces to the very top or into the very top of our Government. You did a very good job, he would say. He would say, you did a good job creating a black middle class of people who really are doing well, and the middle class is growing more among African-Americans than among non-African-Americans. You did a good job. You did a good job in opening opportunity.

But he would say, I did not live and die to see the American family destroyed. I did not live and die to see 13-year-old boys get automatic weapons and gun down 9-year-olds just for the kick of it. I did not live and die to see young people destroy their own lives with drugs and then build fortunes destroying the lives of others. That is not what I came here to do. I fought for freedom, he would say, but not for the freedom of people to kill each other with reckless abandon, not for the freedom of children to have children and the fathers of the children walk away from them and abandon them as if they don't amount to anything. I fought for people to have the right to work but not to have whole communities and people abandoned. This is not what I lived and died for.

My fellow Americans, he would say, I fought to stop white people from being so filled with hate that they would wreak violence on black people. I did not fight for the right of black people to murder other black people with reckless abandon.

The other day the Mayor of Baltimore, a dear friend of mine, told me a story of visiting the family of a young man who had been killed—18 years old—on Halloween. He always went out with little bitty kids so they could trick-or-treat safely. And across the street from where they were walking on Halloween, a 14-year-old boy gave a 13-year-old boy a gun and dared him to shoot the 18-year-old boy, and he shot him dead. And the Mayor had to visit the family.

In Washington, DC, where I live, your Nation's Capital, the symbol of freedom throughout the world, look how that freedom is being exercised. The other night a man came along the street and grabbed a 1-year-old child and put the child in his car. The child may have been the child of the man. And two people were after him, and they chased him in the car, and they just kept shooting with reckless abandon, knowing that baby was in the car. And they shot the man dead, and a bullet went through his body into the baby's body, and blew the little bootie off the child's foot.

The other day on the front page of our paper, the Nation's Capital, are we talking about world peace or world conflict? No, big article on the front page of the Washington Post about an 11-year-old child planning her funeral: "These are the hymns I want sung. This is the dress I want to wear. I know I'm not going to live very long." The freedom to die before you're a teenager is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for.

More than 37,000 people die from gunshot wounds in this country every year. Gunfire is the leading cause of death in young men. And now that we've all gotten so cool that everybody can get a semiautomatic weapon, a person shot now is 3 times more likely to die than 15 years ago, because they're likely to have three bullets in them. One hundred and sixty thousand children stay home from school every day because they are scared they will be hurt in their school.

The other day I was in California at a town meeting, and a handsome young man stood up and said, "Mr. President, my brother and I, we don't belong to gangs. We don't have guns. We don't do drugs. We want to go to school. We want to be professionals. We want to work hard. We want to do well. We want to have families. And we changed our school because the school we were in was so dangerous. So when we stowed up to the new school to register, my brother and I were standing in line and somebody ran into the school and started shooting a gun. My brother was shot down standing right in front of me at the safer school." The freedom to do that kind of thing is not what Martin Luther King lived and died for. It's not what people gathered in this hallowed church for the night before he was assassinated in April of 1968. If you had told anybody who was here in that church on that night that we would abuse our freedom in that way, they would have found it hard to believe. And I tell you it is our moral duty to turn it around.

And now I think finally we have a chance. Finally I think, we have a chance. We have a pastor here from New Haven, Connecticut. I was in his church with Reverend Jackson when I was running for President on a snowy day in Connecticut to mourn the death of children who had been killed in that city. And afterward we walked down the street for more than a mile in the snow. Then, the American people were not ready. People would say, "Oh, this is a terrible thing, but what can we do about it."

Now when we read that foreign visitors come to our shores and are killed at random in our fine State of Florida, when we see our children planning their funeral, when the American people are finally coming to grips with the accumulated wave of crime and violence and the breakdown of family and community and the increase in drugs and the decrease in jobs, I think finally we may be ready to do something about it. And there is something for each of us to do. There are changes we can make from the outside in, that's the job of the President and the Congress and the Governors and the Mayors and the social service agencies. Then there's some changes we're going to have to make from the inside out, or the others won't matter. That's what

that magnificent song was about, wasn't it? Sometimes there are no answers from the outside in; sometimes all the answers have to come from the values and the stirrings and the voices that speak to us from within.

So we are beginning. We are trying to pass a bill to make our people safer, to put another 100,000 police officers on the street, to provide boot camps instead of prisons for young people who can still be rescued, to provide more safety in our schools, to restrict the availability of these awful assault weapons, to pass the Brady bill and at least require people to have their criminal background checked before they get a gun, and to say, if you're not old enough to vote and you're not old enough to go to war, you ought not to own a handgun, and you ought not to use one unless you're on a target range.

We want to pass a health care bill that will make drug treatment available for everyone. We have to have drug treatment and education available to everyone and especially those who are in prison who are coming out. We have a drug czar now in Lee Brown, who was the police chief of Atlanta, of Houston, of New York, who understands these things. And when the Congress comes back next year we will be moving forward on that.

We need this crime bill now. We ought to give it to the American people for Christmas. And we need to move forward on all these other fronts. But I say to you, my fellow Americans, we need some other things as well. I do not believe we can repair the basic fabric of society until people who are willing to work have work. Work organizes life. It gives structure and discipline to life. It gives meaning and self-esteem to people who are parents. It gives a role model to children.

The famous African-American sociologist William Julius Wilson, has written a stunning book called "The Truly Disadvantaged," in which he chronicles in breathtaking terms how the inner cities of our country have crumbled as work has disappeared. And we must find a way, through public and private sources, to enhance the attractiveness of the American people who live there to get investment there. We cannot, I submit to you, repair the American community and restore the American family until we provide the

structure, the value, the discipline, and the reward that work gives.

I read a wonderful speech the other day given at Howard University in a lecture series funded by Bill and Camille Cosby, in which the speaker said, "I grew up in Anacostia years ago. Even then it was all black, and it was a very poor neighborhood. But you know, when I was a child in Anacostia, 100 percent African-American neighborhood, a very poor neighborhood, we had a crime rate that was lower than the average of the crime rate of our city. Why? Because we had coherent families. We had coherent communities. The people who filled the church on Sunday lived in the same place they went to church. The guy that owned the drugstore lived down the street. The person that owned the grocery store lived in our community. We were whole." And I say to you, we have to make our people whole again. This church has stood for that. Why do you think you have 5 million members in this country? Because people know you are filled with the spirit of God to do the right thing in this life by them.

So I say to you, we have to make a partnership, all the Government Agencies, all the business folks, but where there are no families, where there is no order, where there is no hope, where we are reducing the size of our armed services because we have won the cold war, who will be there to give structure, discipline, and love to these children? You must do that. And we must help you.

Scripture says, you are the salt of the Earth and the light of the world. That if your light shines before men they will give glory to the Father in heaven. That is what we must do. That is what we must do. How would we explain it to Martin Luther King if he showed up today and said, yes, we won the cold war. Yes, the biggest threat that all of us grew up under, communism and nuclear war, communism gone, nuclear war receding. Yes, we developed all these miraculous technologies. Yes, we all have got a VCR in our home. It's interesting. Yes, we get 50 channels on the cable. Yes, without regard to race, if you work hard and play by the rules, you can get into a service academy or a good college, you'll do just great. How would we explain to him all these kids getting killed and killing each other? How would we justify the

things that we permit that no other country in the world would permit? How could we explain that we gave people the freedom to succeed, and we created conditions in which millions abuse that freedom to destroy the things that make life worth living and life itself? We cannot.

And so I say to you today, my fellow Americans, you gave me this job, and we're making progress on the things you hired me to do. But unless we deal with the ravages of crime and drugs and violence and unless we recognize that it's due to the breakdown of the family, the community, and the disappearance of jobs, and unless we say some of this cannot be done by Government, because we have to reach deep inside to the values, the spirit, the soul, and the truth of human nature, none of the other things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go.

So in this pulpit, on this day, let me ask all of you in your heart to say we will honor the life and the work of Martin Luther King, we will honor the meaning of our church, we will somehow by God's grace, we will turn this around. We will give these children a future. We will take away their guns and give them books. We will take away their despair and give them hope. We will rebuild the families and the neighborhoods and the communities. We won't make all the work that has gone on here benefit just a few. We will do it together by the grace of God.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:51 a.m. at the Mason Temple Church of God in Christ. In his remarks, he referred to Elsie Mason, widow of Charles Harrison Mason, founder, Church of God in Christ, and the following officers of the denomination: Louis Ford, presiding bishop; Chandler David Owens, first assistant presiding bishop; Cleveland L. Anderson, second assistant presiding bishop; L.T. Walker and Donnie Lindsey, Arkansas jurisdictional bishops; and Philip A. Brooks, general board member from Detroit, MI. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to the Community in Memphis

November 13, 1993

Thank you for that wonderful welcome. Thank you for your sign about NAFTA. I didn't give it to her, I promise. *[Laughter]* Reverend Whalen, it's wonderful to be in your church, and I thank you for hosting this townhall meeting. Last year Reverend Whalen accepted my invitation to come to Arkansas to the Governor's mansion and to meet with me about a number of the problems you'll be discussing today. And it's good to see him again. He came to my house, and I'm in his house now.

I want to thank my good friend Harold Ford who started helping me in my quest to become President early and, long before that, worked with me to help reform the welfare laws to give people both the obligation to work and the opportunity to grow and thrive. And the two things go together, and I thank Harold Ford for that. I'm glad to be here with Congressman Clement and with Congressman Jim Cooper. I'm glad to see them both up here talking. I was especially glad to see Jim talking because he's going to come back and ask you for a promotion next year, and he needed to get warmed up here, and I like that. I'm glad our good friend Congressman Jefferson came all the way from New Orleans to be with us today. That was good. Mayor Morris, it's good to see you. And I saw Mayor Herenton earlier today.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to my good friend Governor McWherter. I think he's one of the finest Governors in the country, and a person could never ask for a better friend. And I thank you. We were out in the wind at the airport announcing the support of several Members of Congress for the North American Free Trade Agreement. And Congressman Jefferson from New Orleans, who didn't know Governor McWherter very well, looked at him and said, "You were probably a better Governor than Bill Clinton, and you're certainly a better windbreaker than he was." *[Laughter]*

Let me say, too, you know, this town hall meeting was scheduled before I announced that I was coming here to speak to the annual convention of the Church of God in Christ. And Congressman Ford invited me to come by; I wanted to come. The leader of our office of drug policy and a member of my Cabinet, Lee Brown, is here, and he'll be speaking after I leave. I'm going to introduce him as I go. Lee was the police chief in Atlanta, in Houston, and in New York and really pioneered the development of community policing in our country and proved that if you not only had enough police officers but if you deployed them in the right way, you could actually prevent crime from occurring as well as catch criminals more quickly. And in preventing crime from occurring, you could build bridges in neighborhoods and put lives back together and put communities back together.

So I want to implore you not to turn this into just a speechmaking event. This is a discussion of crime and violence as a public health issue. It affects you and your lives and the lives of your children. So when I go, you stay. Will you do that? I want you to be a part of this. This is important.

I want you to know why this is such a big issue to me as an American, a husband, a father, as well as President. I got elected President on some very basic commitments. I said that I would try to get the economy going again. I said I would try to restore the middle class and give hope to the poor by rewarding work and supporting families. I said that I would try to bring the country together again, across the line of region and income and race, so that we could work together to ensure a better future for everyone.

Now, in the last 10 months we've worked hard largely on the economy, to get the deficit down, to keep inflation down, to get interest rates down. That means investment's up. I don't know, I bet there are a lot of people in this room even who were able to refinance a home in the last year. Millions of Americans have done that, lowered their monthly payments. In the last 10 months the economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous 4 years.

But we all know that's not enough, we have to do more. I came here to support the North

American Free Trade Agreement today for a simple reason and that is that our workers are becoming more productive and more competitive. They have to survive in the world. But productivity means that the same person can produce more in the same or less time. Right? So if fewer people are producing more stuff, the only way you can create more jobs and higher incomes is if you have more customers for the things you're producing.

So that's very important; this trade agreement's important to me. But when you get through all of that, you have to come back to the fact that this country is going to have a very hard time making it unless we do something about this wave of crime and violence that's tearing the heart out of America. And it affects everybody who thinks they're not affected by it. It affects you in many ways by forcing you as taxpayers to pay a lot more money to put people in the penitentiary than you otherwise would. You know, this country now has a higher percentage of people in prison than any other country in the world. Do you know that? That's something we're number one in. And we know that in spite of that, a lot of people get out before they should.

It means that you pay more in health care. Why? Because this really is a public health problem. I have spent years studying the American health care system and trying to figure out why we spend 40 or 50 percent more than anybody else on health care and we still can't figure out how to give health care to everybody. And I'll tell you one reason. One reason is that on any given night, our emergency rooms are filled with people that are cut up and shot, who don't have any health insurance, and the rest of us pay for it.

Now, that's not the number one—we ought to be concerned about them and others. I don't mean that on a human level. But you just need to know that if you say to me 4 years from now, "Mr. President, why haven't you brought our health care costs more in line with everybody else's and given health care to everybody?" If you want the costs brought into line we're going to have to stop shooting and cutting each other up so much. It's a big health care issue. You

can't blame the doctors, and you can't blame the hospitals, and you can't blame—even though I get crossways with them from time to time, this is not the insurance companies' fault. This is society. When people show up bleeding and shot, there they are. Right? So this is a huge public health problem.

But more importantly, it's doing something just awful to our country. The other day I met with my good friend the Mayor of Baltimore, when I was up at Johns Hopkins Medical Center talking to them about our health care plan. And he told me that the night before he had had to visit a home of an 18-year-old boy who was a fine young man that went out every Halloween for years with real young kids so they could go trick-or-treating safely in the neighborhood. And they were walking down the street and crossed the street. There was a 14-year-old boy with a gun and a 13-year-old boy without one. And the 14-year-old handed the 13-year-old the gun and dared him to shoot across the street at the 18-year-old. And he did, and he killed him.

That kind of stuff happens all the time. In our Nation's Capital the other day a man came along the street and grabbed up a little 1-year-old girl, put her in a seat beside him, and sped off in a car. And some people who were after him ran after him, started shooting. They shot him dead. The bullet went through his body and hit the little girl, went down through her foot, and blew her little bootie off. A 1-year-old child.

In the Washington Post in our Nation's Capital the other day there was an article about children so convinced they would never grow up that, at the age of 11, they were planning their funerals. Little girl saying, "Well, now if I have a funeral, play these hymns at the church," and another one saying, "If I have a funeral, put me in this dress."

Now, it's going to be hard for me or any other President or any Member of Congress to organize this country with the private sector to compete and win in the global economy if we have the kind of public pathology we have today, where children are shooting children with weapons more advanced than the police have.

I come from across the river in Arkansas where we're about to start, or maybe they

have already started deer season, and sometimes we shut the schools and the factories down at the opening of deer season because nobody shows up anyway. [Laughter] I understand all about the right to keep and bear arms, and I was in the woods when I was barely old enough to walk. But I'm telling you, no sane society would allow teenagers to have semiautomatic weapons and go in the streets and be better armed than the police officers. That's crazy. And nobody else does. Only we do. We have to ask ourselves, what are we going to do about this? How did this happen? And I think, frankly, if we're going to find the answers, we're going to have to all check a lot of our baggage at the door. We've got to check our partisan political baggage; we've got to check our racial identities; we've got to check everything at the door. We've just got to be honest children of God and honest Americans and try to analyze how did we get in the fix we're in in this country and what are we going to do about it.

And I have to tell you, I spent time, I talked to a lot of young people who were and some who are in gangs. I once had someone go down to the penitentiary and interview every teenager who was there doing a life sentence for murder. Long before I ever thought of running for President I went to south central Los Angeles, which later became famous when it burned down. A couple of years before I ever thought of even getting in this race, just sat in church basements and places like that and talked to people about what was going on. And nearly as I can determine, what has happened is a combination of the following. Number one, too many of these kids are growing up without family supports, without the structure and value and support they need.

Number two, too many of those kids also have no substitute for the family that's positive. The word "gang" has a bad connotation now. The truth is we all want to be in gangs, if a gang is a group of people who think like you do and do like you do. What's the difference? The Baptist Church and the Church of God in Christ are two different gangs who still want to get to heaven when they die. Right? I mean, really, you think about that. What's the difference in the Democrats and the Republicans? They're two different

gangs, and they obey the law, and they vote election day, and they've got different ideas about how to solve problems. This is very important to understand. We all want to be part of groups. And we get meaning out of our lives from being part of groups.

When Tennessee beat Arkansas so bad this year in football, and the Vice President rubbed it in because we beat them last year, we were members of two different gangs. It was competition and friendly and wholesome and good. This is very important to understand. So if you take the family supports away from these kids, and then there is nothing where they live that puts them in a good gang, that's why they get in gangs that are bad. It's very important to understand that.

The third thing that has happened that is different from what happened 30 years ago when people were poor is that you not only have a worse family situation and no other community supports—I mean, 30 years ago, even when kids didn't grow up in intact families in poor neighborhoods, they still lived in places where on every block there was a role model. The person who owned the drug-store lived in the neighborhood. The person that owned the grocery store lived in the neighborhood. The people that filled the churches on Sunday lived in the neighborhoods where they went to church. And the third thing that's happened is, weekend drunks have been substituted by permanent drug addicts and drug salesmen. Abuse of alcohol has been replaced by a drug culture that makes some people's money destroying other people's lives. It's different. And it is not simple or easy, what to do about it. Mr. Brown's going to talk more about that in a minute.

The fourth thing that has happened is that the central organizing principle of any advanced society has been evaporated, and that is work. Forget about work in and of itself, to earn money and contribute to the rest of our wealth. If you don't have work in neighborhoods and in communities, it is hard for people to organize their lives. It is hard for parents to feel self-esteem. It is hard for them to feel confident giving their kids rules to live by. It is hard for the relationship between the parent and the child to work just right. It is hard for the child to look out and

imagine that by working hard things will work out all right.

And there are lots of other problems. But I'm convinced that those are the four biggest ones: the breakdown of the family, the breakdown of other community supports, the rise of drugs—it's not just in terms of drug abuse but in terms of a way to get rich—and the absence of work.

And I believe that in order to deal with this, we're going to have to all work together in a whole new national contract. But I believe this is an economic issue. I think it's a public health issue. I think it's a national security issue. And besides that, I'm just tired of trying to explain to myself when I go to bed at night why so many American kids aren't going to make it when they ought to.

So there are things for the Federal Government to do, the President, and the Congress. There are things for the States to do, things for the local folks to do. There are things the private sector has to do. And there are certainly things for the churches to do. But I want to submit to you that there are things that every American citizen's going to have to do.

This family breakdown problem has developed over 30 years. It didn't just happen overnight. The community erosion developed over a long period of time. We cannot rebuild all these institutions overnight, but we can start saving these kids, in the words of a good friend of mine, the same way we lost them, one at a time, which means that there's something for all of us to do here. There is something for all of us to do. And we need both love and discipline. We need both investment in these kids and our future, and we need rules by which people live. We need both. It's not an either/or thing.

That's why I say that I think if we really work at it, we can get beyond the Republican, Democrat; who's a liberal, who's a conservative; who's black, Hispanic, or white. This is a huge human problem for America. And we have to face it. I believe that my daughter's future is limited every time another child gets shot in any community in this country. That's what I believe. Every time a kid in Memphis is deprived of a future, I think it limits all the rest of us. That's what I believe. If we believe that, I think we can

get there. And let me just suggest where I think we have to start nationally.

The first thing we have to do is to try to make people more secure. Until people are physically secure, it is difficult to get them to change and to do other things. We have a crime bill now moving through the Congress, which would, among other things, put another 100,000 police officers on the street. It's important not only to put them on the street but to have them trained and to have them properly deployed. As Lee Brown will tell you, if you do it right, you can reduce the crime rate and you can prevent crime and repair lives even as you are catching criminals more quickly. We should start there.

I think we ought to pass the crime bill because it offers boot camps instead of penitentiaries for first-time offenders. I think we need to do something to increase the safety of our schools; 160,000 children stay home every day because they're afraid of school. One in five children goes to school every day armed with a knife, a gun, or a club, every day. We've got to change that.

I think we have to provide as much as we can an environment in which the police have a chance to do their job and in which kids are not encouraged to kill each other. There are three bills now being considered in the Congress as a part of this crime bill that I favor. One says that if you're not old enough to go to war or vote, you ought not to be old enough to have a handgun legally, and protects the right to hunt and practice by saying that young people under the supervision of their parents or other appropriate adults can do that. The other bill is the Brady bill, which says that we ought to have a waiting period and check out people's criminal history and mental health history before we just sell them a gun. And a third bill basically says that people ought not to buy in ordinary commerce automatic and semiautomatic weapons, the only purpose of which is to kill other people. Now, no other country would permit that to happen. I think those things should pass. This crime bill is working its way through the Senate, has passed the House, could be given to the American people for Christmas, and I think we ought to do it. That's where we need to start.

Then we need to recognize, as we did in our health care bill, that you have got to have not only drug education and drug treatment on demand without delay. And we ought not be putting people out of the penitentiary unless they get drug treatment when they need it. And we ought to let this country go forward.

There are many American families that are not poor, that are not in the inner cities that have been touched by the problems of drug abuse. But I can tell you, and there is no simple, easy answer to this, and nothing works for everybody, but good drug treatment does work more than half the time. And we don't provide it. And we're all paying for it. So we need to work on that. And we have an obligation there at the national level.

We also have got to find a way to work with the private sector, even though we are in serious trouble in terms of having enough money to do anything in this country, we have got to find useful work for people who live in dangerous, distressed, dysfunctional areas. We have got to give structure, order, and discipline to lives again through work. We have got to do it.

The last thing I would say to you is that we can do these things at the national level. But we have to give these kids hope again. We have to give their families hope again. We have to give their parents who are trying hope again. I stopped in that housing project, like Harold said. It may be one of the poorest places in this town, but I know that most people who live in that housing project do not break the law, do not abuse drugs, and are doing the best they can. And a lot of people forget that. A lot of people forget that. So that's something you're going to have to do. That's your job.

I live in Washington; you live in Memphis. You've got to do that here. You've got to do that. You've got to do it through the churches, through the businesses, through the community groups. You've got to help slowly but surely get this society back to a point where families can be reconstituted, where there can be supports for kids that don't have families so they're in a good gang, not a bad gang. We can do this, folks.

And people have been talking about this for years, but this is the first time in my mem-

ory that I think the American people are about fed up to their ears in it, scared to death about what's happening to our children and their future, and understand that it affects all the rest of us. We can do this. We can do this.

I'll make this pledge to you: If you'll work on it here, I'll work on it there. I can no longer justify knowing that there's something I can do to make people safer on the streets and not doing it. I can no longer justify knowing there are things we can do that work to reduce the drug problem and not doing it. I can no longer justify going to bed at night thinking about these children killing other children, thinking about these little kids planning their funerals and not doing something about it. We can do this. And keep in mind, you're working with the same material that's inside you. These are people we're talking about. We can turn this country around if we'll check our divisions at the door, rely on what unites us, and go to work.

Thank you very much, and God bless you.

Now, before I go, I want to introduce the man who is affectionately called the drug czar. It makes him sound like he sells drugs instead of stops them, doesn't it? [Laughter] Dr. Lee Brown grew up in California. As I said, he was the police chief in Atlanta, Houston, and New York. He instituted a program of community policing in New York City, where the police went back on the beat, started walking in the neighborhoods. And despite all the preconceptions, according to the FBI statistics in the last 2 years the crime rate in New York City went down in all seven major FBI categories, because they started giving the police force back to the neighborhoods and the people and working with friends and neighborhoods to try to stop bad things from happening and catch people who do them when they do. That is a remarkable thing.

I asked him to come on to my administration, and I pledged to him that I would make the Drug Policy Director a member of the President's Cabinet and that we would get every last Department of the Federal Government working on the drug problem because I thought he had a comprehensive view. I thought he understood how you can't just divide drugs from all these other issues,

that we had to deal with all this together, we had to start at the grassroots level, and that we could really get something done if we had creative, good people working hard. He's a remarkable man. I am deeply honored that he's in our Cabinet. I hope you will welcome him here today and stay here and participate. Remember, you've got to do your part, too. He's here to help you.

Thank you very much. Dr. Lee Brown.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. at the Olivet Baptist Church. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Haiti

November 13, 1993

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

1. In December 1990, the Haitian people elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide as their President by an overwhelming margin in a free and fair election. The United States praised Haiti's success in peacefully implementing its democratic constitutional system and provided significant political and economic support to the new government. The Haitian military abruptly interrupted the consolidation of Haiti's new democracy when in September 1991, it illegally and violently ousted President Aristide from office and drove him into exile.

2. The United States, on its own and with the Organization of American States (OAS), immediately imposed sanctions against the illegal regime. The United States has also actively supported the efforts of the OAS and the United Nations to restore democracy to Haiti and bring about President Aristide's return by facilitating negotiations between the Haitian parties. The United States and the international community also offered material assistance within the context of an eventual negotiated settlement of the Haitian crisis to support the return to democracy, build constitutional structures, and foster economic well-being.

3. My last report detailed asset freezes and entry prohibitions that I ordered be imposed against individuals associated with the illegal

regime on June 4. That report also described the imposition of mandatory oil, arms, and financial sanctions by the United Nations Security Council on June 23 and the tightening of the OAS trade embargo in the same period.

4. Since those events my Administration has intensively supported the negotiating process, using the international community's determination as expressed in the sanctions to bring about the restoration of democracy and return of President Aristide. Our efforts bore fruit in the July 3 Governors Island Agreement between President Aristide and Haitian military Commander in Chief General Cedras. That agreement establishes a comprehensive framework for achievement of our policy objectives in Haiti. Progress in implementing its provisions permitted the suspension of the United Nations, OAS, and our own targeted sanctions at the end of August.

5. However, as the date for fulfillment of the final terms of the Governors Island Agreement including the return of President Aristide neared, violence in Haiti increased and, on October 11, the Haitian military and police failed to maintain order necessary for the deployment of U.S. and other forces participating in the United Nations Mission in Haiti. This Haitian military intransigence led to the reimposition of U.N. and OAS sanctions on October 18. That same day, I ordered the reimposition of our targeted asset freeze and entry prohibition, the scope and reach of which were at the same time significantly enhanced.

6. This report details the measures we have instituted and enforced pursuant to the requirements of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act. Military refusal to honor obligations incurred in the Governors Island Agreement persists to this date. However, I remain committed to the restoration of democracy in Haiti and I am confident that the application of the measures described in this report will significantly buttress our efforts to achieve that outcome.

7. As noted in my previous report, on June 30, 1993, I issued Executive Order No. 12853 to implement in the United States petroleum, arms, and financial sanctions mandated by United Nations Security Council Resolu-

tion No. 841 of June 16, 1993. The order broadened U.S. authority to block all property of the *de facto* regime in Haiti that is in the United States or in the possession or control of U.S. persons, prohibiting transactions involving Haitian nationals providing substantial financial or material contributions to, or doing substantial business with, the *de facto* regime in Haiti. Executive Order No. 12853 also prohibited the sale or supply from the United States of petroleum, petroleum products, arms, or related materiel of all types. Finally, the order also prohibited the carriage on U.S.-registered vessels of petroleum or petroleum products, or arms and related materiel, with entry into, or with the intent to enter, the territory or territorial waters of Haiti.

Apparent steady progress toward achieving my firm goal of restoring democracy in Haiti permitted the United States and the world community to suspend economic sanctions against Haiti in August. With our strong support, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution No. 861 on August 27, 1993, calling on Member States to suspend the petroleum, arms, and financial sanctions imposed under United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 841. Resolution No. 861 noted with approval the Governors Island Agreement signed in New York on July 3 between the President of the Republic of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of Haiti, Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras. Similarly, the Secretary General of the OAS announced on August 27 that the OAS was urging Member States to suspend their trade embargoes.

As a result of these U.N. and OAS actions and the anticipated swearing-in of Prime Minister Robert Malval, the Department of the Treasury, in consultation with the Department of State, suspended U.S. trade and financial restrictions against Haiti, effective at 9:35 a.m. e.d.t. on August 31, 1993. The suspension permitted new trade transactions with Haiti and authorized new financial and other transactions involving property in which the Government of Haiti has an interest. Property of the Government of Haiti that was blocked before August 31 would be unblocked gradually and when requested by

that government. However, property of blocked individuals of the *de facto* regime in Haiti was unblocked as of August 31, 1993.

The Haitian military betrayed its commitments, first by the acceleration of violence in Haiti that it sponsored or tolerated, and then on October 11 when armed "attachés," with military and police support, obstructed deployment to Haiti of U.S. military trainers and engineers as part of the United Nations Mission in Haiti. On October 13, 1993, the U.N. Security Council issued Resolution No. 873 that terminated the suspension of sanctions, effective October 18, 1993. Therefore, we have taken three steps to bring the sanctions to bear once again on those who are obstructing the restoration of democracy and return of President Aristide by blocking fulfillment of the Governors Island Agreement and implementation of the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions.

First, effective at 11:59 p.m. e.d.t., October 18, 1993, I issued Executive Order No. 12872, authorizing the Department of the Treasury to block assets of persons who have: (1) contributed to the obstruction of U.N. resolutions 841 and 843, the Governors Island Agreement, or the activities of the United Nations Mission in Haiti; (2) perpetuated or contributed to the violence in Haiti; or (3) materially or financially supported either the obstruction or the violence referred to above. This authority is in addition to the blocking authority provided for in the original sanctions and in Executive Order No. 12853 of June 30, 1993, and ensures adequate scope to reach U.S.-connected assets of senior military and police officials, civilian "attachés," and their financial patrons. A list of 41 such individuals was published on November 1, 1993, by the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury (58 *Fed. Reg.* 58482). A copy of the notice is attached.

Second, also effective at 11:59 p.m. e.d.t., October 18, 1993, the Department of the Treasury revoked the suspension of its sanctions, so that the full scope of prior prohibitions has been reinstated. The reinstated sanctions again prohibit most unlicensed trade with Haiti and block the assets of those entities and persons covered by the broadened authority granted in Executive Order

No. 12853 of June 16, 1993. Restrictions on the entry into U.S. ports of vessels whose Haitian calls would violate U.S. or OAS sanctions if they had been made by U.S. persons are also reinstated.

Third, on October 18, I ordered the deployment of six U.S. Navy vessels off Haiti's shore to enforce strictly the U.N. sanctions and our regulations implementing the OAS embargo. Our ships have been, or will shortly be, joined by vessels from the navies of Canada, France, Argentina, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

8. Economic sanctions against the *de facto* regime in Haiti were first imposed in October 1991. On October 4, 1991, in Executive Order No. 12775, President Bush declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States caused by events that had occurred in Haiti to disrupt the legitimate exercise of power by the democratically elected government of that country (56 *Fed. Reg.* 50641). In that order, the President ordered the immediate blocking of all property and interests in property of the Government of Haiti (including the Banque de la Republique d'Haiti) then or thereafter located in the United States or within the possession or control of a U.S. person, including its overseas branches. The Executive order also prohibited any direct or indirect payments or transfers to the *de facto* regime in Haiti of funds or other financial or investment assets or credits by any U.S. person, including its overseas branches, or by any entity organized under the laws of Haiti and owned or controlled by a U.S. person.

Subsequently, on October 28, 1991, President Bush issued Executive Order No. 12779, adding trade sanctions against Haiti to the sanctions imposed on October 4 (56 *Fed. Reg.* 55975). This order prohibited exportation from the United States of goods, technology, and services and importation into the United States of Haitian-originated goods and services, after November 5, 1991, with certain limited exceptions. The order exempted trade in publications and other informational materials from the import, export, and payment prohibitions and permitted the exportation to Haiti of donations to relieve

human suffering as well as commercial sales of five food commodities: rice, beans, sugar, wheat flour, and cooking oil. In order to permit the return to the United States of goods being prepared for U.S. customers by Haiti's substantial "assembly sector," the order also permitted, through December 5, 1991, the importation into the United States of goods assembled or processed in Haiti that contained parts or materials previously exported to Haiti from the United States. On February 5, 1992, it was announced that specific licenses could be applied for on a case-by-case basis by U.S. persons wishing to resume a pre-embargo import/export relationship with the assembly sector in Haiti.

9. The declaration of the national emergency on October 4, 1991, 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 (IEEPA) (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 October 4, 1991, pursuant to section 204(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)). The additional sanctions set forth in the Executive order of October 28, 1991, were imposed pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the statutes cited above, and represent the response by the United States to Resolution MRE/RES. 2/91, adopted by the Ad Hoc Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the OAS on October 8, 1991, which called on Member States to impose a trade embargo on Haiti and to freeze Government of Haiti assets. The current report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c), and discusses Administration actions and expenses since the last report that are directly related to the national emergency with respect to Haiti declared in Executive Order No. 12775, as implemented pursuant to that order and Executive Order No. 12779.

10. Since my report of July 12, 1993, the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury (FAC), in consultation with the Department of State and other Federal agencies, has issued three amend-

ments to the Haitian Transactions Regulations (the "Regulations"), 31 C.F.R. Part 580. First, as previously reported, on June 4, 1993, FAC issued General Notice No. 1 (Haiti), entitled "Notification of Specially Designated Nationals of the *de facto* Regime in Haiti." This Notice listed persons identified as (1) having seized power illegally from the democratically elected government of President Aristide on September 30, 1991; (2) being substantially owned or controlled by the *de facto* regime in Haiti; or (3) having, since 12:23 p.m. e.d.t., October 4, 1991, acted or purported to act directly or indirectly on behalf of the *de facto* regime in Haiti on under the asserted authority thereof. The effect of the Notice was (1) to block within the United States or within the possession or control of U.S. persons all property and interests in property of the blocked individuals and entities and (2) to prohibit transfers or payments to them by U.S. persons. The Regulations were amended on July 27, 1993, to incorporate as Appendix A the list of persons and entities identified in General Notice No. 1 (58 *Fed. Reg.* 40043). A copy of the amendment is attached to this report.

Second, consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 861 of August 27, 1993, and the August 27, 1993, announcement of the Secretary General of the OAS, the Regulations were amended on August 31, 1993, (58 *Fed. Reg.* 46540) to suspend sanctions against Haiti. A copy of the amendment is attached to this report. The amendment, new section 580.518, prospectively suspended trade restrictions against Haiti and authorized new financial and other transactions with the Government of Haiti. The effect of this amendment was to authorize transactions involving property interests of the Government of Haiti that came within the United States or within the possession or control of U.S. persons after 9:35 a.m. e.d.t., August 31, 1993, or in which the interest of the Government of Haiti arose thereafter. Newly authorized transactions included, but were not limited to, otherwise lawful exportations and importations from Haiti, brokering transactions, and transfers of funds to the Government of Haiti for obligations due and payable after 9:35 a.m. e.d.t., August 31, 1993.

The amendment did not unblock property of the Government of Haiti that was blocked as of 9:35 a.m. e.d.t., August 31, 1993, nor did it affect enforcement actions involving prior violations of the Regulations, which would continue to be vigorously prosecuted. Blocked property of the Government of Haiti was to be unblocked by specific license on a case-by-case basis in consultations with that government. However, the amendment unblocked all blocked property of the Banque de l'Union Haitienne and of all individuals previously listed in Section I of Appendix A to the Regulations.

Third, as noted previously, consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 873 of October 13, 1993, and Executive Order No. 12872 (58 *Fed. Reg.* 54029, October 20, 1993), the Regulations were amended effective 11:59 p.m. e.d.t., October 18, 1993 (58 *Fed. Reg.* 54024), to reimpose sanctions against Haiti. A copy of the Executive order and of the amendment are attached to this report. The amendment removes section 580.518, discussed above.

11. In implementing the Haitian sanctions program, FAC has made extensive use of its authority to specifically license transactions with respect to Haiti in an effort to mitigate the effects of the sanctions on the legitimate Government of Haiti and on the livelihood of Haitian workers employed by Haiti's export assembly sector, and to ensure the availability of necessary medicines and medical supplies and the undisrupted flow of humanitarian donations to Haiti's poor. For example, specific licenses were issued (1) permitting expenditures from blocked assets for the operations of the legitimate Government of Haiti; (2) permitting U.S. firms with pre-embargo relationships with product assembly operations in Haiti to resume those relationships in order to continue employment for their workers or, if they choose to withdraw from Haiti, to return to the United States assembly equipment, machinery, and parts and materials previously exported to Haiti; (3) permitting U.S. companies operating in Haiti to establish, under specified circumstances, interest-bearing blocked reserve accounts in commercial or investment banking institutions in the United States for deposit of amounts owed the *de facto* regime;

(4) permitting the continued material support of U.S. and international religious, charitable, public health, and other humanitarian organizations and projects operating in Haiti; (5) authorizing commercial sales of agricultural inputs such as fertilizer and foodcrop seeds; and (6) in order to combat deforestation, permitting the importation of agricultural products grown on trees.

12. During this reporting period, U.S.-led OAS initiatives resulted in even greater intensification and coordination of enforcement activities. The U.S. Coast Guard, whose cutters had been patrolling just beyond Haiti's territorial waters, significantly increased vessel boardings, identification of suspected embargo violators, and referrals for investigation. Continued close coordination with the U.S. Customs Service in Miami sharply reduced the number of attempted exports of unmanifested, unauthorized merchandise.

Since the last report, 16 penalties, totaling approximately \$65,000, have been collected from U.S. businesses and individuals for violations of the Regulations. Seven violations involved unlicensed import- and export-related activity. As of September 21, 1993, payments of penalties assessed against the masters of vessels for unauthorized trade transactions or violations of entry restrictions totalled approximately \$45,000. Total collections for the fiscal year have exceeded \$210,000.

13. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from April 4, 1993, through October 3, 1993, that are directly attributable to the authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to Haiti are estimated at approximately \$3.1 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 FAC, the U.S. Customs Service, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State, the U.S. Coast Guard, and the Department of Commerce.

I am committed to the restoration of democracy in Haiti and determined to see that Haiti and the Haitian people resume their rightful place in our hemispheric community of democracies. Active U.S. support for U.N./

OAS efforts to resolve the Haitian crisis has led to the reimposition of sweeping economic sanctions. I call on all of Haiti's leaders to recall the solemn undertakings in the Governors Island Agreement and to adhere to those pledges, so that the sanctions can be lifted and the process of rebuilding their beleaguered country can begin. The United States will continue to play a leadership role in the international community's program of support and assistance for democracy in Haiti.

I 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 Thomas S. Foley, 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.

Proclamation 6623—Geography Awareness Week, 1993 and 1994

November 14, 1993

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

From ancient times, when prehistoric peoples used colored clay and charred sticks to draw primitive maps on cave walls, our ancestors have sought to identify their relationship to their surroundings.

Geography, from the Greek "geographia"—earth description—is the field of knowledge that examines those connections that link the earth and its inhabitants.

After a recent decline in the emphasis placed on the study of geography, it is once again receiving the attention it deserves as a necessary element in the education of our citizens. The world has become smaller—politically, economically, and socially—and geographic literacy, knowledge, and understanding of other cultures have increasingly become more and more essential.

America must keep pace with the rest of the world. Our Nation's ability to interact in a global environment depends greatly upon our capacity to comprehend and operate within an interconnected sphere. Young Americans must possess the tools necessary to succeed in this endeavor. They must exhibit a basic understanding of the relationships between countries, between peoples, and among themselves. Without this knowledge, our future leaders will run the risk of taking a narrow and uninformed view of the world as they pursue international initiatives.

My Administration's education reform legislation, Goals 2000: Educate America Act, proposes to specifically include geography in the National Education Goals, and we support the development of voluntary national curricular standards to include geography.

We are making progress. By committing ourselves to this goal, we expect results—and we have already begun to see them. Many schools around the country are engaged in wonderful activities to improve their students' understanding of our mutually shared planet. We must build on these burgeoning efforts for the future of this Nation and for the future of the world.

To recognize the special value of geography to the well-being of our country and all its citizens, the Congress by Senate Joint Resolution 131 has designated the weeks beginning November 14, 1993, and November 13, 1994, as Geography Awareness Week and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of these weeks.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the weeks of November 14, 1993, and November 13, 1994, as "Geography Awareness Week." I call upon the people of the United States, governmental officials, educators, volunteers, and students of all ages to observe these weeks with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:17 p.m., November 16, 1993]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 15, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 18.

Remarks on NAFTA to Small Business Leaders
November 15, 1993

The President. Thank you very much. When Manny and Rick were talking I leaned over to Bill Daley, and I said, "You know, these guys are really good. We need to put them on the stump."

I want to thank you all for being here today. And before I make any more remarks, there are a couple of people I would like to introduce who have not yet been introduced. First of all, I think all of America has seen that our administration has pursued the ratification of this agreement in the Congress on a strictly bipartisan basis on the theory that it was in the best interest of America and the American economy and that after all that we've been through in the last 15 or 20 years, adjusting to the global economy, all the ups and downs, it's an important part of our national security to have a sensible global economic policy.

When we organized this campaign I asked Bill Daley to come in from Chicago. And then we were very fortunate to have the services of his Republican counterpart, the former leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives on the issue of trade, Congressman Bill Frenzel from Minnesota. And he's over here, so I wanted to introduce him. Thank you.

I also want to introduce another person who is a longtime friend of mine and in more ways than one responsible for my being here today, with this introduction. If you look at the opposition to NAFTA, much of it is coming from people who are involved in the manufacturing sector of our economy, who justifiably note that the percentage of our work force in manufacturing has declined and that wages have been more or less stagnant for a long time. Some say that the answer to that is to keep the barriers high here and not

worry about lowering the barriers elsewhere. That has never worked for any country ever in the entire history of global economics. The State in this country that has the highest percentage of its work force in manufacturing by far is North Carolina. And the Governor of North Carolina is here today with us and a strong supporter of NAFTA, my friend Governor Jim Hunt. Please welcome him.

We wanted to meet here today in this marvelous museum not to focus on the past but to make a point about our past. If you look around at all these different displays, all the exhibits, you see that the one constant in American economic history has been change. The reason we have been able to build a dominant economy is that we have been at the forefront of innovation in new products, new services, new technologies, new production techniques, new management techniques, new sales techniques.

We know now that a lot of what we have seen in the last 20 years in terms of competition from around the world is the direct result of our success in, first, winning the Second World War; secondly, rebuilding our former foes in Germany and Japan; thirdly, supporting a global trading system so that everybody could have the benefit of capitalism and free enterprise; and fourthly, the fact that there are a lot of other people in the world who are smart and work hard and do things well, too, so that the arena of competition has gotten much bigger.

In that connection, however, it cannot be denied that for all of the difficulties we've had in the last several years, we've had astonishing growth in productivity in many sectors of our economy. Every single analysis still says we have the most productive workers in the world. And it is clear that if we can expand our customer base, we'll be able to solidify job gains and income increases. There is no way any wealthy country in this world can increase jobs and incomes without increasing the number of people who buy that nation's products and services. There is simply no other way to do it, just like there's no way you can increase your business unless people buy more of whatever it is you're selling. It is the same for a nation.

I understand well why there are so many people in this country today who are skeptical about any change because they feel so burned by the economic problems of the last 10 to 15 years. I understand that. But if ever a group of Americans understood the risk of competition and change, it is the small business community. If there is one sector of our economy that sort of lays it on the line every day, it is the small business community. If you look at the incredible churning of the number of small businesses in America today, the number that are created and the number that don't make it, if any group of Americans could come to the Nation's Capital and say, hey, we can't stand any more insecurity, it would be you, right?

Audience members. Right!

The President. So why is the small business community in America overwhelmingly in support of NAFTA? Because you understand also the only way to sell more is to have more customers, and the only way to succeed is to compete and win. And you know something that everyone in America has to learn: that we cannot run from the forces of competition. We have to face them and overcome them and continue to change and grow.

That is what America has always done. That is the meaning of this exhibit. If you look around, you see in this exhibit the history of the accumulated lives of innovative, creative entrepreneurs, the people who paved the way for all of you to be here today. And on Wednesday, we are going to see the United States Congress pass a vote which will either be in the great tradition of all those who put their products in this museum and all you who come to this Nation's Capital, or will be the exception to the rule but one for which there is some evidence that maybe we just will turn away one more time.

Every time we have done that, this country has gotten burned. Every time. And all the people who are against it say, "Well, there's something different about this. This is worse, or this is different, or whatever." I say to them, if we don't adopt this we will never know how good it can be. If all the naysayers turn out to be wrong, the treaty gives us a right to withdraw in 6 months. Why don't

we just wait and see whether we're right or they're right?

You know we're right. You know it because it is consistent with your own life experience. And the argument that is being made here, that we shouldn't even try, we should give up before we engage, is really very, very bad for our country and ignores the enormous productivity gains that have been achieved by Americans in the last several years. We are now in a position to take advantage of our productivity gains. But all of you know what productivity is, it's the same number of people producing more, or fewer people producing more. So now, if you want to have more jobs and more incomes, we have to have more people to sell to. It is clear and self-evident.

I want you to contact these Members of Congress in the next 2 days and make the case I just made about insecurity. If any group of people in America understands how change can take you away overnight, it is the small business community. You are for this because you know you cannot repeal the laws of change, you cannot run away from them. And the competitive system in America with winners and losers has produced far more winners than losers over the last 200 years, far more winners than losers. And this will produce more winners than losers. This is the way to grow the American economy. You understand it, and we need you.

One of our Nation's strongest advocates for small business, also from North Carolina, is the Director of the Small Business Administration, Erskine Bowles. And I predict he will go down in history as one of the most popular members of our administration because he's the first SBA Director in a long time who's made a living creating small businesses. That's what he's done for 20 years, helped people start small businesses, helped them expand, helped them sell their products overseas, helped them pierce foreign markets in the private sector. And he is a terrific advocate for NAFTA.

We were talking the other day about this and it's how I obviously, as you might imagine, since I'm now on my fourth or fifth or sixth conversation with some of these Members of Congress about this issue, I keep trying to think of the argument that can be

made. So I implore you again, I don't want to sound like a broken record, but talk to the Members of Congress. Tell them you know all about insecurity, but you know that we can compete and win if we have enough customers to sell to.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. at the Smithsonian Museum of American History. In his remarks, he referred to Manuel Silva, founder, Pan American Engineering, and Richard Harris, president, Pulsair, Inc.

Statement on the Outcome of the Puerto Rican Referendum

November 15, 1993

I fully support the determination of the citizens of Puerto Rico to continue their commonwealth status.

I am especially gratified by the high level of participation in Sunday's referendum, and I look forward to maintaining the relationship of friendship and mutual respect that the United States enjoys with the people of Puerto Rico.

Appointment of Members of the Federal Council on the Aging

November 15, 1993

The President announced today that he will appoint four new members to the Federal Council on the Aging, a 15-member panel that advises and assists the President on matters relating to the special needs of older Americans. The President appoints one-third of the Council's members, three of whom must be more than 60 years of age.

"The senior citizen community, our parents and grandparents, is one of our great resources," said the President. "It is important that we ensure that Government policies are helpful to them and that we make sure to seek their wisdom as we decide on those policies."

The members appointed today are Alice B. Bulos, William B. Cashin, Olivia P. Maynard, and Myrtle B. Pickering.

NOTE: Biographies of the appointees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Letter to House Republican Leader on NAFTA

November 15, 1993

Dear Mr. Leader:

On more than one occasion I have been asked whether the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) might become a divisive issue in the 1994 Congressional elections. Each time I have been asked this question I have expressed the hope that this issue would continue to be viewed in a spirit of bipartisan cooperation befitting an issue of such historical importance.

Since I have sought the support of all members of the House of Representatives for the NAFTA implementing legislation as a matter of compelling national interest, I hope to discourage NAFTA opponents from using this issue against pro-NAFTA members, regardless of party, in the coming election.

After our shared success later this week, when I will have the pleasure of sending thank you letters to at least 218 House members, I will reaffirm my position on the inappropriateness of fighting NAFTA again in the 1994 election.

As always, you have my respect and appreciation.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

NOTE: This letter, sent to Representative Robert H. Michel, was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 16 but was not issued as a White House press release.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on NAFTA

November 15, 1993

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Leader:)

As we approach the end of an intense debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), I want to share with you my reasons for believing Congressional approval of NAFTA is essential to our national interest.

We share a commitment to ensuring that our country has the world's strongest and most competitive economy, to maintaining and creating jobs for our workers, and to making sure that opportunities are there for our children as they join the workforce of the future. That is why I am fighting for the approval of NAFTA. I am convinced that it will help strengthen our economy—in the near term and in the long run.

Our nation's prosperity depends on our ability to compete and win in the global economy. It is an illusion to believe that we can prosper by retreating behind protectionist walls. We will succeed only by ensuring that we have the world's most competitive companies, productive workers, and open markets in which to sell our manufactured goods, services, and agricultural products.

I understand that NAFTA is, for many, a reminder of the economic hardships and insecurities that have grown over the past 20 years. Obviously, NAFTA did not cause those problems. In fact, it is part of the solution. We are world-class producers of everything from computers and automobiles to financial services and soybeans. We can compete anywhere, but we need to ensure that markets around the world are open to our products.

Mexico represents an enormous opportunity for our businesses, our workers, and our farmers. Exports there have already soared since 1986, when Mexico began to open its market and lower trade barriers. But the status quo in the trading relationship—in which Mexico's trade barriers are far higher than ours—is still unacceptable. NAFTA represents both free and fair trade. It changes the status quo by wiping away the Mexican barriers.

NAFTA provides us preferential access to the Mexican market: 90 million people, in

one of the most dynamic growing economies in the world, who look to us for consumer goods, agricultural products and the infrastructure needed to build a modern economy. It is the gateway to the fast growing markets of Latin America, which are also opening, where we have a natural advantage over Japan and the European Community. Turning away from this opportunity would be a serious self-inflicted wound to our economy. It would cost us jobs—in the short and long term.

Many opponents of NAFTA say that they don't oppose a trade agreement with Mexico. They say they just oppose this NAFTA, and suggest that it be renegotiated. We should be under no illusions. This is a far-reaching and fair agreement. It was negotiated painstakingly over three years with input from a broad array of groups, and it is in the best interest of the United States, Mexico and Canada. It represents an unprecedented effort to include in a trade agreement provisions to enhance environmental protection and workers rights. It was negotiated by a Republican President, and endorsed and strengthened by a Democratic President. If it were defeated, no government of Mexico could return, or would return, to the negotiating table for years to come. Mexico would turn to others, like Japan and the European Community, for help in building a modern state—and American workers, farmers, and businesses would be the losers.

Of course, NAFTA is not a magic bullet for all our economic problems. But there is no question that NAFTA will benefit every region of our country. It is no accident that NAFTA has the support of more than two-thirds of the nation's governors and Members of Congress from every part of the nation. They understand the benefits that will flow to their states, regardless of region.

My main reason for supporting NAFTA is that it will be good for the competitive U.S. economy that we are trying to build. But there is another critical issue that I ask you to consider. After World War I, the United States chose the path of isolation and protectionism. That path led directly to the Depression, and helped set the world on the path to World War II. After World War II, we chose to engage with the world, through col-

lective security and expanded trade. We helped our allies rebuild, ushered in a period of unprecedented global economic growth, and prevailed over communism.

Now we face another defining moment. The rejection of NAFTA would set back our relationship with Mexico, and Latin American beyond, for years to come. It would send a signal that the world's leading power has chosen the path of pessimism and protectionism. It would gravely undermine our ability to convince other countries to join us in completing the Uruguay Round, which is essential to expand trade and enhance global growth.

Rejecting NAFTA would, quite simply, put us on the wrong side of history. That is not our destiny. I ask the House of Representatives to join me in choosing the path of expanded trade, to make the decision to compete in the world, rather than to retreat behind our borders. We are a great country, and we cannot shrink from this test.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert H. Michel, House Republican leader. This letter was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 16 but was not issued as a White House press release.

Remarks on Signing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993

November 16, 1993

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President, for those fine remarks and to the Members of Congress, the chaplains of the House and the Senate, and to all of you who worked so hard to help this day become a reality. Let me especially thank the Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion for the central role they played in drafting this legislation and working so hard for its passage.

It is interesting to note, as the Vice President said, what a broad coalition of Americans came together to make this bill a reality; interesting to note that that coalition produced a 97-to-3 vote in the United States Senate and a bill that had such broad support it was adopted on a voice vote in the House.

I'm told that, as many of the people in the coalition worked together across ideological and religious lines, some new friendships were formed and some new trust was established, which shows, I suppose, that the power of God is such that even in the legislative process miracles can happen. [Laughter]

We all have a shared desire here to protect perhaps the most precious of all American liberties, religious freedom. Usually the signing of legislation by a President is a ministerial act, often a quiet ending to a turbulent legislative process. Today this event assumes a more majestic quality because of our ability together to affirm the historic role that people of faith have played in the history of this country and the constitutional protections those who profess and express their faith have always demanded and cherished.

The power to reverse legislation by legislation, a decision of the United States Supreme Court, is a power that is rightly hesitantly and infrequently exercised by the United States Congress. But this is an issue in which that extraordinary measure was clearly called for. As the Vice President said, this act reverses the Supreme Court's decision Employment Division against Smith and reestablishes a standard that better protects all Americans of all faiths in the exercise of their religion in a way that I am convinced is far more consistent with the intent of the Founders of this Nation than the Supreme Court decision.

More than 50 cases have been decided against individuals making religious claims against Government action since that decision was handed down. This act will help to reverse that trend by honoring the principle that our laws and institutions should not impede or hinder but rather should protect and preserve fundamental religious liberties.

The free exercise of religion has been called the first freedom, that which originally sparked the development of the full range of the Bill of Rights. Our Founders cared a lot about religion. And one of the reasons they worked so hard to get the first amendment into the Bill of Rights at the head of the class is that they well understood what could happen to this country, how both reli-

gion and Government could be perverted if there were not some space created and some protection provided. They knew that religion helps to give our people the character without which a democracy cannot survive. They knew that there needed to be a space of freedom between Government and people of faith that otherwise Government might usurp.

They have seen now, all of us, that religion and religious institutions have brought forth faith and discipline, community and responsibility over two centuries for ourselves and enabled us to live together in ways that I believe would not have been possible. We are, after all, the oldest democracy now in history and probably the most truly multiethnic society on the face of the Earth. And I am convinced that neither one of those things would be true today had it not been for the importance of the first amendment and the fact that we have kept faith with it for 200 years.

What this law basically says is that the Government should be held to a very high level of proof before it interferes with someone's free exercise of religion. This judgment is shared by the people of the United States as well as by the Congress. We believe strongly that we can never, we can never be too vigilant in this work.

Let me make one other comment if I might before I close and sit down and sign this bill. There is a great debate now abroad in the land which finds itself injected into several political races about the extent to which people of faith can seek to do God's will as political actors. I would like to come down on the side of encouraging everybody to act on what they believe is the right thing to do. There are many people in this country who strenuously disagree with me on what they believe are the strongest grounds of their faiths. I encourage them to speak out. I encourage all Americans to reach deep inside to try to determine what it is that drives their lives most deeply.

As many of you know, I have been quite moved by Steven Carter's book, "The Culture of Disbelief." He makes a compelling case that today Americans of all political persuasions and all regions have created a cli-

mate in this country in which some people believe that they are embarrassed to say that they advocate a course of action simply because they believe it is the right thing to do, because they believe it is dictated by their faith, by what they discern to be, with their best efforts, the will of God.

I submit to you today, my fellow Americans, that we can stand that kind of debate in this country. We are living in a country where the most central institution of our society, the family, has been under assault for 30 years. We are living in a country in which 160,000 schoolchildren don't go to school every day because they're afraid someone will shoot them or beat them up or knife them. We are living in a country now where gunshots are the single leading cause of death among teenage boys. We are living in a country where people can find themselves shot in the crossfire of teenagers who are often better armed than the police who are trying to protect other people from illegal conduct. It is high time we had an open and honest reaffirmation of the role of American citizens of faith, not so that we can agree but so that we can argue and discourse and seek the truth and seek to heal this troubled land.

So today I ask you to also think of that. We are a people of faith. We have been so secure in that faith that we have enshrined in our Constitution protection for people who profess no faith. And good for us for doing so. That is what the first amendment is all about. But let us never believe that the freedom of religion imposes on any of us some responsibility to run from our convictions. Let us instead respect one another's faiths, fight to the death to preserve the right of every American to practice whatever convictions he or she has, but bring our values back to the table of American discourse to heal our troubled land.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. H.R. 1308, approved November 16, was assigned Public Law No. 103-141.

Remarks on Governors' Endorsements of NAFTA and an Exchange With Reporters

November 16, 1993

The President. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Vice President, and thank you to all the Governors who are here and to the many Governors who are not here who have helped us in this battle to pass NAFTA.

I think I should say by way of sort of a parenthesis at the outset of my remarks, in reaction to Governor Thompson's eloquent comments about the Rose Bowl, that in view of the wisdom of the voters in Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin in the last election, this administration has no position on that football game. [*Laughter*]

You know, I looked at the Governors who are here with me, and I had to think—I actually counted. We are about equally divided back here between Democrats and Republicans. And I think it is an interesting statement that these who have come here and those who are not here who have also endorsed this agreement are more or less equally divided in about the ratio the parties hold of gubernatorial offices. And the reason for that is that if you're a Governor today, a big part of your job is keeping the job base you have, trying to find more jobs, and when you lose jobs, trying to replace them as quickly as possible.

It's not unusual to see a Governor who actually knows huge numbers of employers by name, who's been in, in my case, literally hundreds of manufacturing facilities and different small businesses and who understands how businesses rise and fall and how they fit within the economy of the State, the Nation, and the globe. The job of Governors is to create jobs, to keep jobs, to enhance the economic base and the economic security of our people.

Any of these Governors will tell you that it is difficult to hold onto this job if your voters don't believe you have a clear economic program and that your State is moving in the right direction against all the odds. Many of us have served in very difficult economic times, with high unemployment rates caused by all kinds of factors. But we always found that the people of our State wanted us to

have a theory about how the economy works and how we were going to get more jobs. That is what these folks do for a living.

So I am especially honored to have these Governors here and to have their support because they understand on a bipartisan basis that a big part of America's national security involves the ability to create economic security for our people. They further understand that the only way to have economic security is to compete and win in the global economy.

As I have said many times and I want to say here on the eve of this great vote, every wealthy country in the world today is having trouble creating new jobs. Productivity increases, which are necessary to compete in the global economy, in the short run sometimes cause difficulty in creating jobs because a more productive worker means fewer people can produce more products and services. Therefore, if you want more jobs at higher wages in this world, you have to have more customers. There is no way around that.

No one has seriously advanced the proposition that the United States can grow jobs and raise incomes, our most urgent economic priority, without having more customers for our products and services. The Governors understand that. That is why they do not seek to run away from change or to shield their people from change but instead to embrace it, to compete and win. That is the great message that must be carried to the Congress over the next 24 hours as the Members prepare for this vote.

This really is a vote about whether we're going to try to hold onto yesterday's economy or embrace tomorrow's economy. It's about the past and the future. You know, if I could wave a magic wand and return every American to absolute job security with no competition at all, I might do that although I'm not sure our country would be better off. At least more and more people think that that is a possibility as you hear this NAFTA vote. And I'm telling you folks, these Governors understand that is not a possibility.

Governors have stood at the doors of plants when they closed. I have stood by plants and shaken hands with workers, hundreds of them, when they walked off the job for the last time. If I thought that this was

going to cost the American people jobs, I would not be for this agreement and neither would these Governors. Our work is putting Americans to work.

Now, in the last 10 months, with the deficit down, with inflation down, with interest rates down, this economy has produced more jobs in the private sector than in the previous 4 years. And every American can tell you that's very fine, but it's nowhere near enough. We cannot get more jobs in this economy until we have more customers for our products and our services.

Tomorrow the Congress has simply got to vote for hope over fear, for the future over the past, they've got to vote for confidence in the ability of the American people to compete and win. These Governors are closer to their workers than any other public officials in the country. They know we can compete and win. So do I. And tomorrow I think the House of Representatives will say the same thing.

Thank you very much.

NAFTA

Q. Mr. President, you have stressed bipartisanship here. But Lane Kirkland says that you have really abdicated the leadership of the Democratic Party with your all-out campaign.

The President. My job is to try to lead the United States and to try to help this country move forward and to do what I think is right to get that done. I do not believe we can grow this economy without expanding our trade. I'm doing the job that the people elected me to do, to try to expand the economy.

Q. Can you explain about the political cover, as it's been described, that you're offering Members of Congress, Republicans and Democrats, in terms of NAFTA not being a legitimate political issue in the 1994 campaign?

The President. I have told all Members of Congress who vote for this that I will do everything I can to defend this vote and to say that a vote for this agreement should not be the basis for defeating any Member of Congress without regard to party. And I believe that.

Q. Mr. President, Ross Perot has accused you of giving away billions of dollars in taxpayers' monies to buy votes in favor of NAFTA. And he says that what you're doing makes the scandal in New Jersey look like peanuts. What do you say about that?

The President. I say that the Vice President, first of all, disposed of most of Mr. Perot's arguments pretty well the other night. The Members of Congress who come to me and ask me for things have asked me to help their people. The people that I've talked to in Congress have been nobly motivated. Most of them have taken great risks and, as you heard, were threatened on national television with their very political life by Mr. Perot the other night to vote for this. When they come to see me, they want to know things like: Is this job training package going to be really adequate? How do I know the members of my district are going to have access to job training programs? What are you going to do to ensure that the environmental standards will be kept? And how quickly will we see investments in cleaning up the environment along the border?

Those are the kinds of substantive questions that we've been asked to hammer out and work through and give assurances on. I think that is the job of a Member of Congress. I don't feel badly about that at all.

Q. Mr. President—

Q. Mr. President—sorry.

The President. Go ahead. Both of you. [Laughter]

Q. Isn't there a danger, Mr. President, these kind of side deals you've had to make on sugar, citrus, wheat can end up undermining the very thing you tried to do with the trade agreement?

The President. No.

Q. Why not?

The President. Well, the side agreements we made on agriculture were just like the side agreements we made on the environment and on the labor standards. They don't undermine the fundamental things in the agreement. The Mexican tariffs come down. The barriers to trade go down. The Mexicans have access to nationwide investment in their country. We win; they win. The big things in the agreement are still wholly intact, and

as a matter of fact, I think it's a much better deal than it was a year ago.

Q. How do you feel about this bipartisan coalition? There was an extraordinary joint whips committee meeting yesterday. When all the votes are being counted in the middle of the rollcall, do you really trust Newt Gingrich with what may be the future of your Presidency?

The President. First of all, I wouldn't even characterize it that way. I believe that Newt Gingrich believes in NAFTA just like I do. And I believe he wants it to pass. And do I trust him to do everything he can to deliver every vote he can? You bet I do.

And let me say that, you know, we can't win for losing around here. I mean, when we were voting on the budget, you were asking me wasn't it terrible we didn't have any Republicans voting with us. I like the idea of people in the two parties working together when they agree. I do not like the idea that any party's, either party's discipline would prevent people who agree with one another from working together toward the national good. I think that's what the American people want us to do. I think they want us to disagree when we disagree, to agree when we agree, but not to let our labels keep us from working together.

So this has been an immensely rewarding thing for me to work with the Republicans who agree with us on this issue. Mr. Bonior has worked very hard with the Republicans who agree with him on the issue, and I would like to see more of it in America. I think that our country would work better if we could work out agreements and work together in a constructive way, particularly on issues that affect our national security.

When I was a boy, looking at Washington from afar, growing up, the normal thing was for the Republicans and Democrats to work together on foreign policy because everyone understood that was our national security. Well frankly, folks, a lot of these economic issues are our national security today. And I hope we'll see a lot more of this bipartisan-ship.

Q. Do you have the votes?

The President. We're getting there. I never say that until they're counted, you

know, but I feel good today. We're getting there.

Q. Mr. President, a lot of people have characterized this as a test of your Presidency. And the stakes seem to have been ratcheted up, particularly in the last few days, to the point where one Senator was quoted as saying your political future is at stake and, at the very least, the future of any political programs you want to enact. Do you think that is an exaggeration, or are the stakes really that high?

The President. I think the stakes for our country are high. What happens to me is not nearly as important as what happens to the country. Thursday morning I'll wake up, and I'll get on that plane and go to the APEC meeting and do the best I can for America. A month from now people may be concerned about something else. But what I want to emphasize is the importance of this to our country.

I want to make, in closing, since this is my last shot, one argument that none of us have made yet again this morning. And that is that NAFTA is the gateway to all of Latin America, to 700 million people. It is an insurance policy against protectionism in the rest of the world. And it is an enormous lever for us to convince our friends in the Pacific region and our friends in Europe to complete the worldwide trade agreement, the GATT round, by the end of the year so we can continue to expand the global economy.

Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. President, your opponents on this issue, Mr. Gephardt, for instance, say that if NAFTA fails they will immediately offer to renegotiate it with you, to revive it. If NAFTA does not pass tomorrow night, is it dead, or are you going to immediately try to work with them to renegotiate it?

The President. They're missing the point. They can renegotiate with me all they want. They can't renegotiate it with the Mexicans. I think the Government of Mexico has made it quite clear that this trade agreement includes environmental concessions and labor concessions on their part, which I think are good for them, by the way, but never before put into a trade agreement by any nation ever. I think it is clear what they will do is to look to other nations to make other deals.

You see, even the Canadians said today that if we voted it down, they'd try to make a separate agreement with Mexico. I feel quite sure that other nations will as well.

Q. Mr. President, what are you learning from this intensive campaign? Are there a lot of disappointments? And do you have any unusual surprises?

The President. There haven't been any disappointments. Actually, what I'm learning from this campaign is that an awful lot of people really love this country and many Members of Congress are literally willing to put their political careers on the line tomorrow night to do what they think is right, even though they're not quite sure their voters agree with them yet. Every Member we get who's in a difficult district, who's voting for this is doing it because he or she believes that it's in the interest of their constituents even if they haven't quite persuaded them yet. And it's been a deeply moving thing for me.

I also would tell you all that we've had a lot of close votes up here, but we're moving the ball forward in this country. It is hard to do hard things. And sometimes hard things win by narrow margins. But America is going through a period of real change and ferment at a time of great difficulty for millions of our citizens. So the fact that this is tough, it should be exhilarating to all of us who are carrying forward. It's just our responsibility to take the tough fight and go forward.

North Korea

Q. Mr. President, on one other topic, are you willing to give up military exercises in South Korea in exchange for nuclear inspections in North Korea?

The President. I'm not at liberty even to comment on that now. The negotiations are going on, and I don't think I should comment. I'll have more to say about that, I hope, in the next few days.

One last question. Go ahead.

Canadian Agricultural Subsidies

Q. Have you decided to ask Canada to change its grain pricing policies? And are you prepared to seek tariffs or quotas, if they don't, on durum wheat?

The President. First of all, I don't think I should prefigure my conversation with the

Prime Minister of Canada. I'm going to have my first meeting with him in just a couple of days, and we're going to discuss some of the issues outstanding between us, including the differences both of us have with each other's definition of what constitutes fair trade in agriculture. The Prime Minister has made an interesting suggestion, which is that we ought to try to reach agreement on what does or doesn't constitute a subsidy, something which was not done before our agreement with Canada was developed. And that is what led to a lot of this misunderstanding because they have things that our farmers consider to be significant subsidies that are indirect. So we're going to meet and visit about that when we get out to the Pacific. Right now, we've got to pass NAFTA.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. at the North Portico to the West Wing at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin.

Proclamation 6624—National Farm-City Week, 1993

November 16, 1993

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The efficiency with which a nation produces and distributes its agricultural products largely determines the vitality, health, well-being, and economic strength of that nation. One of our Nation's great strengths is the tremendous productivity of its agricultural sector. The food and fiber that grow on our country's farms feed us, sustain us, and allow our Nation to thrive.

More than 20 million Americans—from farms to cities—are engaged in producing, processing, and marketing our agricultural supplies. They are a highly efficient team made up of farm families, people in rural communities, agribusiness industries, scientists, and retail distributors. This farm-city team is the most productive and effective in the world, demonstrating the strength and

interdependence of our farms, rural areas, and cities in our economic system.

This remarkable farm-city system provides our people with produce for the smallest portion of consumers' average disposable income of any Nation. As consumers, we can use the remaining, much larger portion of our incomes for other goods, services, education, recreation, and comforts. This adds greatly to our choices in life and to our well-being, making us a more diversified, well-served people.

In addition, this farm-city team produces enough food in surplus of our own needs to enable the United States to be the breadbasket of the world, exporting more agricultural products than any other country. Each \$1 billion of farm exports provides an additional \$1.4 billion of off-farm economic activity and provides jobs for about 22,000 people on farms and in small towns and cities. Our highly competitive agricultural exports also provide the largest positive balance of trade of any U.S. industry. This, too, adds to our opportunities, our well-being, and the vitality of our economy.

Our agricultural team's unmatched productivity also makes it possible for the United States to carry out its international role as a world leader. As a strong, concerned Nation, with abundant agricultural reserves, the United States is the world's No. 1 donor of food aid in response to the needs of distressed people in other nations.

We all are indebted to the performance of the United States agricultural team. Each year since 1956, the Nation has set aside the week ending on Thanksgiving Day as "National Farm-City Week" to pay tribute to the people who put food on our tables and to give prayerful thanks for our individual blessings and the blessings of the United States of America.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of November 19–25, 1993, as National Farm-City Week. I encourage all Americans, in rural and urban communities alike, to join in recognizing the accomplishments of our farmers and all those hardworking individuals who

cooperate in producing the abundance of agricultural goods that strengthen and enrich the United States.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:03 a.m., November 18, 1993]

NOTE: This proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 17, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 19.

Proclamation 6625—Thanksgiving Day, 1993

November 17, 1993

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

From the beginnings of our Nation, we have sought to recognize the providence and mercy of God with words and acts of gratitude, indeed with effort and energy toward helping others wherever need occurred. In the colorful days and weeks when the autumn of the year brings ripe and fruitful harvest across our land, Americans give thanks for many blessings. It is a time of bounty and generosity, a time to come together in peace.

This is the true spirit of Thanksgiving: acknowledging God's graciousness, and in response, reaching out in service to others. This spirit was apparent in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1621, when Pilgrim immigrants sat down with Native Americans and celebrated their common harvest.

This same spirit of Thanksgiving inspires our great Nation and our people to act with justice and concern toward all the peoples of the world and toward one another here at home. We are grateful for the dramatic progress made towards a comprehensive peace in the Middle East and for the Agree-

ment signed in our United States; we are thankful for the relief efforts that our Nation and others have undertaken where natural disasters have struck unmercifully.

Still, in this final decade of the twentieth century, we face great challenges. The troubled areas of our world continue to challenge our ability to find peaceful and equitable solutions. On this Thanksgiving Day, the hospitality and harmony of loved ones, friends, and neighbors, remind each of us that we belong to the larger family of mankind.

As we gather together during this sacred and cherished time, let us pledge to build a new America where everyone will have a place at the table, and no one will be left out. In this way we will truly maintain the spirit of Thanksgiving that has enriched our country since its beginnings. While recognizing the importance of individual responsibility, we will continue to place the strength and benevolence of this great Nation at the service of all its people, indeed of all the peoples of the earth. Then, in these richer years, we will reap a true and fruitful harvest.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 25, 1993, as a National Day of Thanksgiving. I encourage the citizens of this great Nation to gather in their homes, places of worship, or wherever they may choose to express heartfelt thanks for the abundance bestowed on us throughout our history.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:20 a.m., November 18, 1993]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on November 19.

Nomination for Chair of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

November 17, 1993

The President announced his intention today to nominate Ricki Rhodarmer Tigert to be Chair of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. If confirmed by the Senate, Tigert would be the first woman to head a Federal banking agency.

“Ricki Tigert is highly qualified for this position, with broad-based experience in both the executive and legislative branches of the Federal Government, as well as at the Federal Reserve,” said the President. “Her 15 years of private and public sector experience in banking and financial issues have prepared her well for the important task of safeguarding the savings of millions of American bank depositors.”

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for Appeals Court and District Court Judges

November 17, 1993

The President today nominated Judith Rogers, currently chief judge of the DC Court of Appeals, to be U.S. Court of Appeals judge for the District of Columbia Circuit. He also nominated attorney Thomas Vanaskie to be a U.S. District Court judge for the Middle District of Pennsylvania.

“I am particularly proud to be making these appointments today. Judith Rogers’ career has been one of historic firsts, and she will be only the second African-American woman ever to serve on a U.S. Court of Appeals. I am confident that she will continue the outstanding work she has done on Washington’s highest court,” said the President. “Likewise, I firmly believe that Thomas Vanaskie will exhibit all the qualities of an outstanding jurist on the District Court.”

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks on the House of Representatives Action on NAFTA and an Exchange With Reporters

November 17, 1993

The President. Thank you very much. Just a few minutes ago the House of Representatives voted to approve the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA will expand our exports, create new jobs, and help us reassert America's leadership in the global economy. This agreement is in the deep self-interest of the United States. It will help make working Americans, the world's most productive workers, winners in the world economy.

I want to thank the lawmakers of both parties who gave their support to NAFTA. Many of them, as everyone knows, showed real courage in voting their consciences and what they knew to be in the best interest for their Nation. I want to thank all the citizens who worked so hard for this, the business leaders, especially the small business leaders, the spokespersons for the NAFTA fight, including Lee Iacocca who's here with us tonight.

I want to say a special word of thanks to the members of the Cabinet who labored so hard and long, especially Mickey Kantor, our Trade Ambassador, for his tireless effort on the side agreements and to lobby this through, and the Secretary of the Treasury, who is a native of south Texas and who understands so clearly why this is in our interests. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Vice President Gore for bringing home the message to the American people in his superb debate performance.

Tonight's vote is a defining moment for our Nation. At a time when many of our people are hurting from the strains of this tough global economy, we chose to compete, not to retreat, to lead a new world economy, to lead as America has done so often in the past. The debate over NAFTA has been contentious. Men and women of good will raised strong arguments for and against this agreement. But every participant in this debate wanted the same things: more jobs, more security, more opportunity for every American. And so do I.

I thank those who worked with us. I thank especially the people who organized the

grassroots effort in our behalf, Bill Daley and former Congressman Bill Frenzel. I also thank the passionate defenders of the working people who oppose NAFTA for exercising their right to speak out. And they were right to speak out against economic conditions which have produced too few jobs and stagnant incomes, as well as inadequate strategies for retraining our workers and investing in our people and our places that need them. They fought hard, and they have my respect.

But in an economy where competition is global and change is the only constant, we simply cannot advance the security of American workers by building walls of protection around our economy or by pretending that global competition isn't there. Our only choice is to take this new world head on, to compete, and to win. That's why it's so important that we pass NAFTA, and I hope the Senate will complete the process in the next few days.

By eliminating Mexico's tariffs and restrictive rules we'll be able to export more cars, more computers, and other products and keep more American workers on the job here at home. NAFTA will raise environmental and labor standards in Mexico. And I want to ask tonight labor and management to work together with our administration to ensure that the labor and environmental provisions of NAFTA are honored. We must make sure that this pact works to America's advantage.

NAFTA is a big step, but just the first step in our effort to expand trade and spark an economic revival here and around the world. One legitimate point that the opponents of NAFTA made is that we will do even better in the global economy if we have a training system and a retraining system and a job placement system for our workers worthy of the challenges they face. We simply must guarantee our workers the training and education they need to compete in the global marketplace. And I call on the coalition that passed NAFTA to help me early next year present to the Congress and pass a world-class reemployment system that will give our working people the security of knowing that they'll be able always to get the training they need as economic conditions change.

We must also provide our citizens with other things, with health care that can never

be taken away, with increased investment in people and places and jobs. And we must continue the fight to lower foreign trade barriers which slow economic growth here in the United States and around the world.

Tomorrow I go to Seattle to meet with the leaders of 15 Asian Pacific economies. I will ask them to work toward more open markets for our products. When I return, I'll reach out to the other market-oriented democracies of Latin America, to ask them to join in this great American pact that I believe offers so much hope to our future. And next month we will urge our European and Asian competitors to complete work on the world-wide trade agreement that can literally create hundreds of thousands of jobs here in the United States as we open markets all across the globe.

We've faced choices before like the one we faced tonight, whether to turn inward or turn outward. After World War I, the United States turned inward and built walls of protection around our economy. The result was a depression and ultimately another world war. After the Second World War, we made a very different choice. We turned outward. We built a system of expanded trade and collective security. We rebuilt the economies of our former foes and in the process created the great American middle class.

Tonight, with the cold war over, our Nation is facing that choice again. And tonight I am proud to say, we have not flinched. Tonight the leaders of both parties found common ground in supporting the common good. We voted for the future tonight. We once again showed our strength. We once again showed our self-confidence, even in this difficult time. Our people are winners. And I believe we showed tonight we are ready together to compete and win and to shape the world of the 21st century.

Thank you very much.

Q. Mr. President, how are you going to make up with the Democratic leaders who fought this trade agreement so vociferously?

The President. Well, I thought what they all said tonight was a very good signal. At the end of that debate I was deeply moved by the efforts that people on both sides of the issue made to reach out to each other and to say that we have to make this work

now, we have to go forward now, we have to build our economy. And I think you will see that happening. I think you will see a greater sense of unity and commitment to have the kind of job training programs we need, to have the kind of investment strategies we need to keep forcing these trade barriers down abroad.

And I must say, too, I hope we'll see in the future some more of this bipartisan effort to build economic security for Americans, because a lot of our national security in the future is going to be involved with rebuilding our economic strength from the grassroots up. And that's a very hopeful part of this debate.

Q. What about the relationship with organized labor, sir?

The President. Well, one of the things I learned, again, in this fight is that they have an enormous amount of energy and ability to organize and ability to channel the passions and feelings of their workers. You know, when you think about it, we had the White House, the leaders of both parties, an enormous amount of support, and we had to come from a long way back to win this fight because of the work they did largely. And what I want to do is to ask them to join me now, as I said tonight, in making sure that the labor and environmental agreements are honored, in going on to the health care battle, in going on to other economic battles, and in making sure we give our working people the kind of education and training programs they need to compete in this different and very competitive global economy.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:03 p.m. in the Grand Foyer at the White House.

Executive Order 12880—National Drug Control Program

November 16, 1993

The Office of National Drug Control Policy has the lead responsibility within the Executive Office of the President to establish policies, priorities, and objectives for the Nation's drug control program, with the goal of

reducing the production, availability, and use of illegal drugs. All lawful and reasonable means must be used to ensure that the United States has a comprehensive and effective National Drug Control Strategy.

Therefore, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the National Narcotics Leadership Act of 1988, as amended (21 U.S.C. 1501 *et seq.*), and in order to provide for the effective management of the drug abuse policies of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. General Provisions. (a) Because the United States considers the operations of international criminal narcotics syndicates as a national security threat requiring an extraordinary and coordinated response by civilian and military agencies involved in national security, the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy (Director), in his role as the principal adviser to the National Security Council on national drug control policy (50 U.S.C. 402(f)), shall provide drug policy guidance and direction in the development of related national security programs.

(b) The Director shall provide oversight and direction for all international counternarcotics policy development and implementation, in coordination with other concerned Cabinet members, as appropriate.

(c) An Interagency Working Group (IWG) on international counternarcotics policy, chaired by the Department of State, shall develop and ensure coordinated implementation of an international counternarcotics policy. The IWG shall report its activities and differences of views among agencies to the Director for review, mediation, and resolution with concerned Cabinet members, and if necessary, by the President.

(d) A coordinator for drug interdiction shall be designated by the Director to ensure that assets dedicated by Federal drug program agencies for interdiction are sufficient and that their use is properly integrated and optimized. The coordinator shall ensure that interdiction efforts and priorities are consistent with overall U.S. international counternarcotics policy.

(e) The Director shall examine the number and structure of command/control and drug

intelligence centers operated by drug control program agencies involved in international counternarcotics and suggest improvements to the current structure for consideration by the President and concerned members of the Cabinet.

(f) The Director, utilizing the services of the Drugs and Crime Data Center and Department of Justice Clearinghouse, shall assist in coordinating and enhancing the dissemination of statistics and studies relating to anti-drug abuse policy.

(g) The Director shall provide advice to agencies regarding ways to achieve efficiencies in spending and improvements to interagency cooperation that could enhance the delivery of drug control treatment and prevention services to the public. The Director may request agencies to provide studies, information, and analyses in support of this order.

Sec. 2. Goals, Direction, Duties and Responsibilities with Respect to the National Drug Control Program. (a) *Budget Matters.* (1) In addition to the budgetary authorities and responsibilities provided to the Director by statute, 21 U.S.C. 1502, for those agency budget requests that are not certified as adequate to implement the objectives of the National Drug Control Strategy, the Director shall include in such certifications initiatives or funding levels that would make such requests adequate.

(2) The Director shall provide, by July 1 of each year, budget recommendations to the heads of departments and agencies with responsibilities under the National Drug Control Program. The recommendations shall apply to the second following fiscal year and address funding priorities developed in the annual National Drug Control Strategy.

(b) *Measurement of National Drug Control Strategy Outcomes.* (1) The National Drug Control Strategy shall include long-range goals for reducing drug use and the consequences of drug use in the United States, including burdens on hospital emergency rooms, drug use among arrestees, the extent of drug-related crime, high school dropout rates, the number of infants exposed annually to illicit drugs in utero, national drug abuse treatment capacity, and the annual national health care costs of drug use.

(2) The National Drug Control Strategy shall also include an assessment of the quality of techniques and instruments to measure current drug use and supply and demand reduction activities, and the adequacy of the coverage of existing national drug use instruments and techniques to measure the total illicit drug user population and groups at-risk for drug use.

(3) The Director shall coordinate an effort among the relevant drug control program agencies to assess the quality, access, management, effectiveness, and standards of accountability of drug abuse treatment, prevention, education, and other demand reduction activities.

(c) *Provision of Reports.* To the extent permitted by law, heads of departments and agencies with responsibilities under the National Drug Control Program shall make available to the Office of National Drug Control Policy, appropriate statistics, studies, and reports, pertaining to Federal drug abuse control.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 16, 1993.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:49 a.m., November 17, 1993]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 18, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on November 18.

Remarks on Departure for Seattle, Washington

November 18, 1993

Thank you very much. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you, Mr. Vice President.

Let me just say that I have never been involved in an effort in which there were so many diverse people working so hard with so little concern for who got the credit after the battle was over.

I thank all those who were mentioned last night and were mentioned today by the Vice President. I will say again that I believe that his stunning performance in the debate on

the Larry King show played a major role in our victory.

Now that the House has voted for the North American Free Trade Agreement, voted for America to continue to compete and win in the global economy, I want to say again how grateful I am to the Members who voted with us and how deeply I respect the opinions and convictions of those who did not and those who supported them.

It is for us now to make sure that this agreement is speedily passed by the United States Senate and then implemented as it was intended to be implemented, with the cooperation of both labor and management to make sure that it works to the benefit of the United States and to all the working people of our country. It is also our responsibility to press on until we have the kind of education and training programs we need.

And finally, it is our responsibility to make sure that we make the most of this effort in terms of our relationships with our neighbor to the south, Mexico, the rest of Latin America, and hopefully with nations all across the world who are committed to open and free trade, to lowering the barriers that they have to our products and services and to working together for more global opportunity, jobs, and growth.

Last night I called President Salinas, and I told him that the Vice President and Chief of Staff McLarty would be available to go to Mexico City when NAFTA is ratified by both nations, to meet with him and his government for indepth discussions about how best to launch this great new era in North American relations. The President gracefully welcomed this suggestion and invited the Vice President to travel to Mexico as soon as NAFTA is approved by the United States Senate and by the Mexican Senate, which is expected to be this Tuesday.

Now I am leaving for the first ever Asian and Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Seattle with the strength in hand to fight for open markets throughout the world. The 15 Asian-Pacific economic partners that I will meet are dynamic and powerful traders and competitors. From the creative tension between their nations and ours can come an economic expansion that will sustain us for

years to come. The fastest growing part of the world economy is in Asia.

One thing is clear, by taking the courageous step of opening trade in our own hemisphere we have the economic, the political, and the moral standing to make the case that that ought to be done throughout the world, that America is serious about lowering trade barriers and promoting growth in our country and throughout the globe.

I look forward to this trip and to continuing the fight. I will remind you again, as I have said so many times in the past, there is simply no evidence that the United States or any other wealthy country can grow jobs and increase incomes unless the world economy is growing and unless we have more customers for our goods and services. We took a long step in the right direction last night, and I intend to take more steps on that course in the next few days in the Pacific Northwest.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:28 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks on Arrival in Seattle

November 18, 1993

Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Governor Lowry and Mayor Rice, Chairman Shrontz, ladies and gentlemen. I thought I ought to bring Air Force One home. And I'm glad to be back here myself, and I do love this town. Seattle has been wonderful to me. The State of Washington has been good to me. Without your support I would not have been able to take office as President and to work every day to keep the commitments I made to the American people to try to change this country for the better.

I want to thank you especially today for all the work that you and this city have done, and all the work people throughout this State have done to help this Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting come off as well as it has. Everyone says you've been a wonderful host. I thank you, and your Nation thanks you.

Frank noted that a number of my Cabinet members came here with me today, along with Congressman Norm Dicks and Heather Foley, the wife of House Speaker Tom Foley. I wanted to say also that Senator Patty Murray had planned to come home with me today. I invited her here. And I want you to know why she's not here. She's not here because she is in Washington fighting to pass a crime bill that keeps in the ban on assault weapons to make our streets safer. I'm proud of her for doing that.

You know, I've been to this wonderful city for many reasons. I came here as a Governor to a Governors' Conference. I've been here on vacation. I came here many times asking your help to become President. Today I come on a truly historic mission, for this is the first meeting ever of the leaders of the nations of the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation group. I'll have a chance to meet with the Prime Minister of Japan, the President of China, the leaders of the other nations in this group. We'll be able to talk about regional economics and political developments. We'll be focusing on what we can do to help our own people.

Make no mistake about it: Ultimately, this meeting is about the jobs, the incomes, and the futures of the American people; about exhorting American leadership in a world where there isn't a lot of growth now, so jobs are not secure, incomes are stagnant in every wealthy country on Earth. The only way we can turn this around now is to have more growth not only in America but throughout the world.

With all of the difficulties we have today, our economy is growing more than Europe's economy. It is growing faster today than Japan's economy. Our problem in America today and Boeing's problem today is that there's not enough growth in the world economy, so people don't have enough money to buy these airplanes. And we're going to change that, beginning at this meeting for the Pacific region. I know we can do that.

America's workers are still the world's most productive. America can compete and win all over the world in all markets, if only given a fair chance and if there are sensible

partnerships to promote growth. People cannot spend money they do not have.

So we come here today, hoping to drive down trade barriers, open up trade opportunities, and promote more growth. Seattle has long seen itself as the portal of the Pacific. Today, it is the portal to the Asian-Pacific region, the world's fastest growing economy, the largest region in our world in terms of population, with enormous potential for American prosperity and new partnerships for peace and freedom and democracy.

Washington exports more per person than any other State in our Nation. And over 80 percent of those exports go to the Asian-Pacific region. You know that. You know also that Boeing is America's largest exporter, and that no company in the world better exemplifies the potential of worldwide economic partnerships to create opportunity for people right here at home in America.

I'm proud that I worked with the Transportation Secretary and the Commerce Secretary and others in my administration to see that your aircraft get full and fair consideration in the global market. Someone sort of made fun of me the other day. They said, "You know, President Clinton is almost like a rug merchant out there selling American products." Well, I'm not ashamed that I've asked other countries to buy Boeing, and I'll do it again if given half the chance.

I was so pleased this week that Boeing reached an agreement with Gulf Air, based in Bahrain, to sell six of your new 777 wide-body planes with an option to purchase another six, an agreement that could be worth \$2 billion. I was pleased to read in the paper today of Boeing's agreement with Southwest Airlines. I think you all know we're working on other sales in the Middle East. And I'm also proud to say that I am delighted that Boeing was selected as the prime contractor for America's space station, something I worked hard to save from the budget ax in the last session of Congress. That's another global partnership because now we're going to develop that space station in partnership with the Russians in further pursuit of peace and global economic prosperity.

And finally, I want to say a special word of thanks to Congressman Norm Dicks for his initiative in getting Congress to initiate

a new airlift initiative to supplement our present airlift capacity and replace some of our old planes by buying off-the-shelf commercial airlines, like the 747. I commend Norm Dicks for that initiative. It can save the Defense Department money and put people in Washington State to work.

I ask you here to continue your resolve in the face of adversity, to be an example to the rest of our Nation that we can compete and win in this global economy.

As Frank said, and as Governor Lowry and Mayor Rice noted, we've just come through a tough fight in the Congress where good people on both sides argued about what was best for the working families of America. I did everything I could for 12 years to advance the cause of working people as a Governor. I ran for President because I thought we could expand the horizons of young people and preserve the American dream and make a strength out of our diversity in the Nation as you have done in Seattle. That's why I ran.

This debate over NAFTA was very profitable, very productive, but sometimes very painful because some of the best friends I ever had were on the other side of that debate. And they were on the other side because they were tired of seeing Americans work harder for lower wages to pay higher prices for health care, housing, and education to have less security in their basic lives. That was a genuine fear that should be honored by every person in public life today. Those are the fears we have to answer.

I disagreed on the solution because I believe that the only way a rich country can grow richer is to find more customers for its products and services. In the absence of that we cannot continue to grow.

We are getting more and more productive, as we have to do to compete. But what does that mean? That means fewer people can produce more things. If fewer people produce more things and you still want more jobs at higher incomes, there must be more customers. There is no alternative.

But make no mistake about it, my fellow Americans, the fight over NAFTA shows us the best of both sides. The winning side was right. We ought to expand our trade. We've got to bring down trade barriers. We have

to reach out to the rest of the world. We need a partnership, not only with Mexico but with all of Latin America, 700 million people plus, in a giant trading cooperative partnership. We need that. But we also need to guarantee every American working family the education and training they need, the investment in their communities they need, the security of health care that can never be taken away, and an economic policy dedicated to growing jobs and raising incomes and benefiting the ordinary citizens of this country. That is what we have to do.

Our economic strategy is simple, direct, and I think correct: Put our own economic house in order, enable our people to compete and win in the global economy, and find more markets for our products and services. Just in the last 10 months the United States Congress has enacted an historic plan that has brought interest rates down to record lows, kept inflation down, increased investment, permitted millions of Americans to refinance their homes, and created more jobs in the private sector in the last 10 months than in the previous 4 years. It is not nearly enough, but it's a darn good beginning, and we're glad to have it.

We must now move on to invest in education and training and new technologies, and helping us to win from downsizing defense by converting to domestic technologies and opening the world to those markets. We can do it, and that's what this meeting is all about. So I say to you, again, you have helped America to make history here in Seattle.

The meeting of the leaders of the Asian-Pacific region, if we make wise decisions and if we begin a long-term, disciplined partnership for growth and opportunity, can create jobs here and jobs across the Pacific, can raise incomes here and give hope to people who never had it all across the largest ocean on the globe. We can do this. And when we do, I hope you will always take pride in knowing that it began here in Washington, America's trading State, America's model for the future, in a town that's been awfully good to me and is now a wonderful example for the entire United States.

Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. at Boeing Field. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Norman B. Rice of Seattle, and Frank A. Shrontz, chairman and chief executive officer, Boeing Co. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on United States Activities in the United Nations

November 18, 1993

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 the calendar year 1992. 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,
November 18, 1993.

Statement by the Press Secretary on the President's Message on NAFTA to Latin American Heads of State

November 18, 1993

Following passage of the NAFTA implementing legislation by the House of Representatives on November 17 the President sent the following message to heads of state and government of Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Suriname, Guyana, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Belize, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Barbados, The Bahamas, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and The Grenadines, St. Kitts and Nevis, Antigua and Barbuda, Jamaica, Dominica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Grenada:

"I am pleased to inform you that the implementing legislation for the North American Free Trade Agreement was passed on November 17 by the United States House

of Representatives. This represents the first critical step on the road to U.S. implementation of the Agreement. I hope to win approval of the implementing legislation next week by the United States Senate. The other signatory parties, Canada and Mexico, are completing their ratification procedures.

"This is an historic occasion. The NAFTA will benefit all the people of our hemisphere. It manifests the confidence and optimism with which the United States and our immediate neighbors face the future. It epitomizes our dedication to the development of a cooperative and prosperous post-Cold War world based on open and dynamic economies, a clean environment, protection of workers' rights and expansion of democracy.

"The NAFTA will capitalize on the tremendous opportunities which reforms in Mexico and elsewhere in the Americas have given us to open the way to trade liberalization throughout the hemisphere. As we link our economies we not only will increase the efficiency of production in each country but also will create new, better quality jobs and improve the entire hemisphere's competitiveness in the global marketplace. The NAFTA will set the stage for freer trade and sustainable, more equitable economic development throughout Latin America and the Caribbean for the benefit of our combined populations of 700 million. It will also give an enormous boost to our efforts to complete the GATT Uruguay Round so we can continue to expand the global economy.

"I am grateful for the hemisphere-wide backing the NAFTA enjoys. Your expressions of support, both individual and issued collectively through the Organization of American States, the Rio Group, the Caribbean Community and the Meeting of Central American Presidents have helped me convey to the people of the United States the commitment of Latin American and Caribbean nations to opening their markets so that freer trade may

benefit all. I am proud to have your support in this historic endeavor and I look forward to working with you to make freer trade throughout this hemisphere a reality."

Nomination for a Member of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of the United States

November 18, 1993

The President announced his intention today to nominate Maria Luisa M. Haley to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

"I have been very impressed with Maria Haley's work over the years, as an aide to me here at the White House, and working for our Industrial Development Commission in Arkansas," said the President. "I expect that she will continue to do well on the Export-Import Bank Board."

NOTE: A biography of the nominee was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Nomination for United States District Court Judges

November 18, 1993

The President today nominated two U.S. district court judges for Louisiana: Tucker Melancon for the Western District, and Helen "Ginger" Berrigan for the Eastern District.

"I have pledged to the American people that I would appoint Federal judges committed to public service," said the President. "In Tucker Melancon and Ginger Berrigan, the people of Louisiana will have just that."

NOTE: Biographies of the nominees were made available by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada in Seattle

November 18, 1993

NAFTA

Q. [*Inaudible*—resolve your differences on NAFTA?

The President. Well, I wouldn't say we resolved them all, but we had a very good meeting, and we agreed that our respective trade representatives would get together, Mr. MacLaren and Ambassador Kantor, and try to work through the issues in a timely fashion. And I feel comfortable that we've set up a good process. We've identified what the points of concern are, and I think we've got a good shot to work it out.

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, can you resolve the issues now without completely reopening NAFTA?

Prime Minister Chrétien. That debate is going on at this time. We've discussed the nature of the problem and we tried to find a way to solve the problem. I guess we could, but I'm not sure. That's why, you know, we'll have to reflect on the nature of the problem, and we have only a few weeks to make a final decision because proclamation is for the first of January. But I'm confident that they seem to understand our position and understand the American position, too. So, yes, I'm optimistic that we can find a solution. The technique is something to be worked on, and we'll find a solution. There is always a solution to a problem.

Q. What are the—problems?

Prime Minister Chrétien. For us, we talk about a clear definition of what is subsidy and what is dumping and counterbidding. We want to have rules on that; it's extremely important for us. So we're debating that at this moment, how can we find the process to solve this problem and discuss other issues like water and so on. We hope to find the proper solution in the weeks to come.

Trade With Japan and China

Q. Mr. President can you coax China and Japan to open their markets to U.S. products?

The President. We hope so. That's one of the things we're working on here. And in a larger sense, both Canada and the United States being the sort of Western partners in this Asian-Pacific economic group, we want very much to continue to buy from those Asian countries, and we want them to buy our products. We want to build a free trading relationship that will support the growth of Asia and support jobs in our nations. Both of us are very excited about it. We're happy to have this meeting here being hosted in North America.

Prime Minister Chrétien. We want to reassure them, too, that what is happening in North America at this moment, it's not a bloc that will become protectionist. It's very important that they understand that now we want to expand trade with the other nations in the Pacific, because there will be more wealth around the world, more jobs for the people who are seeking jobs—United States and Canada.

NOTE: The exchange began at approximately 9:15 p.m. at the Westin Hotel. This exchange was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 19. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Proclamation 6626—National Children's Day, 1993

November 18, 1993

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

America's children are at once our most precious national resource and our most weighty responsibility. They represent our future hopes and aspirations. By empowering and supporting America's families today, we can make a more secure world for all Americans tomorrow.

Millions of America's children grow up in stable and loving families. At the same time, an alarmingly high number of our youth do not have the benefit of such security; many grow up hungry, neglected, or abused. Far too many reach adolescence having experienced painful episodes of physical, mental, or emotional mistreatment that have long-

lasting effects. For them, the future can be clouded with doubt or despair.

We all must take it upon ourselves to address these problems and to guarantee that children of all families will be given new hope for a better life. We must get back to "being our neighbor's keeper" when it comes to raising children. The plight of our neighborhoods and communities must be rectified and replaced with a positive environment in which to grow and live in safety. Today's children are frightened and worried. We must close the opportunity gap and the responsibility gap because all of the children of America deserve an equal chance.

Parents must make an all-out effort to provide an accepting, caring, and loving atmosphere for their children. Grandparents also have an important role to play, as do other members of the extended family.

This is an issue that all Americans can and should support and promote. By becoming directly involved and assuming personal responsibility, we can strengthen our schools, churches, and communities in ways that will reinforce and enhance the importance of values that the family structure can provide. This is all the more critical as the world becomes an increasingly complex and inter-related place. We must interact in the future with any number of new and emerging nations. In order to do this successfully, we will need the talent, dedication, and best efforts of all of our youth.

Today's children will also be tomorrow's parents. To preserve the American Dream, the fiber of our Nation must be strengthened. By instilling a common purpose and assuring ourselves that children are receiving the best and most comprehensive care possible, we can face the awesome challenges that lie ahead. We can start at the family level to bring our country together, solve problems, and make progress.

So I ask all Americans to reaffirm this Nation's commitment to its children. I appeal specifically to parents to spend quality time each day with their children, to listen to their concerns and dreams, and to guide them well as they make the transition into adolescence and adulthood. We have a right and an obligation to make sure our children can rise as

far and as high as their talents and determination will let them.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 139, has designated the third Sunday in November as "National Children's Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim November 21, 1993, as National Children's Day. On this day and every day, I urge all Americans to express their love, advocacy, and appreciation for their children and all children of the world. I invite Federal officials, State and local governments, and particularly the American family, to join together in observing this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities to honor our Nation's children.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:27 p.m., November 19, 1993]

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**Proclamation 6627—National
Military Families Recognition Day,
1993**

November 18, 1993

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Military families are diverse, strong, resourceful, and patriotic. The men and women who serve our country understand that their families provide essential support and make enormous sacrifices every day. We, as a Nation, must also recognize the unselfish

contributions of our military families wherever they may be around the world.

As we go about the routine business of our lives, it is easy to forget the daily hardships, inconveniences, separations, and disruptions that our service men and women and their families endure to protect America. These dedicated individuals will affirm that it is their families who invariably sustain them and warm their hearts. In every city and State and in many countries worldwide, service men and women proudly note that the highlight of their day is that special smile, telephone call, or letter they receive. The military family is the motivational force that continually elevates the spirit of the service member when life's joys and sorrows need to be shared.

The Department of Defense has long recognized that the family unit is an important factor in the overall readiness and well-being of the members of the Armed Forces. Indeed, military families make extraordinary contributions to the entire Nation through their efforts to support and encourage their loved ones.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 115, has designated November 22, 1993, as "National Military Families Recognition Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim November 22, 1993, as National Military Families Recognition Day. I call upon all Americans to join in honoring military families throughout the world. Finally, I ask Federal, State, and local officials and private organizations to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

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Remarks to the Seattle APEC Host Committee

November 19, 1993

Thank you so much for that warm welcome, and thank you, all of you, for everything you have done to make this conference of the Asian-Pacific economic council a success. I want to thank your Governor for his leadership in coming all the way to Washington, DC, to help me pass the NAFTA agreement and for speaking up for it, and as a leader of the State which leads America in per capita trade. I want to thank my good friend Mayor Rice, who heads this wonderful city which has been voted the best city in America in which to do business, in no small measure because of your Mayor.

I'm glad to see my friend and former colleague Governor Roberts out there. I must say I sort of jumped when Governor Lowry introduced her as his neighbor to the south. I never thought of Oregon in the south before. That's a lesson for this whole conference: Perspective is very important. *[Laughter]*

I have one member of your delegation here, Congressman Norm Dicks, who came back with me yesterday; and Speaker Foley is on the way. But I'm glad to see him here. The Washington delegation has been enormously supportive of this administration in the cause of economic expansion, and I am very grateful for that.

Senator Murray wanted to come back with me also, but she's on the floor of the Senate even as I speak here, debating the crime bill and trying to pass it with 100,000 new police officers and the Brady bill and an historic ban on assault weapons, which she's working hard to keep in the bill.

I love Seattle. I always love to come here. I called home last night, and both my wife and my daughter had chewed me out because I was here, and they weren't. We've had some wonderful days here. This morning I got up, and I went running in Green Lake

Park. And I didn't turn green, but I nearly did. It was a vigorous run.

I am delighted that so many members of our administration came with me: The Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, my Chief of Staff, Mack McLarty, and our National Economic Adviser, Bob Rubin, are over here to my right, but we also have the Trade Ambassador, Mickey Kantor, here and the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher. They've all come here to make it clear how important we believe this wonderful meeting is to our future interests, as I know you do. I'm glad to see so many of my friends here from other States in the West and, indeed, from all across America.

This organization, APEC, has historically had 15 members that together account for more than half the world's output: Australia, Brunei, Canada, China, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Chinese Taipei, Thailand, and the United States. At this meeting, we are adding Mexico and Papua New Guinea. This will be the first time that the leaders of all of these economies have gathered together. APEC reflects the Asian-Pacific values of harmony and consensus building. Our goal this week will be to do some of both.

This city is the appropriate place to have this meeting. Not only is Washington State the most trade-oriented State in the Union, but as I learned from the Governor on the way up the stairs when I asked him, 80 percent of your trade is tied to the Asian-Pacific region, and 90 percent of the imports to this port in Seattle come from Asia. Over half of Boeing's planes, Microsoft's computer programs, and Washington's wheat are sold abroad.

Today I want to talk with you who have done so much to make this meeting a reality about why APEC and the Asian-Pacific region will play a vital role in our American quest to create jobs and opportunity and security. And I want to begin by talking about what I believe our broader purposes as a nation must be as we near the end of this tumultuous century.

Once in a great while, nations arrive at moments of choice that define their course and their character for years to come. These mo-

ments are always hard, because change is always hard, because they are steeped in controversy, because they are often full of risk. We know and regret the moments when our Nation has chosen unwisely in the past, such as when we turned the world toward protectionism and isolationism after World War I or when we failed for so long to face up to the awful consequences of slavery. We celebrate the chapters of American history in which we chose boldly: the Declaration of Independence, the Louisiana Purchase, the containment of communism, the embrace of the civil rights movement.

Now we have arrived again at such a moment. Change is upon us. We can do nothing about that. The pole stars that guided our affairs in the past year have disappeared. The Soviet Union is gone. Communist expansionism has ended. At the same time, a new global economy, a constant innovation, and instant communication is cutting through our world like a new river, providing both power and disruption to the people and nations who live along its course.

Given the disappearance of the Soviet threat and the persistence of problems at home, from layoffs and stagnant incomes to crime rates, many Americans are tempted to pull back and to turn away from the world.

This morning, I ran with some of my friends from Seattle, and we were talking about the irony that some of us felt being so excited about this meeting and all of its promise and prosperity. And one of my friends who is a judge here was going to court to deal with candidates for parole and talking to me about all the young children who are in trouble, even in this, one of our most vibrant cities. In times like this, it is easy to just turn away. Our people have a right to feel troubled. The challenge of the global economy and our inadequate response to it for years is shaking the moorings of middle class security. So are the destructive social developments here at home and our inadequate response to them. But we simply cannot let our national worries blind us to our national interests. We cannot find security in a policy of withdrawal guided by fear. We must, we must pursue a strategy of involvement grounded in confidence in our ability to do well in the future.

Our security in this new era clearly requires us to reorder our military forces and to refine our force structure for the coming years. But our national security also depends upon enlarging the world's community of market democracies because democracies make more peaceful and constructive partners. That's why we're leading an ambitious effort to support democratic and market reforms in all the nations of the former Soviet Union.

And more than ever, our security is tied to economics. Military threats remain, and they require our vigilance and resolve. But increasingly, our place in the world will be determined as much by the skills of our workers as by the strength of our weapons, as much by our ability to pull down foreign trade barriers as our ability to breach distant ramparts.

As President I've worked to put these economic concerns of our people at the heart of our domestic and our foreign policy. We cannot remain strong abroad unless we are strong at home. Stagnant nations eventually lose the ability to finance military readiness, to afford an activist foreign policy, or to inspire allies by their examples. You have only to look at what happened to the former Soviet Union to see that lesson writ large. It collapsed from the inside out, not from the outside in.

At the same time, creating jobs and opportunities for our people at home requires us to be engaged abroad, so that we can open foreign markets to our exports and our businesses. Today exports are the life blood of our economic growth. Since the mid-1980's, half our increases in incomes and almost all the expansion and manufacturing jobs in the United States have been tied to exports. This trend will continue. All wealthy nations—and many more than we—are having difficulty creating jobs and raising incomes even when there is economic growth. Why is that? Because workers in advanced countries must become ever more productive to deal with competition from low-wage countries on the one hand, and high-skilled, high-tech countries on the other. Being more productive simply means that fewer and fewer people can produce more and more goods.

In an environment like that, if you want to increase jobs and raise incomes, the only way to do it is to find more customers for each country's product. There is no alternative. No one has yet made any convincing case that any wealthy country can lower unemployment and raise incomes by closing up its borders. The only way to do it is to expand global growth and to expand each country's fair share of global trade. This country must do both.

To prosper, therefore, we have to try to get all nations to pursue a strategy of growth. I have worked hard on that. For 10 years, I watched America go to these G-7 meetings and be hammered on by other nations to reduce our deficit, to stop taking money out of the global pool of investment capital, to help to contribute to global growth by showing some discipline here at home. Well, we've done that. We've done that. And now we must get our partners in Europe and Japan to also follow strategies that will promote global growth.

Much of our trade deficit problems today are the result directly of slow economic growth abroad. And this Nation now is growing more rapidly than all of our wealthiest competitors. We must do that. But we must also compete, not retreat. We cannot confuse our objectives with our problems. We have no alternative, even in a time of slow global economic growth, to taking the steps to expand world trade.

We are pursuing a new global trade agreement under GATT by the end of this year. In July, we negotiated a market opening agreement at the G-7 to help advance the GATT process. That market opening agreement offers the prospect of hundreds of thousands of new jobs in the American economy.

We have placed our vital relationship with Japan on a new foundation that will allow our workers and our businesses greater access to Japanese markets when we complete the process. We have established a new dialog for economic cooperation with Korea aimed at improving trade and the regulatory environment for the United States and other foreign businesses in that nation.

Now, after a long and difficult national debate, we're about to secure something I have

fought for tooth and nail, as the previous speakers discussed, the North American Free Trade act. I fought for NAFTA because I believe it will create American jobs and a lot of them and because I believe it will improve the quality of our life and because I know it will lead us to similar agreements with the rest of the market democracies in Latin America and because I believe that it sends a message that our hemisphere wanted to hear and that the world needs to hear: The cold war may be over, but the United States is not about to pull up its stakes and go home. We will remain engaged in the world.

This, after all, is the real significance of NAFTA. It does not create a trading bloc; it is a building block in our efforts to expand world economic opportunity and global growth and, in the process, to promote jobs and opportunity for Americans.

Wednesday's vote for NAFTA enables me to begin this APEC meeting bolstered by a bold expression of America's intent to remain involved in the world. And the NAFTA vote combined with this APEC conference greatly strengthens our push for an even bigger potential breakthrough, a new GATT agreement.

I want to be clear about this. This Nation will not accept a flawed agreement, but if we can achieve one that meets our standards, the benefits to our people could be enormous. Over the first 10 years, a good GATT agreement could create 1.4 million American jobs and boost the average American family income by \$1,700 a year. Over a decade, it could expand the world's economy by \$5 trillion. This, my fellow Americans, is the answer to 20 years of stagnant wages for the hard-working middle class.

Our willingness to fight for these initiatives, for NAFTA, for an invigorated APEC, for a good new GATT agreement, should make it clear to the world that America will lead the charge against global recession and the pressures for retrenchment it has created, not just here in our country but in all the advanced nations of the world. Years from today, Americans will look back in these months as a moment when our Nation looked squarely at a new economic era and did not flinch from its challenges.

As we exert our leadership in the global economy, we have to pursue a three-part strategy. We must first continue to make our economy and our people more competitive. Second, we must focus our global initiatives on the fastest growing regions. Third, we must create new arrangements for international relations so the forces of this era benefit our people as well as our partners.

Our first challenge involves actions here at home. After years of neglect we're putting our economic house in order so we can compete and win abroad. We've enacted a sweeping deficit reduction measure that points the way back to solvency. The deficit this year was cut about \$50 billion below where it was estimated to be on the day that I took office, largely because of plummeting interest rates that are directly resultant from the deficit reduction efforts.

We're investing in education and training and the knowledge and skills of our people and the technologies of the future. We're working to ensure that we have the means to adjust to a dynamic world economy. We created some special bridge programs for any workers displaced by NAFTA. And early next year, I will propose a plan to transform America's unemployment system into a re-employment system of lifetime education and training and job placement services for workers who have to change jobs many times. Particularly as we enact NAFTA, we must recognize that we have a solemn obligation to make our involvement in international trade serve the interest of our people. That means they have to be able to adjust to change.

And if I might just add a parenthesis here to all of you who are very much future oriented, this country today is really being limited in what we can do because so many of our systems, economic and social, are organized for conditions that no longer exist. We are not organized to make the changes we all want to make.

The unemployment system is simply an example of that. The unemployment system was created at a time when the average length of unemployment was shorter than it is today and when the average unemployed person when called back to work went back to his or her former employer, which is not

the case today. So unemployment could literally be a more passive system. You could draw money out of it. Your wage would go down for awhile, but you knew you'd be called back to your old employer. That's fine for a static economy. It doesn't work for a dynamic economy where the average 18-year-old must change jobs seven times in a lifetime, where the average unemployed person is unemployed for longer, and when most people don't get called back to the same job they gave up.

The unemployment system, in short, is now an unfair tax on employers because it doesn't function and a rip-off for employees because it doesn't help them. Why? Because the system was organized for a reality that isn't there anymore. So what the Labor Secretary is trying to do is to set up a system where people who lose their jobs immediately—and even before they lose their jobs, if possible—begin training programs, begin job placement programs, begin thinking about what the future really holds, instead of living with a system that was yesterday's reality and is today's sham.

Time here does not permit this, but there are a lot of creative people in this room, and I cannot resist this opportunity to say, if you will look at the operative systems in the courts, in the juvenile system, in all the social systems in this country, in the education and training systems, and in the economic arrangements of this country, you will find example after example after example after example where good, bright, creative people, who know what the problems are, are struggling with organizations which thwart their ability to deal with the world as it is. This is one of our great challenges, my fellow Americans, and we must face it.

With the end of the cold war, we're trying to open billions of dollars' worth of formerly restricted high-tech goods to export markets. We're working to speed the conversion of companies, of workers, of communities from defense to commercially successful economies. With the Vice President's leadership, we're reinventing Government, reducing bureaucracy. We're about to reform our health care system in ways that will relieve businesses burdened by unfairly rising costs and

provide security for families terrorized by uncertain coverage.

All these steps to make our people and our Nation better prepared to thrive in this competitive economy are important. The beginning steps, while limited, are beginning to pay off. The deficit has declined. Interest rates have been at historic lows. Inflation rate remains low while investment is increasing. Housing costs have climbed for 3 straight months. Employment is increasing. In the first 10 months there has been more private sector job increase than in the previous 4 years. To be sure, there is still much to do, but this is a good beginning.

The second part of this strategy must be to expand the sweep of our engagement. For decades, our foreign policy focused on containment of communism, a cause led by the United States and our European allies. I want to emphasize this here today: Europe remains at the core of our alliances. It is a central partner for the United States in security, in foreign policy, and in commerce. But as our concern shifts to economic challenges that are genuinely global, we must look across the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. We must engage the world's fastest growing economies.

Our support for NAFTA is a recognition not only that Mexico is our closest big neighbor and a very important part of our future but that Latin America is the second fastest growing part of the world and a part of the world increasingly embracing both democracy and free market economics, two things that have eluded that continent for too long.

The fastest growing region, of course, is the Asian Pacific, a region that has to be vital for our future, as it has been for our past. A lot of people forget that we began our existence as a nation as a Pacific power. By the time of George Washington's Inauguration, American ships were already visiting China. In this century, we fought three major wars in the Pacific. Thousands of our people still remain stationed in the region to provide stability and security in the armed services. And our cultural bonds are profoundly strong. There are now 7 million American citizens of Asian descent.

The Asian Pacific has taken on an even greater importance as its economy has ex-

ploded. It's a diverse region spanning 16 time zones, having at least 20 different major languages and hundreds of dialects. This is a region where many rice farmers still harvest their crops by hand, and yet it is the home to the world's fastest growing cities. Yet amid this great diversity a distinct economy has emerged, built upon ancient cultures connected through decentralized business networks, linked by modern communications, and joined by common denominators of high investment, hard work, and creative entrepreneurship.

What has happened to Asia in the past half-century is amazing and unprecedented. Just three decades ago, Asia had only 8 percent of the world's GDP. Today it exceeds 25 percent. These economies are growing at 3 times the rate of the established industrial nations. In a short time, many of these economies have gone from being dominoes to dynamos; from minor powers racked by turmoil—[*applause*]*—yes, you can clap for them. It's true.*

The press will ask me at the end of this speech who gave me that phrase. It came from Win Lord, our Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. He also gives me good ideas, as well as good phrases. [*Laughter*]

This is a hopeful time. For the first time, for the first time in this century, no great military rivalry divides the Asia-Pacific region. Active hostilities have yielded to possibilities for cooperation and gain. Of course, the region still has problems and dangers. Tens of millions of Asians still live on less than a dollar a day. There are territorial disputes, ethnic tensions, and weapons proliferation. This sudden growth has led to serious environmental strains from smoke-choked cities to toxic dumping. And there are human rights abuses and repression which continue to affect millions of people throughout the region.

The economic explosion has been a source of anxiety for many Americans. Our workers are concerned that their jobs, their markets are being lost to Asia. Of the nations that are represented here, I believe we have a trade deficit with all but one. These trade imbalances with Japan and China alone account for more than two-thirds of our total

trade deficit. And we do have a trade deficit, as I said, with virtually every one of the nations.

Yet, ultimately the growth of Asia can and should benefit our Nation. Over the past 5 years, our exports to every one of these nations has increased by at least 50 percent. Much of what Asia needs to continue on its growth pattern are goods and services in which we are strong: aircraft, financial services, telecommunications, infrastructure, and others. Already, Asia is our largest trading partner. Exports account for 2.5 million jobs here in America, to Asia. Increasing our share of that market by one percent would add 300,000 jobs to the American economy. This is an effort worth making.

Of course, we must continue to press the nations to be more open to our products as we are to them. We've made a good start with the economic framework agreement with Japan, and I look forward to discussing the elements of that and the progress we can make with Prime Minister Hosokawa later today.

We're also determined to work with China to eliminate its trade barriers and to raise the issue of our continuing concerns over human rights and weapons sales. I look forward to doing all that when I meet with President Jiang today, in an effort to put our relationship with China on a more constructive path but still one that deals with all of these issues that are important to the United States.

We do not intend to bear the cost of our military presence in Asia and the burdens of regional leadership only to be shut out of the benefits of growth that that stability brings. It is not right. It's not in the long-term interest of our Asian friends. And ultimately, it is a trade relationship that is simply not sustainable. So we must use every means available in the Pacific, as elsewhere, to promote a more open world economy through global agreements, regional efforts, and negotiations with individual countries.

As we make these efforts, United States business must do more to reach out across the Pacific. I know Seattle's business community understands the potential that lies in the Asian-Pacific region. But millions of our businesses do not. We cannot have customers

where we are not there to make the sale. I want American businesses to see the opportunities, to hear the success stories not only here but all across the Nation. I want more American businesses to follow the examples of firms like H.F. Henderson Industries in West Caldwell, New Jersey, which manufactures automatic weighing systems. This small firm's sales to China, South Korea, Australia, Singapore, and Hong Kong have added over two dozen jobs to its payroll of 150. You think about that. If every company in America with 150 employees could add two dozen jobs by exports to Asia, we would have a much smaller unemployment problem in a very short time. We have to do a better job of piercing those markets even as we press for them to be open.

In July, I made my first trip overseas as President to Asia. During that trip, I proposed this leaders meeting and described a vision of a new Pacific community to underscore the importance we place on working for shared prosperity, for security, and for democracy. As I said earlier, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, our Trade Representative, they've all come to Seattle, all going to give major speeches here, all going to make our presence felt. We want to be a partner with all of the other nations that are here in making this Pacific community.

But as I said earlier about our problems here at home with the unemployment system, you could also say the same thing about the international system. We have to develop new institutional arrangements that support our national economic and security interests internationally.

If you look at the end of World War II and the success that flowed from it, that didn't happen by accident. Visionaries like Harry Truman and George Marshall, George Kennan, Dean Acheson, Averell Harriman worked with other nations to build institutions like NATO, the IMF, the World Bank, the GATT process. We take it for granted now. But it took them a few years to put this together. And it wasn't self-evident at the time that it had to be done. And a lot of people thought it was a waste of time or effort, and others thought that it would never work, and others thought that it wasn't even

a good idea. But these people had the vision to see that collective security, expanded trade, and growth around the world were in the interest of the ordinary American citizen.

We now have to bring the same level of vision to this time of change. We've done that through our vote for NAFTA. We will do so again at the NATO summit this January, where I will recommend a new partnership for peace to draw Central and Eastern Europe toward our community of security. And we're working to build a prosperous and peaceful Asian-Pacific region through our work here with APEC.

This is still a young organization. I want to salute those who had the vision to establish it, such as former Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke and others, including President Bush and those in his administration who wanted to host this regional leaders meeting in Washington State. But I want to say also that we now must imagine what this organization should be in the 21st century.

Over time, there is a lot we may be able to do through this organization that no one ever thought about before. It could become a forum for considering development priorities in Asia, for working with the Asian Development Bank to assure that all can share in the region's economic growth. It could help to focus attention on barriers to trade and growth. It could evolve into a forum for dispute resolution on economic matters.

The mission of this organization is not to create a bureaucracy that can frustrate economic growth but to help build connections among economies to promote economic growth. Although we are still only formulating APEC's agenda, we can speculate what some of those connections might be.

This organization, for example, could help to set up common telecommunication standards so firms don't need to have a different product design for each separate country. It could help us to move toward an open skies agreement that could lower fares for airline passengers and cargo and provide greater consumer choices over routes. It could promote solutions to the environmental problems of this populous and energy-devouring region, problems that are truly staggering today, so that we could guarantee that a pol-

luted quality of life does not undermine a rising standard of living.

Protecting the Pacific environment also can be a particular source of American business opportunities. Asia's purchases of environmental equipment likely will rise by \$40 billion by the end of this decade. And our Nation, which has pioneered many of those technologies, should be there to claim the large share of that market.

APEC can complement our Nation's other efforts to open world trade. It can provide a counterbalance to our bilateral and our global efforts. If we encounter obstacles in a bilateral negotiation, we should be able to appeal to other APEC members to help us to resolve the disputes. If our efforts to secure global trade agreements falter, then APEC still offers us a way to expand markets within this, the fastest growing region of the globe.

I expect this first meeting of APEC leaders to focus on getting acquainted and on sharing perspectives. Whatever we do must be done in a spirit of genuine partnership and mutual respect in the interest of all of the nations involved. This cannot be a United States show. This has got to be an Asian-Pacific combined partnership.

Nonetheless, I believe it is our obligation to propose some tangible steps to move forward. We will propose that Secretary Bentsen organize a meeting of the APEC's finance ministers to advance our dialog on the broad issues affecting economic growth. We will propose the formation of an Asia-Pacific business roundtable to promote greater discussion within the region's private sectors. We will ask the leaders to endorse the establishment of an Asia-Pacific education foundation to promote understanding and a sense of community among our region's young people. These first steps are small. But we should not understate or underestimate the scope of the journey that they could begin.

Today we take for granted the importance of many institutions that seemed unlikely when they were first created. For example, we can't imagine now how we could have weathered the cold war without NATO. In the same way, future generations may look back and say they can't imagine how the Asian-Pacific region could have thrived in

such a spirit of harmony without the existence of APEC. Even though this organization is in its infancy and its first leaders meeting is not intended to make decisions, we should not hesitate to think boldly about where such efforts could lead.

For this organization, these meetings and these relationships we are forging today can lead our members toward shared expectations about our common responsibilities and our common future. Even now we can begin to imagine what a new Pacific community might look like by the end of this decade, and that's not very far away.

Imagine an Asian-Pacific region in which robust and open economic competition is a source of jobs and opportunity without becoming a source of hostility and instability, a sense of resentment or unfairness. Imagine a region in which the diversity of our economies remains a source of dynamism and enrichment, just as the diversity of our own people in America make our Nation more vibrant and resilient. Imagine this region in which newly emerging economic freedoms are matched by greater individual freedoms, political freedoms, and human rights; a region in which all nations, all nations, enjoy those human rights and free elections.

In such a future we could see Japan fast becoming a model of political reform as well as an economic colossus, pursuing policies that enable our economic relations to be a source of greater mutual benefit and mutual satisfaction to our peoples. We could see China expressing the greatness and power in its people and its culture by playing a constructive regional and global leadership role while moving toward greater internal liberalization. We could see Vietnam more integrated into the region's economic and political life after providing the fullest possible accounting of those Americans who did not return from the war there.

We could even see a Korean Peninsula that no longer braces for war but that lives in peace and security because its people, both north and south, have decided on the terms of reunification. We could see a region where weapons of mass destruction are not among the exports and where security and stability are assured by mutual strength, respect, and cooperation, a region in which di-

verse cultures and economies show their common wisdom and humanity by joining to preserve the glory of the Pacific environment for future generations.

Such goals extend beyond tomorrow's agenda. But they must not lie beyond our vision. This week our Nation has proved a willingness to reach out in the face of change to further the cause of progress. Now we must do so again. We must reach out to the economies of the Pacific. We must work with them to build a better future for our people and for theirs. At this moment in history, that is our solemn responsibility and our great opportunity.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:42 a.m. in the Spanish Ballroom at the Four Seasons Hotel. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the Penny-Kasich Deficit Reduction Proposal

November 19, 1993

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I write to express my strong opposition to the Penny-Kasich amendment to H.R. 3400.

Over the past year, we have taken bold and serious steps to bring down the federal budget deficit and regain control of our economic destiny. We can be proud of the \$500 billion in deficit reduction—including \$255 billion in spending cuts—that we accomplished for fiscal years 1994 through 1998. The hard freeze on discretionary budget authority and outlays is the most significant step that has ever been taken to control discretionary spending. Likewise, my executive order establishing targets for mandatory spending (along with the specific mandatory savings contained in the reconciliation bill) is the first real step that has been taken to control unforeseen increases in entitlement programs. Furthermore, we have introduced the most detailed plan ever to provide universal health coverage and control the rise in health care spending—which is the main culprit in driving up the budget deficit.

With specific regard to fiscal year 1994, we have already achieved, in the budget and appropriations process, savings of some \$12 billion from the 1994 cap on budget authority. That is a major accomplishment. I have also sent to the Congress a 6-year \$9 billion package of additional spending reductions and a \$2 billion fiscal year 1994 rescission bill. I am also supporting efforts to increase these savings as contained in H.R. 3400. The primary changes will be: (1) increasing the rescission proposal to \$2.6 billion in fiscal year 1994; and (2) a specific requirement to implement the National Performance Review (NPR) proposal to eliminate 252,000 positions from the federal work force. These and other actions will bring the total savings in the package to \$25-\$30 billion, as likely to be scored by the Congressional Budget Office.

In addition to these spending cuts, my Administration is working with the Congress on major reforms in the procurement process to be based on the principles established in the Vice President's NPR. If the legislation follows those principles, we anticipate that the procurement measure will save another \$22 billion over 6 years on top of the \$25 billion—\$30 billion in spending cuts described above.

The Penny-Kasich amendment to this savings package includes many meritorious spending cuts. Indeed, many of them have been proposed by my Administration to finance health care reform and meet the unprecedented spending caps in the recently passed economic plan. As they have included several of our cuts in their package, we will include several of these cuts in either our package or our FY 1995 budget proposal. Yet, despite these areas of common ground, I strongly believe that the amendment should not be passed for the reasons set forth below:

Health Care Reform. In the aftermath of the \$500 billion deficit reduction plan, the largest trouble spot in the federal budget is the spiraling cost of health care. The best single hope for reducing the long-term structural deficit is passage of fundamental health care reform to bring these costs under control. Yet, Penny-Kasich claims over \$40 billion of the potential Medicare savings needed for *any* serious health care plan. Therefore,

it hurts, not helps, our effort to bring the federal deficit down. Denying these savings to health care reform would reduce the flexibility needed for any plan, and fracture the growing consensus for universal coverage and cost containment. The fact that the authors have chosen to modify their proposal by *increasing* the magnitude of the health care cuts is particularly disturbing.

A Substantial Budget Gap Will Be Created: Our economic plan already requires an unprecedented 5-year “hard” freeze on discretionary spending that will require serious cuts in nearly every part of the budget. This strict spending constraint already puts severe limits on spending, and will require serious cuts in nearly every part of the budget. Indeed, we already need to find over \$50 billion in additional discretionary savings to meet our deficit reduction targets and protect needed investments in fighting crime, defense conversion, infrastructure, training and education and other investments that most Americans believe are essential to economic growth. The original Penny-Kasich proposal would mandate an *additional* \$53 billion reduction of the discretionary spending caps. Because at least \$20 billion of its specific spending cuts are already included in my plan, Penny-Kasich leaves a *\$70 billion gap* between the deficit reduction mandate and the savings that are specified. Efforts to close this gap could harm important national priorities.

Defense. We are already undertaking a measured reduction in defense spending, carefully designed to protect our security needs. As defense makes up roughly half of total discretionary spending, the need to close a \$70 billion discretionary spending gap would create pressure for arbitrary defense cuts in force structure, force modernization, training and readiness, base cleanup, and defense conversion that could threaten our national security. Secretary of Defense Aspin and General John Shalikashvili, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, believe that the amendment “duplicates DoD reductions already taken to the current budget levels . . . [and] would require cuts to personnel strength that would seriously degrade the support necessary to maintain readiness.” In their letter to Congress, the Secretary and

General went on to state, that the amendment and that while “[w]e appreciate the enormous pressures that deficit reduction goals have placed on federal spending, . . . we do not believe this Congress is willing to allow our military forces to become the hollow shells that existed in the late 1970s.”

Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement Reform. As you know, I have issued an executive order establishing a bipartisan commission to consider further entitlement reform. I believe that such detailed and deliberate consideration is the better way to address the difficult issues in our complex entitlement programs.

Economic Growth and the Timing of Deficit Reduction. We have already enacted the largest deficit reduction package in our nation’s history. While our economy still has a long way to go, the benefits of all of our actions are beginning to show. In the first 9 months of our Administration, the economy has created 200,000 more private sector jobs than were created over the last 4 years. The economic plan has led to historic lows in interest rates and mortgage rates, which are fueling an investment-led recovery while allowing millions of American families to refinance their homes or find better opportunities to buy their first home. Over 90 percent of small businesses are already eligible for new or additional tax cuts due to our economic plan. And starting January 1, 1994, over 15 million American households with full-time workers will receive new or additional tax cuts so that those who work full-time will not have to live in poverty.

While we still must do more to get our economy working for all Americans, recent economic indicators suggest—and my Secretary of the Treasury and Chair of the Council of Economic Advisers agree—that our plan provided the right dose of deficit reduction. We should give that plan time to work and not take risks with our now fledgling recovery.

Together, we have made major strides in bringing down the deficit while still taking the steps we need to ensure national security and economic growth. Many of the ideas contained in the Penny-Kasich legislation can help move us in that direction, but for the

reasons listed above, the amendment as a whole is flawed and must be rejected.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

NOTE: This letter was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.

**Message to the Congress
Transmitting the Russia-U.S. Fishery
Agreement**

November 19, 1993

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith an Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation Amending and Extending the Agreement on Mutual Fisheries Relations of May 31, 1988. The agreement, which was effected by an exchange of notes at Washington on March 11 and September 15, 1993, extends the 1988 agreement through December 31, 1998. This agreement also amends the 1988 agreement by simplifying the provisions relating to the issuance of licenses by each Party to vessels of the other Party that wish to conduct operations in its 200-mile zone and by adding the requirement that the Parties exchange data relating to such fishing operations. The exchange of notes together with the present agreement constitute a governing international fishery agreement within the meaning of section 201(c) of the Act.

The agreement provides opportunities for nationals and vessels from each country to continue to conduct fisheries activities on a reciprocal basis in the other country's waters. The agreement also continues a framework for cooperation between the two countries on other fisheries issues of mutual concern. Since the 1988 agreement expired October 28, 1993, and U.S. fishermen are conducting operations in Russian waters, I strongly recommend that the Congress consider issuance

of a joint resolution to bring this agreement into force at an early date.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 19, 1993.

**Message to the Congress Reporting
Budget Deferrals**

November 19, 1993

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report four new and two revised deferrals of budget authority, totaling \$7.8 billion.

These deferrals affect International Security Assistance programs as well as programs of the Agency for International Development, the Department of State, and the General Services Administration. The details of these deferrals are contained in the attached report.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
November 19, 1993.

**Digest of Other
White House Announcements**

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

November 13

In the morning, the President traveled to Memphis, TN, and returned to Washington, DC, in the evening.

November 16

In the morning, the President met with Richard Spring, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Ireland. In the afternoon, the President met with Mieko and

Masaichi Hattori, parents of Japanese exchange student Yoshihiro Hattori, who was killed in Louisiana last year.

The President announced the following Senior Executive Service appointments:

Department of Labor

- T. Michael Kerr, Director, Executive Secretariat;
- Meridith Miller, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Pension and Welfare Benefits Administration;
- Robert M. Portman, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of the American Workplace;
- Robert A. Rodriguez, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of Policy; and
- Michael A. Silverstein, Director of Policy, Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Department of Energy

- Agnes P. Dover, Deputy General Counsel for Legal Services.

November 17

The President made available FY 1993 emergency appropriations for the Department of Agriculture to be used for watershed protection systems damaged by flooding along the Mississippi River and its tributaries and to continue implementation of the new emergency wetlands program that allows the voluntary conversion of certain cropland to wetlands.

November 18

In the late morning, the President traveled to Seattle, WA. In the afternoon, he met with Prime Minister Chuan Likphai of Thailand at the Westin Hotel.

November 19

In the morning, the President went to the Rainier Club where he met with Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa of Japan and, later in the afternoon, with President Jiang Zemin of China. Following the meetings, the President greeted APEC leaders in the Main Dining Room. He then he attended a reception given by the Seattle APEC Host Committee at the Seattle Art Museum and returned to the Westin Hotel.

In the evening, the President went to the Four Seasons Hotel for a working dinner

with APEC leaders and later returned to the Westin Hotel.

The President announced that he has appointed 10 members to the National Partnership Council, which was created by Executive order earlier this year following a recommendation of the National Performance Review headed by the Vice President. The members are:

- James B. King, Director of the Office of Personnel Management;
- Thomas Glynn, Deputy Secretary of Labor;
- Philip Lader, Deputy Director for Management, Office of Management and Budget;
- Jean McKee, Chairman, Federal Labor Relations Authority;
- John Calhoun Wells, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director;
- George Munoz, Chief Financial Officer, Department of the Treasury;
- Edwin Dorn, Assistant Secretary of Defense;
- Robert M. Tobias, president, National Treasury Employees Union;
- John N. Sturdivant, president, American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO;
- Robert S. Keener, president, National Federation of Federal Employees; and
- John F. Leydon, secretary-treasurer, Public Employees Department, AFL-CIO.

The President announced the following Senior Executive Service appointments:

Department of Agriculture

- Deborah A. Dawson, Executive Assistant to the Administrator, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service; and
- Paul Scott Shearer, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

Department of the Treasury

- Glen Arlen Kohl, Tax Legislative Counsel;
- Eric J. Toder, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Tax Analysis; and
- Jacqueline J. Wong, Senior Adviser to the Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy.

**Nominations
Submitted to the Senate**

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Released November 16

Michael V. Dunn,
of Iowa, to be Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration, vice La Verne G. Ausman, resigned.

Released November 17

Jeanette W. Hyde,
of North Carolina, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Barbados, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Commonwealth of Dominica, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to St. Lucia, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Judith W. Rogers,
of the District of Columbia, to be U.S. circuit judge for the District of Columbia Circuit, vice Clarence Thomas.

Thomas I. Vanaskie,
of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. district judge for the Middle District of Pennsylvania (new position).

Released November 18

Maria Luisa Mabilangan Haley,
of Arkansas, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for the remainder of the term expiring January 20, 1995, vice Constance Bastine Harriman.

Frederick Gilbert Slabach,
of Mississippi, to be an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, vice Franklin Eugene Bailey, resigned.

James H. Scheuer,
of New York, to be U.S. Director of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, vice William G. Curran, Jr.

Helen G. Berrigan,
of Louisiana, to be U.S. district judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana, vice Patrick E. Carr, retired.

Tucker L. Melancon,
of Louisiana, to be U.S. district judge for the Western District of Louisiana, vice Thomas E. Stagg, Jr., retired.

Robert Dale Ecoffey,
of South Dakota, to be U.S. marshal for the District of South Dakota for the term of 4 years, vice Gene G. Abdallah.

Rosa Maria Melendez,
of Washington, to be U.S. marshal for the Western District of Washington for the term of 4 years, vice Noreen T. Skagen.

Robert James Moore,
of Alabama, to be U.S. marshal for the Southern District of Alabama for the term of 4 years, vice Howard V. Adair.

James Robert Oakes,
of Louisiana, to be U.S. marshal for the Western District of Louisiana for the term of 4 years, vice Brian P. Joffrion.

Cleveland Vaughn,
of Nebraska, to be U.S. marshal for the District of Nebraska for the term of 4 years, vice Thomas A. O'Hara, Jr.

Richard Rand Rock II,
of Kansas, to be U.S. marshal for the District of Kansas for the term of 4 years, vice Kenneth L. Pekarek.

William D. Hathaway,
of Maine, to be a Federal Maritime Commissioner for the term expiring June 30, 1998 (reappointment).

Hugh Dinsmore Black, Jr.,
of Arkansas, to be U.S. marshal for the Western District of Arkansas for the term of 4 years, vice James C. Patterson.

John B. Ritch III,
of the District of Columbia, to be the Representative of the United States of America to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the rank of Ambassador.

Submitted November 19

Linda Hall Daschle,
of South Dakota, to be Deputy Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, vice Barry Lambert Harris, resigned.

Rebecca Aline Betts,
of West Virginia, to be U.S. attorney for the Southern District of West Virginia for the term of 4 years, vice Michael W. Carey, resigned.

Robert Charles Bundy,
of Alaska, to be U.S. attorney for the District of Alaska for the term of 4 years, vice Michael R. Spaan, resigned.

Larry Herbert Colleton,
of Florida, to be U.S. attorney for the Middle District of Florida for the term of 4 years, vice Robert W. Genzman, resigned.

Harry Donival Dixon, Jr.,
of Georgia, to be U.S. attorney for the Southern District of Georgia for the term of 4 years, vice Hinton R. Pierce, resigned.

Lezin Joseph Hymel, Jr.,
of Louisiana, to be U.S. attorney for the Middle District of Louisiana for the term of 4 years, vice Paul Raymond Lamonica.

David Lee Lillehaug,
of Minnesota, to be U.S. attorney for the District of Minnesota for the term of 4 years, vice Thomas B. Heffelfinger, resigned.

Kenneth Ray Oden,
of Texas, to be U.S. attorney for the Western District of Texas for the term of 4 years, vice Ronald F. Ederer, resigned.

Daniel J. Horgan,
of Florida, to be U.S. marshal for the Southern District of Florida for the term of 4 years (reappointment).

Patrick J. Wilkerson,
of Oklahoma, to be U.S. marshal for the Western District of Oklahoma for the term of 4 years, vice Stuart E. Earnest.

Shirley Sachi Sagawa,
of Virginia, to be a Managing Director of the Corporation for National and Community Service (new position).

George W. Haley,
of Maryland, to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission for the term expiring October 14, 1998 (reappointment).

Peter S. Knight,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the Corporation in 1996, vice James B. Edwards.

**Checklist
of White House Press Releases**

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released November 15

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Released November 16

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the President's meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Richard Spring of Ireland
Letter endorsing NAFTA from five former Presidents to Members of Congress

Fact sheet on the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993

Announcement of nomination of eight U.S. marshals

Released November 17

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Transcript of a press briefing by Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen on the national economy and NAFTA

Announcement of the availability of emergency funds for use on damaged watershed protection systems along the Mississippi River and its tributaries

Released November 18

Announcement of nomination of six U.S. marshals

Released November 19

Transcript of a press briefing by Director of the Office of Management and Budget Leon Panetta, and Secretary of Defense Les Aspin on the Penny-Kasich deficit reduction amendment to H.R. 3400

**Acts Approved
by the President**

Approved November 16

H.R. 1308 / Public Law 103-141
Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993

Approved November 17

H.R. 175 / Public Law 103-142
To amend title 18, United States Code, to authorize the Federal Bureau of Investigation to obtain certain telephone subscriber information

H.R. 1345 / Public Law 103-143
To designate the Federal building located at 280 South First Street in San Jose, California, as the "Robert F. Peckham United States Courthouse and Federal Building"

S. 836 / Public Law 103-144
El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro Study Act of 1993

S. 983 / Public Law 103-145
El Camino Real Para Los Texas Study Act of 1993

S.J. Res. 131 / Public Law 103-146
Designating the week beginning November 14, 1993, and the week beginning November 13, 1994, each as "Geography Awareness Week"

S.J. Res. 139 / Public Law 103-147
To designate the third Sunday in November of 1993 as "National Children's Day"

S.J. Res. 142 / Public Law 103-148
Designating the week beginning November 7, 1993, and the week beginning November 6, 1994, each as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week"